PANNI PATHAN

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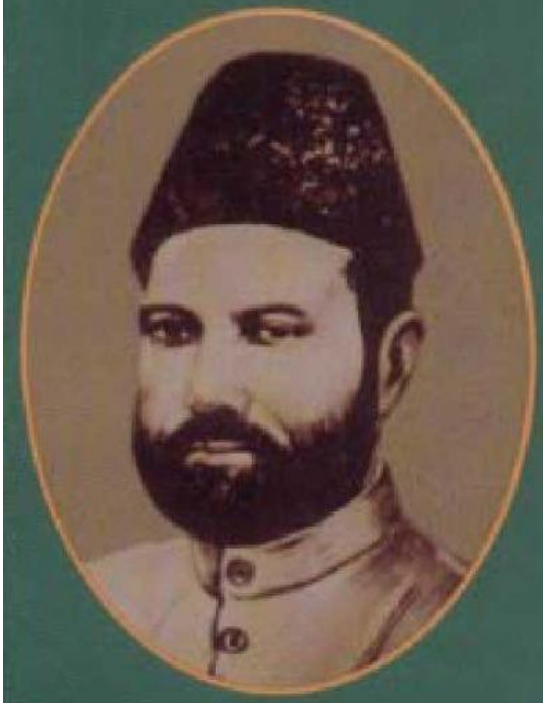
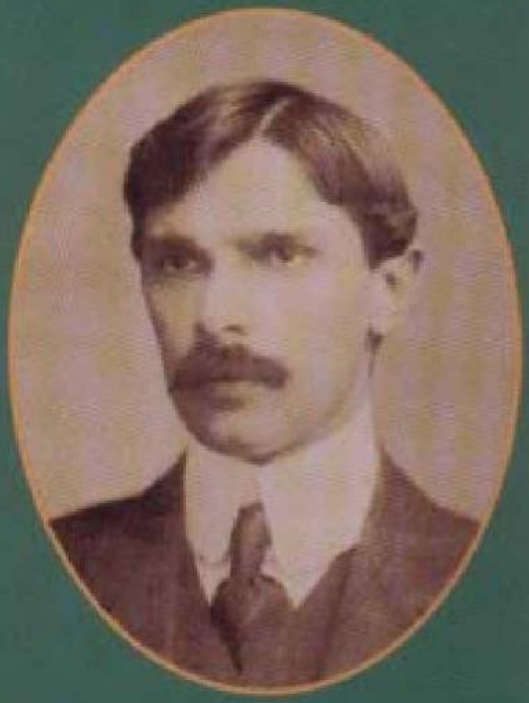
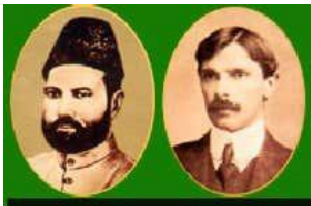




ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

KHURRAM KHAN PANNI



PANNI PATHAN

Books of Mohammad Sharif Khan Panni

Urdu | English | Punjabi

PANNI

PATHAN

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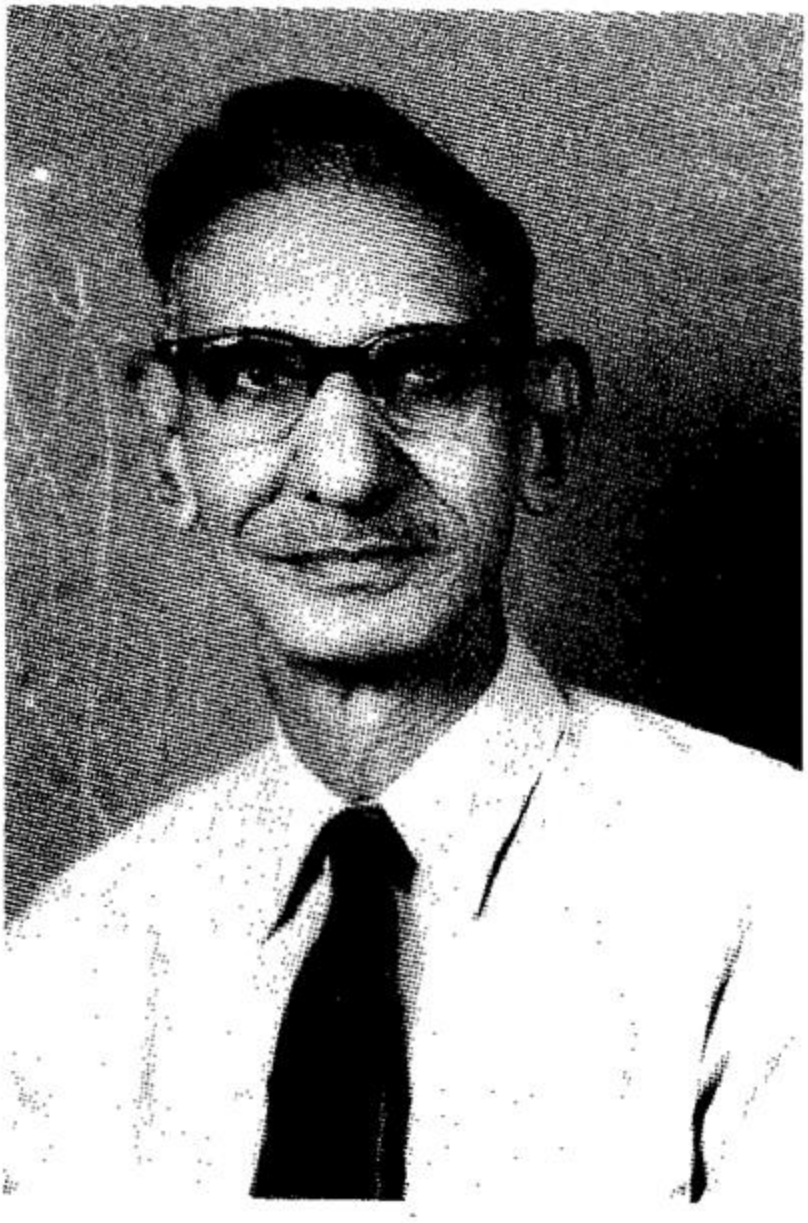
Dedication

I dedicate this book to all great Mujahidin and the flag bearers of the Pan-Islamic movement namely, Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, Raees-ul-Ahrar Molana Mohammed Ali Joher, Doctor Muhammad Allama Iqbal and Mufti-e-Azam Palestine, Syed Ameen Al-Hussaini.

Author



Muhammad Shareef Khan Panni

Background

The historical achievements of the Muslims of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent, took place mostly in the Southeastern border of Pakistan, which is the present India. The British imperialists and colonialists, during their rule of a century and a half, deliberately and purposely and in connivance with the Hindus, not only tried to efface the glorious portions of our history, but whatsoever they taught the Muslims was also self-serving and self-contradictory interpolations and was rendered out of context. This is how in fact, they destroyed the actual objectives of those historical achievements of gallantry and chivalry, which after a constant struggle of survival was motivational and which could have proved to be a powerbase of education and inspiration to cultivate the minds and hearts of our future generations. If the powerbase of any nation has to be effaced and its regeneration is scientifically intended to be maligned, then it is sufficient to mutilate its brilliant and glorious past. That is exactly what the British and the Hindus have done with our history. How many historians for instance are today fully conversant with the facts of our history with regard to the Vice-Minister Jung, of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] namely, Daud Khan Panni and his father namely, Khizer Khan Panni besides his two brothers, who were the actual stalwarts of the battle of Karnataka. How many historians are familiar with the true account of those battles and the support and assistance provided to Sultan Tipu Shaheed, by one Nawab of Kernol of Southern-Hindh, or thereafter the next generation of said Nawab, and they know the exact role of Syed Ahmed Shaheed and his followers who rendered the services for Jihad against the British as well as, the incidents of his arrest by cheating and his murder and other historical achievements. This land of historical achievements of our forefathers even now is gradually drifting under the unspecified rule and control of others therefore, the chances of effacing our great historical past are enhanced many fold.

The awareness, with regard to aforementioned situation of our national history has variously surfaced during the past many years. In 1965, one conscientious writer (late) Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, by placing a very special emphasis had written in his book which was on Sher Shah Suri that, we have to compile afresh our history in the Subcontinent. Then subsequent to the independence of Pakistan, some of our intellectuals also raised the voice with regard to the same fact and the wave of said realization was registered in every nook and corner of the country and

which also motivated me in my humble capacity and I have also decided to buckle up to the task, so as to contribute.

Who are the Pathans?

The people known as “Panni” are considered as a tribe of the Pathans or Afghans. There are various traditional myths since times immemorial, with regard to the origin of the Pathans and even the Pathans have not unanimously accepted any single one of such myths. I have decided prior to examining the main subject of this book, to render a research based thesis in the first chapter to explain the origin of the Pathans in order to squarely resolve this issue. I have tried to prove in this chapter with the help of various authentic references, contrary to the old and the contemporary theories prevalent in the territories of the Pathans, that the wholesome of the Pathan populace includes the people who are known as “Panni” and who existed even in the era before Christ. The study of this chapter can help understand the causes and etiology as well as psychology of the Pathans because it is very essential for a thorough comprehension of the subject. According to Allama Iqbal:

جہاں بانی سے ہے دشوار تر کارِ جہاں بینی

“To comprehend the world is a job harder than wanderlust”

Allama Iqbal advised the former ruler of Afghanistan namely, Aman ullah Khan in the preface of Payam-e-Mashriq (پیامِ مشرق), to understand the psychology of his nation. In my (*Author*) meeting with Allama Iqbal, which took place after the escape of Aman ullah Khan from his country, he disclosed in this regard that he had written a special letter to the Shah. Anyway, the rest of the eleven chapters of this book pertain to the history of the “Panni” nation, when they existed in the period before Christ and lived in the plains of the Southeast between the Caspian Sea and the Ural Sea [بحیرۂ ارال], Iran, Armenia, Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, Ghandharah [گندھارا] which were under their rule. Then their governance and achievements in the Subcontinent are reviewed, after their embracing Islam, which of course is deemed to be the history of said group of Muslims and the same left unforgettable marks in the Muslim history of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent and their advent changed the currents of history very successfully. If the achievements and history of these

people are permanently cast aside, which has been the pattern in the past then, numerous brilliant chapters of our history will remain obscure and will deny us the knowledge of various important facets of our glorious past. We can say therefore, with absolute certainty, that writing "Panni Pathan" is an attempt to remove the heavy curtains from various brilliant and unforgettable aspects of history of the Muslims of the Subcontinent, regarding which our intellectuals have a yearning since long.

Teachings of history:

History is the only medium to witness the caravans of the past from the embrasures of the present. The pages of human history look quiet and worthless apparently but, if they are studied objectively, they carry multiple lessons coupled with interesting and colorful information. They are full of tales, depicting the rise and fall of many generations of mankind and the iridescent of cause and effects, which in the coessentiality are eye openers and awe inspiring. We can vividly see through the study of history, the people of the past era in front of us in entirety, with the orgy of their virtues and vices. If any nation studies with a keen eye and scientifically examines the history then, like the knowledge of science, it can also prove to be a defensive weapon. The historians work in the present but, work about the past and their eyes are set on the future. The past, present and future are part and parcel of the same doctrine. The nations, in the light of their history, promote their thoughts and visions. The people flow with the currents of times but, the thinkers and the statesmen, by taking lessons from their past for the present, pave their way into the future and even a portion of the Holy Quran also consists of spiritual awareness on the same pattern, which explains the state of affairs of the nations of olden times.

Historians and chronographers:

According to the historians, the empty statements or the traditional repetition of past events is something which does not fulfill the demands of modern times. If today someone thinks it appropriate that, the repetition of the past events justifies the correct flow of historical meaningfulness and the purpose, he is a chronographer only and he cannot be called a historian. The job of a historian *inter alia* includes distinguishing between the truth and falsehood of past events so as to deduce some results. He also has to examine carefully what he is offering to the

reader as well as, the direction he is proposing in the light of deduced results. His duty is to examine the multiplicity of events and to sift the possibilities from the impossible besides highlighting the correct and possible course so that the evolutionary process of the human mind about a particular past era as well as the view points of the people of different epochs is unveiled with the true perspective, for the reader. Thus by studying the history of any particular nation, place or period, the reader may examine closely the conduct and behavior of history to make the future more beneficial. The historian impartially depicts the reality. He also has to cast aside such historical events, which are popular among the masses but are remotely connected with reality. This fact has to be kept in sight therefore, while compiling the history, because the traditions and reality are two different things. The witnesses may distort the facts but reference to the context cannot be altered. The correct historical reference to the context therefore has a special significance.

Scientific viewpoint:

Although, it is very heartening that, today the realization is evolving rapidly to scientifically study the philosophy of history yet, the factual position is that, even the fundamental consciousness is extinct amongst the Muslims to use those spectacles with purposeful futuristic approach, let alone the general awareness. To be acquainted with history, for the people of a free country, with a deep insight and with a scientific viewpoint, is as important as establishing an ammunition factory for defense. The nation which fails to study its own history in this manner, fails to take benefit of the historical failures and psychological weaknesses of the rival nations. However, on the contrary, if the enemy studies the history scientifically, it can exploit the weaknesses of such nation by using it as an effective weapon. In the Indo-Pak war of 1965 when the aggressor India, despite its colossal resources faced an insulting defeat at the hands of Pakistan, a country smaller in size, just within a few days realized that, might alone was not enough to defeat the Muslims in the battlefield. India therefore, with a deceptive armistice, brought the active war to an end. and sent a delegation to Spain for a comprehensive research to explore in depth, the character weaknesses of the Muslims, which led to their fall and the means through which the Muslims were annihilated in the vastness of Spain. This delegation carried out research for two years and we on the contrary, ignored this very important aspect in euphoria. Then as a result of said research, India orchestrated later on, the drama of Bangladesh. The

treacherous role of Sheikh Mujeeb in the comparative study and his disciples resembles the role of Abu Abdullah (Boo Badal) and his followers in Spain. The way, the Berber and other tribes of Africa, were used against the Muslims of Spain, the simpleton and sentimental Bengali Muslims and the Hindu community and militant representative Mukti Bahni (Indian Guerrillas) were used in the same manner against the patriot Pakistani Muslims and with the help of a world power, which had joined hands with India during said period, Pakistan was divided and one of its parts was destroyed economically and politically and was tamed thus as a hand-bird. Nonetheless a revolution in Bangladesh set it free from the shackles of India very quickly. In the past, even the British weighed each of their steps with a scientific insight, after their arrival in the Subcontinent.

Our duty:

Now in Pakistan, where we are busy discharging the demands of present times, it is also our duty, to study our own as well as, the history of other nations scientifically to preserve our heritage for the future generations so that, they may be able to benefit from the virtues and vices of their predecessors. Such efforts on the one hand, will preserve our correct history and on the other hand, it shall provide a means of guidance for a better future. It is an undeniable reality that, without getting acquainted with the achievements and failures of our heroes and valiant forefathers, our generation cannot perform the duty, which in any case it has to perform and for which it should always be ready. The unflinching struggle can ensure the national freedom with majesty and glory, together with the spirit of justice and equitableness, brotherhood and equality provided there is will to render sacrifices like our predecessors. This fact also cannot be denied, that after the independence of Pakistan, the responsibilities which devolved upon our shoulders for our survival, are not just orchestral ecstasy but invite us to constantly keep our blood stimulated to consolidate Pakistan. The study of history of our forefathers with scientific objectivity, alone can enrich us with requisite vigor and the same needs to be established at our national level.

Status of the Panni nation:

The Muslim rulers of the Subcontinent, like Ghaznawi, Ghori, Ayback, Khilji, Tughluck, Lodhi, Suri and Mughal, whose achievements at times make our faces glow with elation and pride, also hailed from various nations and tribes. The “Panni nation” similarly, like Pathans or Afghans, is also one epoch making nation of rulers since the times before Christ and is the pioneer of the cherished and glorious history, in Iran including Afghanistan, Armenia and Iraq and thereafter in the other territories of the Indo-Pakistan. We have already stated that after the independence of Pakistan, the realization to discover and coherently compile the lost history of the Muslims of the Subcontinent, was strongly inculcated and was also decided that our traditional history should be edited to separate the unrealistic elements with the intention to link it afresh with its lost links. This book “Panni Pathan” is therefore, the partial fulfillment of said demand.

Purpose and objective:

It may be pointed out that, the objective is not in any manner whatsoever to demonstrate any class superiority or ethnic pride through this book. The objective however definitely is, to discover one lost glorious and meaningful historical link of a ruler nation of the Muslims. Secondly, like other Muslim rulers, Nawabs, Sardars, Generals and legends, the achievements of the Panni nation are also the achievements of the Muslims. The omissions and commissions in history of their nobles are also our common heritage whereas they, in their own right, are also the heroes of the Muslims. The rulers of this nation, like the other Muslim rulers, minted coins and inscribed names, and their names were also recited in the sermons. The history of their leaders, includes the grandeurs and affluence and Jagirs with the splendor of Nawab-hood and Statehood and besides vanquishing the governments by going through the fire and water for expansion, which is coupled with self-assurance and plentitude of conviction, zeal of character and ecstasy of diligent action, participation in Jihad for the renaissance of the Muslims of the Subcontinent, display of resilience and chivalry in difficult conditions, playfully handling the flames and right at the clash of swords and blazing of cannons, spirit of looking down upon death as well. It includes their relation with the society of their respective God-forsaken period, individual morality and mannerism and weaknesses as well as, their general share of good and bad impact in the Subcontinent. The same can be considered for our national life, as valorous and full of learning period simultaneously. The Panni nation in its embryonic or nascent history making period enjoyed the status of a living force. Its more than thirty rulers, one after the other,

governed the area of Iran before Christ down to the period of two and a half centuries before Hegira. Then some of them, ruled Armenia, Afghanistan, Ghandahara and Bengal, Behar and Aresa and fought against the British, French, the Nizam of Deccan and the Merhettas in the Southern part of the Subcontinent. They floated through the streams of blood, in the spadework process of establishing their God gifted Sultanate and some of them in the same process, entered the field of Jihad and demonstrated unprecedented heroics. Even today, millions of people of the Panni nation exist besides, India and East Pakistan (Bangladesh) in the far and wide areas of Afghanistan, Chitral, Dir, Sawat, the Tribal Areas, Hazzarah and Baluchistan. But their comprehensive reference, somehow or the other, is extinct from the contemporary history, despite the same, their individual services are randomly recognized in history which are not devoid of the element of public interest.

We find the reference of only a few miscellaneous and scattered and self-confined achievements of the rulers and their courtiers or some sequences of events of the battle fronts, in the customary history of the Subcontinent. So far, the history of none of the rulers is compiled in such a way, to include his personal traits as rulers and his family and the achievements of the other rulers, with historical achievements of other legends and heroes who exited coextensively. However, through the study of contemporary history, it cannot be determined that besides any particular ruler, what was the contribution of his tribe in the history of the Subcontinent as well as, in the history of the other countries, which is spread over centuries. In such circumstances, this book irrefutably is the first one in any language, which is heuristic in its nature and substance.

Although, we have put this great Panni nation into oblivion yet, the scattered pages of history are keeping it alive in one way or the other and have thus fulfilled the role of a trustee. The world was groping in the dark with regard to the origin of this nation and its ancient rulers, just about fifteen to twenty years prior to the emergence of this book but recently, some secrets were unearthed in our land which highlighted its significance of this nation. We know as Pakistanis, the importance of history therefore we are compiling history afresh through our research. The process of sidelining the Panni nation however and denying it the due status in history amounts to shying away from reality by casting the golden period of history into oblivion. Besides that, it amounts to mutilate the national heritage which is an act of injustice committed against the Panni nation which existed once upon a time and even today carries a numerical strength in various

parts of India and Pakistan. It is however, ironical that, some other people or their ordinary neurotics have been given a prominent place in the history of the Subcontinent whereas, it will not be an exaggeration that if the achievements attributed to them are categorized, will turn out to be the attributes of some groups only. I hope that the result of my dedicated true spirit, honest commitment and genuine national service shall be appreciated.

خاکِ ما خیزد کہ سازدآسمانے دیگرے
ذرۂ ناچیزوتعمیرِبیابانے نگر

He created my dust to make a different space
To build wilderness with a worthless particle

Author-

Muhammad Sharif Khan Panni
BA, LLB, HP, JD

FORWARD

Mr. Sharif Khan Panni has rendered an important service to the knowledge and to Pakistan by writing a composite and systematic research based book on a ruler and history making nation the “Panni Pathan”. This book is the result of the industrious work which is spread over hundreds of pages and these hundreds of pages are the result of studying and examining thousands of pages.

Mr. Sharif Khan Panni has benefitted, from all available original references, as he himself said, that it was not just chronographic, rather a scientific method of history writing which he had adopted for this book. The writer, has done this stone crushing and mine exploring exercise (in his own words) to benefit from the virtues and vices of our forefathers so as to preserve our heritage, which on the one hand, should secure our history and on the other hand, should become a source of future guidance.

One tribe of the Afghans is “Panni” which although is put into oblivion yet, the brilliant achievements of this nation, exist in history and cannot be cast aside.

In this book of Mr. Sharif Khan Panni, the scattered links are enchained and a composite history has been compiled.

What all that exists in other books about the Afghans, is available in one place, in this book. Who are the Afghans? The research scholars have divergent views, regarding the same and a vast majority of Muslims consider themselves ethnically as “Sami” whereas some of the modern research scholars declared them to be Aryans and some local Pathans associate themselves with the Nordie race and treat their language as the consanguine lingo of the German (Aryan) language. The writer by quoting various historians however, has proved that, the words Pathans or Afghans, were used originally for the Panni nation whereas the other locals, who had culturally and socially resembled in appearance slowly and gradually also applied these words to themselves by acquiring the domiciliation, Now the word Pathan or Afghan is applied to all those people collectively which includes the Panni people as well.

The word Pathan or Afghan are synonyms but, sometimes a distinction is made between the two. The terminology of the Afghans is used only for the Duranies and their related tribes and the word Pathan is used for all the Pushto speaking people of the tribal areas of Pakistan. If we examine it carefully, this difference is minor and is not real. The name which all tribes use is Pashtoon or Pushtoon = Pakhtoon.

It seems however that all the Pathan tribes are different from each other ethnically and that difference can be gauged from the shape of their heads. There exists in some tribes, the influence of the Turks or Mughals and the nose is erratic and is curvirostral, which is generally attributed to the Samis and there is no doubt that, one can see at times, the semblance of the Northern Nordie blood.

It is a common perception that, the first reference of the Afghans is available historically, in the Brhhat Simta (بڑھت سمتہ) by Waraha Mehrah (وارھہ مہرہ), (A Hindu Terminologist of the sixth century) where instead of Afghan, the word "Ogana" (اوگانہ) is used and after that, it exists with a Chinese traveler Hewn Sang, in the form as "Ogan" (اوگن).

The reference of the "Afghans" amongst the Muslim scholars is made by the writer of Hadood-ul-Alam (حدودالعالم) (372 Hegira 982 AD) firstly and after that it was Al-atbi (العتبی) and Al-Barooni (البرونی) and thereafter it appears regularly in the books of history.

Muhammad Sharif Khan Panni, after giving the ethnic account of history of the Afghans, has given a detailed account of the Panni tribe and its popular and history building heroes. This tribe descends from Panni who was the son of Damay and who was the son of Gherghast (Panni' Seetasi, Musa-khail Iswat, Zamray or Mazay) Dhapal etc. But our writer has stated that, Gherghast is an imaginary character. Although, many research scholars have accepted him as a real person (Encyclopedia of Islam-Article Afghan) yet, our writer has declared Qais (Abdur Rasheed) as an imaginary character as well. But the way Sir Olaf Kero has relied on some such traditional stories in his book "Pathans" it seems that the existence of Qais was actualized. The opinion of the writer however, carries weight that if Qais had made his appearance before the prophet of Islam, then after departing from there, he was most likely to have preached Islam and

when Qutaiba attacked Turkistan, the area was suppose to have a large majority of Muslim people.

Anyway, it is but natural for the tales of the past to contain ambiguities and contradictions. Our writer has tried to remove such contradictions with amazing expression and hard work. The primary portion which he has compiled is the part about his own Panni tribe. The same can be described in this way that roaming desert after desert he gathered straws of his choice and created a unique nest by compiling the history of his tribe which is full of information. This way, he has achieved an absolute new goal. Everything is difficult in the world, but the difficulty of historiography know only those people who have ever set a foot in this rugged plain. Spread over thousands of years and out of labyrinthine mythological and historical information, to circumstantiate the history of his own tribe is something absolutely extraordinary.

The Panni Pathan therefore, is a history making ruler nation from the period BC and its original homeland is the plains of the Southeastern Russian Turkmenistan, between the Caspian and Ural Sea [بحیرۂ ارال]. Some of its individuals migrated to the Khurasan province or Parat which is named accordingly as the “Parthy” nation and in 1239-M [م], firstly and captured Khurasan and expanded the outskirts of their Sultanate up to the Roman Empire. This perhaps was the third dynasty rule, which became known in history as the rule of the “Ashkani” or “Arshak” etc. Its 32/33 rulers governed this area for about five hundred years. The Sassanid toppled their rule in 226, and about 21/22 of them ruled Armenia for about six hundred years, two three of them ruled Ghandhara and after the demise of Sher Shah Suri, three of them ruled Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Since the period of Bahlol Lodhi, till the establishment of Pakistan, many of its youths, Jagirdars, Generals and legends, participated aggressively in the history making process of the Subcontinent and they are still active. The famous orator of Hyderabad Deccan, Nawab Bhadar Yar Jung, the private secretary of Mollana Abu-alklam Azad and scholar namely, Ajmal Khan, the former Chief Minister of Baluchistan Muhammad Khan Barozai, are the sons of the Panni nation. Furthermore, through an article which was published in four parts in the well read monthly journal namely, “Chattan” the founder of Pakistan was also established to be related filially to the same nation.

The author, benefited from about two hundred and fifty different sources, besides, refining his information, through approximately four hundred books and journals of English, Urdu and Persian as well as, through correspondence with individuals in India,. He has cited authentic references everywhere in the script like an honest student of history and he never hesitated to render openly his criticism at important junctions. This book emerges as a result, from all angles as an amazing intellectual Gestalt.

I do not consider myself an authority or a standard with regard to the correctness or incorrectness of the contents of this book. If I can do anything or I can say anything, it shall be that I am afloat in the ocean of amazement that, how our writer, despite his shortcomings, handicaps and hundreds of difficulties, compiled this extraordinary book for which even the seasoned researchers would not dare take the chance.

In view of aforementioned reasons, except a word of congratulation as a token to eulogize, I do not find myself worthy of anything else. So I present my comprehensive congratulations to the writer.

I am hopeful that, not only the Afghan (Pathan) rather the whole Muslim nation, shall express the salutations to the writer, on his worthy endeavor.

Written on 29 May 1975
Dr. Syed Abdullah
Almayen Urdu
Ex-Principal,
University Oriental College
Multan Road Lahore.

(presently)
President Urdu Dyrah Maarif Islamia,
Punjab University Lahore.

دورِ حاضر کے سب سے عظیم تاریخ ساز
خالقِ پاکستان قائداعظم محمد علی جناح
اپنی قوم کے چشم و چراغ تھے۔

قائداعظم محمد علی جناح بے ہمہ باشی و بامہ باشی کی ایک دلنواز اور پاکیزہ مثال تھے۔ وہ عزت و وقار کے ساتھ اپنی اولاد میں سے تعلیم اور خصوصی تربیت کے لئے جن پر سے عہدہ برا ہونا چاہتا تھا اور جسے وہ ایک خاص سانچے میں ڈھال کر اپنا جانشین بنانا چاہتے تھے تو اپنی اس کی تکمیل پر تعین کر دیا۔ جونہی کہ وہ اپنے فرض سے سبکدوش ہوئے اپنی دیرینہ خواہش کے بلاوا آگیا۔ اس مضمون سے میرا مقصد صرف یہ تلاش کرنا ہے کہ ایسے کون سی شان ان کی شخصیت میں منسلم کیا جو اور وہ مسلمانوں کے کس قبیلے یا گروہ سے تعلق رکھتے تھے۔ تاکہ میں ان کے کردار و عمل کی روشنی میں ان کے تمام کو سمجھنے میں ایک مزید آسانی میسر آ جائے۔

خلقت کا تقاضا قائداعظم علاوہ اقبال کی خود شناسی خود داری اور خود اعتمادی کی عظیم صفات کا پیکر ہونے کے علاوہ فکر و خیال کے علو و تقدس کردار و اعمال کی پاکیزگی اور فطانت کا ایک بار وقار مرکب تھے۔ ان کی افتادِ جمیع شان ان ہی زرقی منصفانہ تھی۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ وہ تمام عمر بالوں سطح پر اور وقت آنے پر جب اپنے ضمیر کی آواز پر قیام پاکستان کے لئے میدان عمل میں اترے تو "پانی پت" کے میدان میں کئی لڑائیوں اور تمام بیگانوں کی مخالفانہ سازشوں اور چیلنج کاریوں کے باوجود ایک دنیا کو ان کی فقید المثال قوت و صلاحیت اور جرأت و بیباکی کے سامنے سپر انداز ہونا پڑا۔ ان کے سوانح پر کئی مضمون اور کتابیں لکھی جا چکی ہیں لیکن کسی ایک بھی قلم نے ان کے شخصی پس منظر پر روشنی ڈالنے کی کوشش نہیں کی۔ یہ درست ہے کہ کسی بڑے آدمی کی بڑائی اس کی ذاتی صفات اور محاسن کا نتیجہ ہوا کرتی ہے لیکن جب معاملہ کسی شخص کے متعلق فیصلہ اور تحریر یا کوائف حیات کی ترتیب و تدوین کا ہو تو فن سوانح نگاری متقاضی ہوتا ہے کہ متذکرہ شخصیت کے شخصی پس منظر پر بھی تھوڑی بہت باتصویر روشنی ڈالی جائے۔ چنانچہ حضور کائنات صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم کے کوائف حیات کے سلسلہ میں حضرت کے خاندان اور اس کے ماضی کے متعلق کچھ نہ کچھ بیان کر دینا ضروری سمجھا گیا۔ قائداعظم کو جن صفات کے مجموعہ اور جس دیانتدارانہ بیباکی اور جرأتمندی کی گھٹی گھڑتی ہوئی کر کے پیدا کیا گیا وہ روز روشن اور شہرہ تاریخ ہے۔ شخصیت کا درجہ، یا ان کی روشنی میں اگر اندازہ لگا لیا جائے تو ہم اس نتیجہ پر پہنچتے ہیں کہ وہ کسی بلند و بالا اور عظیم و محترم سلسلے کی ایک کڑی تھے۔ اور یہ کڑی بیان ان کے ماضی بعید کے اسلاف سے ان میں منتقل ہوئی تھی۔

Hand written Urdu script by the Author

Submissions of the Publisher/Translator

سورۃ الحجرات

یٰۤاَیُّهَا النَّاسُ اِنَّا خَلَقْنٰكُمْ مِّنْ ذَكَرٍ وَّ اُنْثٰى وَ جَعَلْنٰكُمْ شُعُوْبًا وَّ قَبَآىِٕلَ لِتَعَارَفُوْاؕ-اِنَّ اَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللّٰهِ اَتْقٰىكُمْؕ-اِنَّ اللّٰهَ عَلِیْمٌ خَبِیْرٌ (۱۳)

O humanity! Indeed, We created you from a male and a female, and made you into people and tribes so that you may ˹get to˺ know one another. Surely the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous among you. Allah is truly All-Knowing, All-Aware (13)

The efforts to print this book “Panni Pathan” by my uncle (father’s elder brother) were in progress, but the writer during his brief illness assigned this task to my father namely, Muhammad Siddique Khan Panni and passed away in 1978. My father could not publish this book due to his personal commitments and he too passed away in 1993 but prior to that he assigned the task of publishing the book to me on his deathbed. God Almighty despite my hectic professional commitments helped me discharge this duty (1998), in the Golden Jubilee year of Pakistan.

The book “Panni Pathan” speaks volumes about the constant endeavor and research. The writer, has not only introduced a new way of writing and has cited the authentic sources parallel with the context and thus has settled every possible controversial issue at the spot for the historians and the critics. The book in this way is a beautiful combination of authorship and compilation and is amplitude intellectually due to the comprehensiveness of its substance and resources which makes it a valuable addition in the books of history.

Every book of history, due to its unique subject is different. This book is however, not only different because of its subject but, the events mentioned in the book emerge in the form of a sequential historical philosophy and every chapter of the book, tainted with some latent realities provides, authentication of some other well established realities. It all depends on the ability of the reader to study with deep insight and consider any event just as an episode of history or an incident or draw such inferences, which help determine the directions for the future.

The writer has beautifully resolved numerous historical issues in a philosophical manner and with a conscious effort he has given a versatile elaboration to some historical realities, briefly and argumentatively. The writer in this way has neither discussed any issue by deviating from its source, nor has he complicated the issues by indulging in unnecessary elaborations. The element of synthetic historiography in any manner whatsoever has not destroyed therefore, the historical significance and intellectual comprehensiveness of the book.

The chronological continuity of the historical events and the eloquence of events and narrative are maintained in such a way in the book that the inquisitiveness of the reader and the joy of reading the book, both remain alive and like the other books of history, the monotony and stagnation does not impede inquisitiveness. The writer has not hesitated to give the descriptive depiction where it was necessary to highlight the historical importance of any event. The depiction of the events of the battlefields in this way and due to the writing skill appear, in the form of a comparative study and the reader can contemporize with the past to assess the continuous human struggle and the evolutionary process of the nations.

The writer, with forty years of research has created a thesis through which, some traditional characters of history that we tend to consider as a part of history without authentication, has elaborated and clarified them logically. The historians therefore, can reassess those characters from a different perspective. The writer has viewed and examined after centuries, numerous devoid of research subjects actually with a different historical perspective and in an untraditional way and in this way, he has expelled the traditional views, in the light of philosophy of history particular a personality who was supposed to have met the Prophet of Islam. Thus he has expounded a new and highly conventional view, with regard to Qais Abdur Rashid and Gharghast with historical references. The writer has linked the lost pre-Islamic links of the Panni Pathan nation in his courageous endeavor and has connected them to the known periods of history.

This book highlights the reality with regard to the Pre-Islamic history. The human history determines the course of its journey, by rising above the parochial and cultural confines, simply as a result of intermingling of the humans far away from the religious expediencies and beliefs. The personalities, events incidents, determine the role on their own and also help give direction

to this course. The journey of the planet earth perhaps, changes its angles without changing its axis.

The writer has discussed in detail, the evolutionary journey of the Pashto language in the backdrop of the Pashto literature and with a little bit of expressional and pronunciation changes, its effects on the cultural hidebound. The discussion with reference to the Pashto literature is worthy enough to be included in the Pashto literature. The historians are familiar with this fact, that how difficult it is to gather facts about any nation. The writer however, with a conscious effort and through research has succeeded in gathering facts about the Panni nation, with authentic references. The writer in this endeavor, has very thoroughly surveyed the scattered historical periods of the Indo-Pak, Iran, Afghanistan and from Central Asia to Bangladesh in this book and has freshened up the significance of history of the Panni Pathan nation, by clubbing it with the contemporary history. This nation appears at times in this journey of history, like Kings and Nawabs side by side with other Kings and Nawabs and it is fighting like Mujahids and Generals among these Mujahids, and one of the leading names is Daud Khan Panni whose valorous and chivalrous achievements are a luminescent chapter in the books of history.

The writer has also proved, that the forefathers of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, were from the Lohana tribe which is an offshoot of the Panni tribe. Quaid-e-Azam has always been discussed in the history, till date, all due to his person, educational qualities, political prudence and intellect, speeches and writings but, the writer has forwarded an authentic research based viewpoint and has generated a new discussion through this book, with regard to his ancestors.

There are a number of other events have been discussed as new subjects due to their historical importance, through this book and each subject is presented in the form of a historical thesis. The research based diversity of the subjects is in fact, the hallmark of this book.

The writer has achieved no doubt, a praiseworthy status amongst his contemporaries but, the Panni nation and the coming generations can also take pride to have the book “Panni Pathan”.

I thank my dear mother at this point whose encouragement, motivation and cooperation has brought this book is in your hands, in the printed form.

Publisher,
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Dated.28.05.1998

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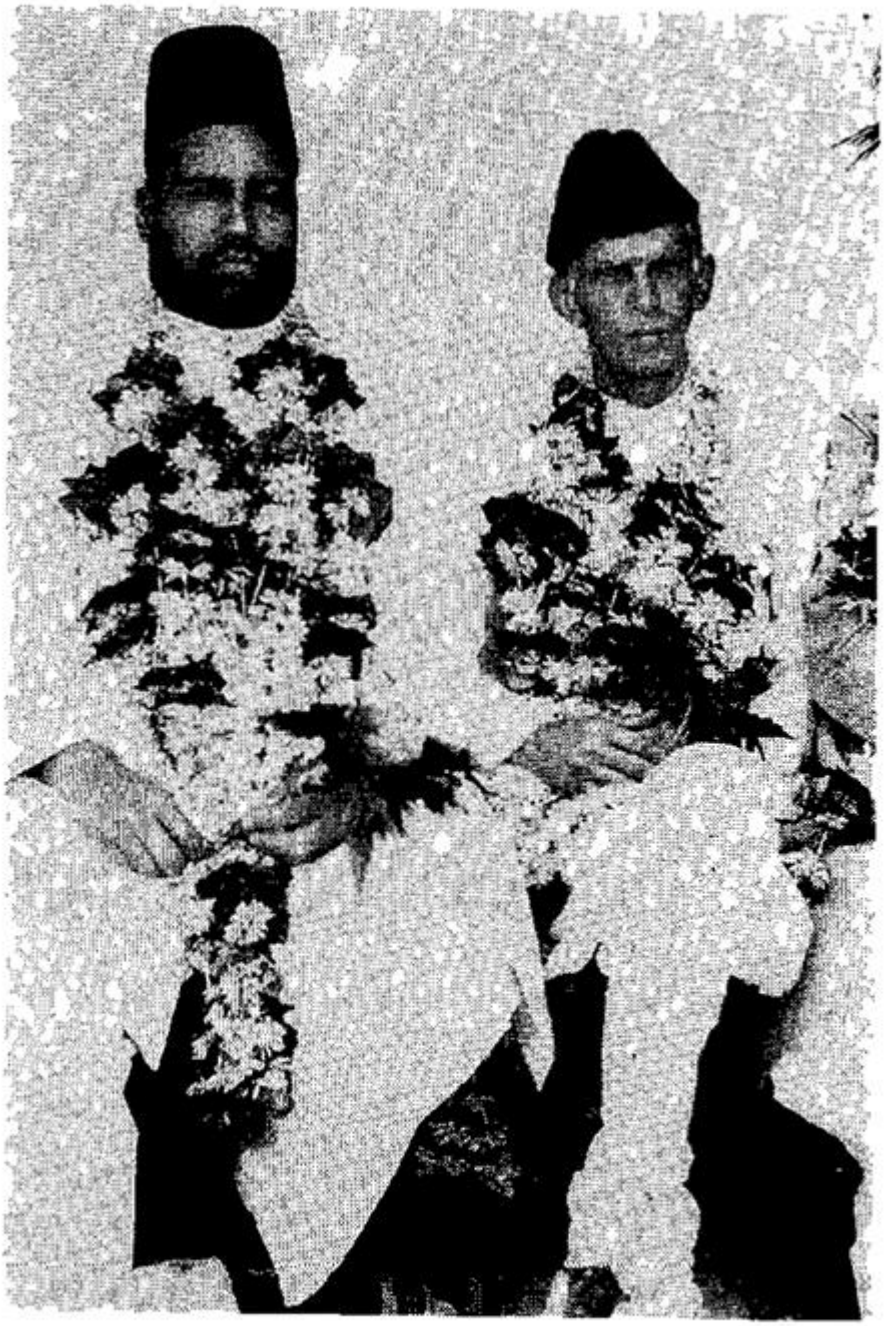


Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah
and
Nawab Muhammad Bahadar Yar Jang Panni

PANNI PATHAN

Chapter-I

THE PATHANS AND THEIR TERRITORIES [پٹھان اور ان کے علاقے]

The historical significance of the northwestern border of the Punjab province in Pakistan

[پاکستان کے صوبہ پنجاب کی شما ل مغربی سرحد کی تاریخی اہمیت**]**

The length of the northwestern border of the Punjab province of Pakistan is about 704 miles which is even more on the eastern side. The said border consists of six districts i.e. Hazzara [ہزارہ], Peshawar [پشاور], Kohat [کوہاٹ], Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسماعیل خان] as well as, Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان]. There are two other districts i.e. Quetta [کوئیٹہ] and Sibi [سبی] from the north of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان], Hazzara [ہزارہ] and Kohat [کوہاٹ]. The terrain of those areas is mountainous and rocky whereas, the other four districts are generally flat lands. The craters and valleys exist everywhere in the latter four districts (***Problem page-1***). The northern border of Baluchistan province is also equally significant in terms of history. The same consists of warty rocks, numerous hazardous peaks, ditches as well as the mountain clefts [درۂ].

When one would like to stretch the imagination for said vastly stretched out northwestern border then, what tends to emerge in the mind immediately is the snow covered tops of high mountains, mountain ranges with thick forests, green grass, thirsty and scorched rocks or widespread lush green grazing areas. Then what further tends to dance before the eyes is many epoch making periods, which had started from a bit less darker period of history and the same had continued till the present times. Then there are valleys of Ganges [گنگا] and Yamuna [جمنا] as well as the surrounding areas. There exist also the gallant and brave tribes of the northern areas of Pakistan from across the southern shores of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent (*The far flung lovely corners of the eastern borders of former East Pakistan, now Bangladesh*). There were many preachers and saints who had made their entry into the Subcontinent through the mountain labyrinths. They had edified every inch of the way in the process, with their saintly charm and hard work. Those people had brought with them the features and ethos of their respective cultures. They had intermingled heterogeneously with the currents of time *savoir-vivre* and thus they had helped

promote the evolutionary process. The human cycle had made the progress increasingly and thus, the same had left behind the inexpugnable memorabilia from Lundikotal [لنڈی کوتل] to Ras Kumari [راس کماری] and from Quetta [کوئیٹہ] to the mountains of Chittagong [چٹاگانگ] (*The beautiful corners*). There are some traces of their activities which hum even today the songs of their glorious past. The left behind traces were the wonderful source of knowledge, in the context of past generations. Those traces also throw light on the extraordinary episodes of social norms and religious beliefs as well as, the way of thinking of those people of yester years. The enthusiasts of those bygone eras had also the oceanic high tides of warm blood in their veins and the Panni nation was also among them.

Those tribal nations had made their début promiscuously. They had emblematized the political and the cultural influence at will, in the Subcontinent. Thus, they were able to transform the entire milieu in accordance with the dictates of their time. They had promoted the same into the moulds of their respective level of modernity. The brilliant vestiges of the past can be witnessed even today at every step of the way, from the northern mountains of Pakistan up-to the southern seashores of the Subcontinent as well as, in the extreme eastern nook and corner of the far-off areas. The micrographic detail of those vestiges has submerged undoubtedly into the pages of history. Then, there were the bands of intellectuals and preachers, mystics and poets, merchants and soldiers, pantheists and monotheists, buccaneers and saints who had also entered into the Indo-Pak Subcontinent successively, during the course of history. They had made their entry through the same hazardous mountain clefts and mettle testing passages of the northern border area. The militarily exhilarated adventurers from different creeds and colors had also exhibited their militarism in those areas and they had emblematized their reigns with their own heterogeneity, mannerism, culture and sociality. Then, last but not least, it was the advent of Islam and its flag bearers had inculcated their own tenor. They had cultured the people in the moulds of peculiar Islamic ways. Thus, they had made the emergence with the manifest distinction, as compared with other non-Muslim nations and tribes. They were able to bestow the appellation and identity as Muslims, upon a large majority.

Darrah [درۂ] (cleft) Khyber in the light of history [درۂ خیبر تاریخ کے آئنے میں]**:**

There are declared four mountain clefts of said mountainous border yet, the swashbucklers had always entered from two routes. One was Darrah Khyber [درۂ خیبر], which has the opening in the Peshawar valley whereas, the second one was Darrah Bollan [درۂ بولان], which has its opening at Sibi [سبی]. The historical significance of both mountain clefts is irrefutable.

The Darrah Khyber [درۂ خیبر] is located in the north of Pakistan between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The length of the same is about 33 miles whereas its width ranges from 10 to 450 feet at different places. The face of said Darrah [درۂ] is towards the northwest which passes through the mountain range of Koh Safaid [کوہ سفید] and Koh Suleiman [کوہ سلیمان]. The height of the same is about 3400 to 6800 feet from sea level (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume 15 page 299***).

The Darrah Khyber [درۂ خیبر] was a route into the Subcontinent since ages, for the adventurers. The same was the oldest trade route which links the Subcontinent with central Asia. The Darrah Khyber [درۂ خیبر], besides Darrah Bollan [درۂ بولان], is the only trade route between Pakistan and Afghanistan even today. We may say without any exaggeration that the economy of Afghanistan depends largely on Darrah Khyber [درۂ خیبر]. Afghanistan imports all the goods along-with salt and medicines mostly from the same route. There seems to be no other better land route even in the future, other than Darrah Khyber [درۂ خیبر] and Darrah Bollan [درۂ بولان]. *Idée reçue*, about 35 thousand gallons of water used to be supplied in the past with pumps daily, to the passport and custom officials through the same route. The Afghan nomads of said area are known as Pandovey [پاندوے] or Koochi [کوچی]. They travel in the winter seasons in search of food and shelter through the same Darrahs among other smaller Darrahs (clefts) when there is heavy snowfall. Those travelers bring with them the trade goods and animals and they sell them in various parts of Pakistan. Then, they return to Afghanistan from the same routes. The back and forth movement of the camel caravans can be witnessed in every season usually with men, women and children dressed up in saffron, black and cramoisy color, long peplum like shimmies. The frequent movement of other nomadic tribes of the area with their donkeys loaded with goods is also a common scene.

The Darrah Khyber [درۂ خیبر], as we have already mentioned above, has the importance of an interesting chapter of the Indo-Pak history. The study of the same constitutes as a matter of fact,

as the first chapter for the history of the Subcontinent. The events with regard to the advent of the Aryans as well as, the subsequent occurrences were connected very intimately with said Darrah. The Aryans had also landed in said area from the same route. The Greek Parthian [یونانی پارتھین], Iranian [ایرانی], Tartar [تاتار] and the Mughal [مغل] lashkers were also indebted to the same route for their historical ingress into the Subcontinent. Behram Ghor [بہرام گور] (420 BC to 440 BC), an Iranian ruler had attacked Hindh [ہندھ] in 5th century BC from the same route. The same tend to endorse the historical significance of said route even more. The historians have made a very frank remark in this regard that, the ruler of Hindh [ہندھ] namely Raja Shankkat [راجہ شنکات] had married his daughter to Behram Ghor [بہرام گور]. The Panni rulers of Iran, the Saka [ساکا] or the Satthi [ستھی] (*the Scythian tribes*) nations and the Kashan [کشان] or the white Huns had also entered prior to him, through the same route. Thus they were able to approach the Gandharah [گندھارہ] and the Punjab [پنجاب] areas. The troops of Alexander the Great [سکندراعظم] had also adopted the same route in 325 BC, to launch their attack in the Subcontinent. The Kashan [کشان] nation from central Asia had passed through the same route and they had declared the Persosapur [پرسوساپور] (*Present Peshawar*) thereafter, as their state capital.

Darrah (cleft) Bollan in the light of history [درۂ بولان تاریخ کے آئنے میں]**:**

The Darrah Bollan [درۂ بولان] is located in the north-south of Pakistan. The length of the same is 60 miles approximately. The city of Quetta is located in its north whereas the city of Dahdar [ڈھاڈر] is located on the southern barricade. The word Dahdar [ڈھاذر] as a matter of fact, is the garble form of the word Dar [در] (door) or Darrah [درۂ] (cleft). The surrounding area of Darrah [درۂ] is uninhabited generally whereas it is a hazardous and narrow mountainous route. The available space through said route, from its left and right, is half a cart or a few steps except at one point which is known as “Makerna” (مکرنا). There were only six hundred families in the past, which used to live there and besides that, there used to be hardly any noticable population. There was a proverb that, if a hundred people fully equipped with the modern weaponry would like to block said route then, to stop the entry of one hundred thousand horsemen and infantrymen was possible very easily. There used to be randomly perched houses however, on the mountains at a distance of about one to two miles. The inhabitants of the area used to be considered as very dangerous people. The mountains are very narrow and high from both sides about six miles from the point of “Serab” (سراب) and the same give the look of a castle wall. The distance between

those walls is not more than forty to fifty feet. Those who used to opt in the past to pass through those walls like mountains, used to take the risk of encountering the robbers. The sixty miles journey through said route used to be possible in five to six days. The advent of the railway train had made the journey however, a bit trouble-free just like the journey through the Darrah Khyber [درۂ خیبر].

The Darrah Bollan [درۂ بولان] becomes a hot paten in the summer season, due to the scorching heat. The Quetta valley on the northern side of the Darrah is however, quite dry and pleasant. The journey through said Darrah is very difficult during the day because of the heat. The heat of Dahdar [ڈھاڈر] and Sevi [سیوی] was described by some heat stricken poet in a nice satirical way, in the manner as below:

سیوی ڈھاڈر ساختی
دوزخ چرا پرداختی
Sevi, Dahdar was created
Then why hell was created.

The upshot of the above narrative is that there were many adventurers at various junctures of history who had passed through the dangerous Darrah Bollan [درۂ بولان] and then they had approached the Baluchistan area. They had also penetrated deep into the vast areas of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent and most of the adventurers were the pioneer for the pristine ground-breaking or to establish their footprint on the virgin terrains.

Arrival of the attackers in Baluchistan [بلوچستان می حملہ آوروں کا ورود]**:**

The province of Baluchistan has always been the main habitat for the Pathan people as well as, for the Panni tribe(s). The Panni people have exercised resultantly a predominant political influence on the area for centuries. We feel that it shall be more appropriate to discuss the history of the Baluchistan province to highlight its political significance prior to rendering the descriptive account of the rise and fall of the Panni nation.

The Baluchistan area constitutes as a part of the southwestern Pakistan. Afghanistan is in its north whereas, Iran is in the west. There is a long high mountains range, on its northern side.

There were many a nation at a different point in time which had approached the area from the clefts of Kotal [کوتل] and Khajak [خجک] and particularly, from Darrah Bollan [درۂ بولان]. The same part has therefore, a very peculiar historical significance just like Khyber [خیبر]. The ruins and monuments of the area and the exploration of the mineral resources is more under focus presently as compared with the adjoining areas of Khyber [خیبر]. The government has planned to work at last for the welfare of the local population which shall introduce a meaningful change in the region.

There were many adventurers and attackers who had gone past Baluchistan or across its borders, at different times in history. The said area had remained under the control of different nations. The history of the area is magnificent from said angle therefore it demands a very special study. The oldest reference of Baluchistan i.e. VARA PASHIN ANHA is available in Zend-Avesta [زند اوستا]. The same was perhaps for the Pasheen valley [وادیٔ پشین]. We have also consulted the Shahnama Firdosi [شاہنامہ فردوسی] in the context of the capture of Pasheen valley [وادیٔ پشین] by the CYRUS-I. He had died in 569 BC. The kingdom of Shamanic ruler namely, DARIUS HYSTASPES (485 to 531 BC) had also included the Baluchistan area which had stretched then far and wide. The historian Herodotus (424 to 484 BC) amongst the Greek historians had not provided much information, with regard to Baluchistan. He had given the reference of PAKTAKE only. The historians had construed said reference for the Pathan areas or for the Pukhtoon [پختون] people only with which we (*writer*) disagree. The Greek geographer namely, Strabo (20 to 23 BC) had provided however, the valuable information about Baluchistan. We can also spot the exact location of Baluchistan in the light of information which Strabo was able to gather, in the olden days (***Imperial Volume No.6 page 274***).

When, Alexander the Great [اسکندراعظم] had returned from the Subcontinent slightly before 346 BC, he had adopted the route via Lus Bella [لس بیلہ] and Makran [مکران] and Baluchistan. Then, said area was handed over to Slokas Nectar, in 302 BC after his death. The area was passed on to his Helenian Bactrian [یونانی باختری] descendants thereafter. The eastern part of Iran which is known as Afghanistan presently was also under the Helenian Bactrian [یونانی باختری] reign. The upper portion of Punjab was also included in their reign. (***Imperial Volume No.6 page 275***). The adventurer nation from central Asia which was known as Saaka [ساکا] or Sathi [ستھی] (30 BC to 140 BC) (*the Scythian tribes*) had toppled the Helenian Bactrian [یونانی باختری] reign, through a

coup d'état. The same was in fact the period during which Buddhism had flourished in Baluchistan. The vestiges of the same are still available in the area. (***Imperial Volume No.6 page 275***). The Iranian ruler namely, Nosherwan Adil [نوشیروان عادل] (569 to 577 BC) had conquered Baluchistan thereafter, just before the start of Sassanid [ساسانی] era (***Imperial Volume No.6 page 275***). Roy Chuch [رائے چچ] had captured Sindh [سندھ] up-to Makran [مکران] in 4th century AD (635 to 636 AC). The extended limits of his reign were up-to Gandharah [گندھارا]. Then, the Arabs were able to reach in the area in 644 AC and said territory had remained under the rule of the Saffari [سفاری] Muslims from Sajjistan [سجستان] in 465 AD (878 AC). Naseer-ud-Din Subugtageen [نصیرالدین سبکتگینن] had grabbed hold of said territory in 977 AC.

Then, said territory was included in the power realm of Mahmud of Ghazni [محمود غزنوی] in (997 AC to 1030 AC). He had made the Ghazni [غزنی] city as its capital and was able to capture Khuzdar [خضدار] and as a result he was able to extend his rule up-to Sindh, thereafter. (***Imperial Volume No.6 page 275***). Baluchistan had come under the Ghori [غوری] rule in 444 AD (1052 AC) when the last Ghazni [غزنی] ruler was assassinated. The other areas, besides Khuzdar [خضدار], had also remained under their *de facto* influence. Khuzdar [خضدار] is at a distance of about one hundred miles from the Qallat [قلات] area. Mohammed Khan [محمود خان], the Sultan of Khewa [خیوا], had annexed Baluchistan with his *de facto* dominion sometime around 616 AD (1219AC). Chughtia [چغتہ] i.e. son of Changaze Khan [چنگیز خان] had captured Baluchistan up-to Makran [مکران] in 620 AD (1223 AC). The southern part of Baluchistan had gone under the Delhi sultanate of Sultan Alta-mash [سلطان التمش] in 622 AD (1223 AC). The Mughals [مغل] were able to establish their rule in Baluchistan soon thereafter.

The history of Baluchistan presents its connections thereafter with the province of Kandahar [قندھار] which was also the capital of the Panni nation. They still have their abodes there. The area of Baluchistan was under the Khilji [خلجی] rule thereafter from 1290 AC to 1320 AC.

Merran Shah [میران شاہ], son of Taimoor [تیمور], had rapaciously depredated Khuzdar [خضدار] area in 786 AD (1384 AC). Pir Mohammed [پیر محمد], the grandson of Taimoor [تیمور], had subjugated the Afghans of Koh Suleiman [کوہ سلیمان] in 801 AD (1398 AC). The said area was also the abode of a large population of the Panni nation. Pir Mohammed [پیر محمد] was able to have the access up-to Zob [ژوب] by using the same route. Zob [ژوب] is also in Baluchistan (***Imperial Volume No.24 page 430***). Koh Suleiman [کوہ سلیمان] was the main abode of the Panni

nation most importantly whereas Zob [ژوب] on the other hand was also an important center of said nation. When Shah Beg Argoon [شاہ بیگ ارغون] was expelled from Kabul [کابل] around 1507 AC by the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر], he was able to make his entry into Kandahar [قندھار] and thus he had landed in Baluchistan after capturing the Sibi [سبی] area (*which is a big center of the Panni tribe*). The objective of his entry was to castigate Zahri Hakim [زہری حاکم]. Kandahar [قندھار] was annexed then with the territorial reign of the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] in 932 AD (1526 AC). The mountains of Kandahar [قندھار] and Feroza [فیروزہ] were the stronghold of the Panni nation at that time. They used to pose a very serious challenge therefore, to the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] (***Zaka Volume No.3 page 104, Tuzk-e-Baberi page No.202***). The Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] was compelled to initiate therefore, a military action against them which had proved however, to be a futile exercise. The Safwis [صفوی] of Iran had ruled Baluchistan from 964 AD (1556 AC) to 1004 AD (1595 AC). The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had taken away said territory from them later on up-to Kandahar [قندھار]. He had annexed the same with his Empire and had to fight three battles against the Panni rulers of Sibi however, prior to reaching Kandahar [قندھار]. Then, they had a large area of Baluchistan under their control which had included a portion of northern Sindh among other areas, which consisted of Larkana [لاڑکانہ] and Khairpur [خیرپور]. The history books have brought forth the explicit reference that said Panni nation was very strong, militarily. (*Zaka* [ذکا] *Volume No.3 page 104, Tuzk-e-Baberi* [تزک بابری] *page No.203, Gazetteer Sibi page 469, Iqbalnama Akberi* [اقبال نامہ اکبری] *49, Mollana Mehr* [مولانا مہر] *volume No1 to 195, 206, and 297*). Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی], who was also from the Panni nation, was able to establish his rule in Baluchistan, ultimately. The Panni rulers of said area had conceded to his suzerainty and therefore, they were awarded the certificates formally in recognition thereof (***Imperial Volume No.6 page 274***).

The aforementioned was the general survey about the history of the Baluchistan province which is a part of Pakistan at present. The same was the battleground for all those attackers who used to make their entry from Darrah Bollan [درۂ بولان] from time to time. The Panni Pathans were second to the Kakar (کاکڑ) nation numerically, in the northern part of Baluchistan. The same was indicative of the fact that they were able to enter through Darrah Bollan [درۂ بولان], at some point of time, after when they had made their entry through Khyber [خیبر]. Since they were in large numbers therefore, they were able to expand their reign at a very large scale. Then some of them were able to reach in the south gradually, which is the far-flung area of the Subcontinent.

Pathans and Baluchistan [پٹھان اور بلوچستان]:

The nations of Baluchistan consist of the Pathan or the Baloch **[**بلوچ**]** people. The line of distinction between the two has never been ethnic but has always been political. The division of those two nations was not however, as eastern and western rather, as northern and southern. The word Baluchistan was in fact a customary nomenclature whereas said area as a whole was never the habitat of the Baloch **[**بلوچ**]** people, exclusively. There were various Pathan nations at its political borders as well as in some other area which was also under the influence of the Pathans which is known as the "Brahwi" [براہوئ] region. The Brahwi **[**براہوئ**]** people are not Pathans. The Pathans exist in majority in those areas and even otherwise, there were many reckonable political achievements to the credit of the Panni Pathans. Thus, to maintain the view that the entire territory had belonged to the Baloch [بلوچ] people at any stage, the same was against the ground reality. It was perhaps the reason that there was an incessant tussle among the Pathan and the Baloch [بلوچ] people. When the rule of the Panni Pathans was at its mightiest best in the past, they had fought eighteen battles against the Nawab of Qallat [نواب قلات]. The Panni Pathans maintain the view very strongly that the Sibi fort was built by one of the Nawabs of the Panni nation whereas, the Baloch [بلوچ] people maintain the view that it was built by Mir Chaker Baloch [میر چاکر بلوچ]. There was a fact however, which was proved historically that when one BaroZai Nawab of Sibi had engaged the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] in three battles then, the Sibi fort was under the control of the Panni nation. The buffer area between the areas of the Pathans and the Baloch [بلوچ] people was considered to be from close to Chaudhwan [چدھواں] area, in Dera Ismaeel Khan which was up-to Chaman [چمن] area and was also up-to Thal Choian [تھل جوئیاں] and Sibi. The nations of Baluchistan, which used to live in the north of said region, were the Panni [پنّی], Kaker [کاکڑ], Tareen [ترین] and Sherwani [شیروانی] nations. The people of those nations had proliferated in great numbers in Hernie [ہرنائی], Pasheen [پشین], Thal [تھل], Chotiyali [چوٹیالی], Bori [بوری] or Loralie [لورالائی], Zob [ژوب] and Quetta [کوئٹہ] areas. The Pashto [پشتو] speaking people exist, in general, in the south or in the east of Afghanistan and in the northern part of Baluchistan province along-with the areas across Sindh from the east of Dera Ismaeel Khan towards the mountains of Swat [سوات] (*Problem page 41-42*). The spoken languages in the south western part are Pashto [پشتو] and Siraiki [سرائیکی].

Pathans and Gandharah Territory [پٹھان اور گندھارا کا علاقہ]:

The Pathans exist in large numbers in the vast areas of Pakistan which used to be known to the ancient chirographies as "Ghandaharah" [گندھارا]. They had also called the same as "Radah" [ردہ]. The starting point of said area used to be from Hassan Abdal **[**حسن ابدال**]**, according to a general perception. Afghanistan is also a country full of Pathan people which is across the northern limits of Pakistan. The same used to be the eastern part of Iran and Baluchistan, at some point of time. The mountain range of the free tribal area is replete with the Pathan population. The history of the Pathans of the area is much diversified. Since time immemorial, many a nation had entered through Darrah Khyber [درۂ خیبر] besides other Darrahs to imprint the inexpungable and long lasting impacts on the history of the Subcontinent. *The causes for the revolutionary impacts, particularly on the areas of the Pathans, shall be discussed later*.

Different names for the Pathans [پٹھانوں کے مختلف نام**]:**

The nation which is generally known as the Afghan or the Pathan, live in the areas already mentioned above. They were also known with some other names e.g. Agwaan(اغوان), Agban (اغبان), Adgan (ادغان), Kabli (کابلی), Kandhari (قندھاری), Alafghania (الافغانیہ), Suleimani (سلیمانی), Bani Asif (بنی آصف), Bani Israel (بنی اسرائیل), Bani Afghana (بنی افغنہ), Pakhtoon (پختون), Pushtoon (پشتون), Bani Afghan (بنی افغان), Rohela (روہیلہ) and Afghana (افغنہ). They were known however as the Pathans, collectively. There were some political crackpots however, who were always inclined to lay more emphasis on the name Pakhtoon [پختون] or Pushtoon [بشتون] only.

The words Pathans and Afghans are meant in fact, for the Panni nation:
[پٹھان اور افغان کے الفاظ دراصل پنّی قوم کے لئے مخصوص ہیں**]:**

When the historians had to resolve the enigma that who were the people in fact, who were called as the Afghan or Pathan generally? What was their origin? When did they come into their present mountainous region? From where did they come? Why did they come? The answers which they were able to find were not certainly devoid of interest. The ancient as well as, the modern historians had found mostly the brief answer for the same as the Panni nation. The crux of the research of some of their findings had revolved around said ancient nation transiently or directly.

Since the view of the majority of the historians had proved that the nation which was Afghan or the Pathan was in fact the Panni nation therefore, we feel that it shall be more appropriate to discuss the same briefly for better understanding of the readers and to eradicate the doubts and hiccups in streamlining the history.

The Panni [پنّی] people are in fact an ancient nation and used to live in the southeastern fields mostly between Akhzer [اخزر] or Khazer Sea [بحیرہ خزر] and Ural Sea [بحیرۂ ارال]. They had migrated into the south and had landed initially in Khawarzum [خوارزم] and in the north of ancient Iran among other areas. Then some of them had opted to enter the present Khurasan [خراسان] where they were able to establish their rule. The said rule had flourished and the outer-fringe of their kingdom had included Armenia in the south as well as the territory of Iraq. The said kingdom had the extended limits up-to river Sindh towards the southeast as well. The Panni [پنّی] nation was also known as the "Parthi" [پارتھی] nation. The prehistoric country of said Panni [پنّی] nation was therefore the present Khurasan [خراسان] which was their abode ever since the seminal stage. The area of their abode was also known as "Paarat" [پارت] whereas, they were known as the "Parthi" [پارتھی] people just because of their area. The Panni [پنّی] nation had ruled Iran for about 475 years and besides that, they had ruled Armenia for about 575 years. Then there were two or three of their rulers who were able to hoist the flags of their splendor on Taxilla and Gandharah [گندھارا] as well. The first Sassanid ruler namely, Ardsher [اردشیر], had seized control of Iran in 226 AC. He had condemned the Panni people *en masse* into exile along-with their rulers. Nosherwan [نوشیروان] i.e. the Sassanid ruler had compiled the history of Iran and had named said book as "Khuda-e-Namak" [خدائے نامک]. He had not incorporated the Panni era somehow or the other in said book of history. When he had expunged the Panni era from the history, he was guilty of mutilating the history purposely according to the historians. The people of said nation exist even today among other areas in Afghanistan, Tribal Areas, Swat [سوات], Mardan [مردان] Hazzarah [ہزارہ], Koh Suleiman [کوہ سلیمان] and Baluchistan. Those people have enjoyed the majority status despite the fact that they were neither given the requisite importance historically nor even the public was ever made familiar with their historical background. We may well have to examine the opinions of old and modern historians in the light of aforementioned study. Then we will be able to consider the opinion that those ancient Pathans or the Afghans were the names for the Panni nation only. Those words had also become applicable however, to other nations because of homogeneity and the similarity in the lifestyle of people.

We will explain *in extenso* later that the historians had adjudged the same nation as Jews as well. The words Pathans or Afghans were also meant for them. Since the historian, Herodotus (424 to 484 BC), had not provided any significant information about Baluchistan and he had talked about a nation as PATIYAKE, which used to live in said area therefore, there were some historians who had interpreted and allocated said name to the Pathans or Afghans only. There was a reference of three ancient chieftains in the book which was captioned as, Races (*page 94*). The names of those chieftains were Pakhtoo [پختهو], Sewa [سیوا] and Yadoo [یادو]. They had remained at war against each other, incessantly (***Dani* [دانی] *page 30***). There was a well considered view that the followers of all those three Chieftains were probably the parochial flag bearers of their respective tribes just by virtue of the names of their chieftains. The followers of the former i.e. Pakhtoo [پختهو] were called therefore, as the "PATIYAKE" presumably. The said name had emerged as such just by virtue of the sonic attributes of the word "PATIYAKE".

There was another view that Alexander the Great had moved to the tribal areas in 325 BC whereas, one of his fragmented lashker was able to reach Peshawar area via Darrah Khyber [درۂ خیبر] .The second lashker had made the entry into the eastern tribal areas under his own command after crossing river Sindh. Then, they were involved in the battles in the Punjab area after capturing Bajorr [باحوڑ], Swat [سوات], Peshawar [پشاور] and Mardan [مردان]. He also had the Afghan soldiers in his lashker, at that time. (***Races page No.94- Azad Pathans, the Journal of Pakistan Historical Society***). Those Afghan soldiers were believed to be the people from the Panni nation.

The Panni nation was referred to as the "Pukhto" (پختو) in Rig-Veda [رگ وید] which is the religious book of Hindus. There was a possibility that all those who used to live in the mountainous areas were "Pukhto" (پختو) (*Tareekh Frishta* [تاریخ فرشتہ] ***page No.17, Dani*** [دانی] ***page No.60-61***). There was no evidence however, according to Sir Olaf Kero with regard to the use of Pashto [پشتو] language in the Gandharah [گندھارا] area during said period. The language of said area was Parkrat (پرکرات) which had never contained even a single word from the Pashto [پشتو] language **(*Dani*** [دانی] ***page No.58***). There were some pantheist nations at some point of time in the area of Terrah [تیراہ] which had included the Afridi [آفریدی] people as well. Alexander the great had called them as "ASPASS" according to the historians. There were OrakZai [اورک زئی] people as well. The word ASPASS (اسپایانہ) was the Helenian form of the Sanskrit word

“Aspayana” [اسپایانہ]. Those nations are known at present as the Pathan or the Pashto speaking people **(*Dani*** [دانی] ***page No.58***). The word “Pukhto” [پختو] was not applicable therefore, to all those people in the collective term who are known as Pathans presently.

The Greek historian Strabo (60 to 63 BC) was quoted to have said that the Afghans were not there at their known centers, at the time of his journey (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.16 page 274***). There was one fact which may also be pointed out that the outer limit of the Panni rule of Iran was by that time up-to Gandharah [گندھارا] and Baluchistan. The reference which Strabo had quoted was meant probably for the Panni people, which was in fact the period when the Panni ruler nation was enjoying its climax.

The ancient reference of the word Adghan (ادغان), Afghan (افغان), Ayagan (ایاگان) was available in the epigraphs of the Sassanid period of the 3rd century BC **(*Tareekh Peshawar* [تاریخ پشاور] *page No.60***). Since, the Sassanid had usurped the kingdom of Iran from the Panni nation in 226 BC therefore, they had expunged the name of the Panni nation from the history, regardless of the fact that the name Panni was real or it was just a soubriquet. The word Afghan was mentioned alternatively in those epigraphs according to our opinion (*writer*) instead of the original name as Panni. The original name was Ashkiyan (اشکیان) or Panni. The text of those epigraphs was quite illegible unfortunately to provide more information in this regard.

The Chinese traveler Fahyan of the 5th century BC had referred to a country by the name of O-PO-IEN. He was also quiet on said subject thereafter **(*Dani*** [دانی] ***page No.12***). The said name had not provided therefore any explicit clue which was possibly the distorted form of the word Afghan which was used perhaps in those days for the Panni nation.

The same word was used thereafter in the book which was captioned as “BRIHAT SAM HITA” by one writer namely, VARAH MIHIRAH of the 6th century BC. The said book was in Sanskrit which was compiled slightly before the dawn of Islam **(*Dani*** [دانی] ***page No.60***). The history of four hundred years of Gandharah region after the end of the Hun period in 565 was wiped out, according to the historians. The historians have called the same therefore as a dark period. The said comatose interval had entered in the cycle of history just due to the fact that the Hindus used

to lack the interest in historiography. We hereby quote below the views of the historians of various periods with regard to the origin of the Pathans.

Who are the Pathans? [پٹھان کون ہیں]:

The book which was captioned as "Matla-ul-Anwar" (مطلع الانوار) and which was compiled in 1510 AC had revealed that the Afghan were the Egyptians, originally. They had migrated after the defeat of the Pharaoh [فرعون] at Red Sea. They had refused to accept the Mosaic religion. The said perception is untenable according to our viewpoint (*Writer*).

The historian Abul Qasim Frishta [ابوالقاسم فرشتہ] had compiled the history in 1606. He had referred to the "Pathans" as the Copts [قبطی]. Frishta was the first one amongst the eastern historians according to our historian Dani [دانی] who had used the word "Pattan" (پتان) for the Pathans. The Hindus used to call those people as "Pattan" (پتان) according to Dani [دانی].

The Arab traveler Ibn-e-Batoota [ابن بطوطہ] had travelled into the areas of the Pathans in 734 AD (1333 AC). He had explained the events of said year in the manner that he had landed in Kabul which used to be a big city in the past but the same was a village at that time in which the (Ajmi) (عجمی) Persians (i.e. *Iranians*) (*writer*) had the habitation. They were known as the "Alafghan" [الافغان] people. Those people were enjoying the prowess and splendor and most of them were known plunderers. The name of their mountain was "Koh Seeyah" (کوہ سیاہ) (*Black Mountain*). The king of "Alafghan" (الافغان) people had the abode in said mountain. (***Safernama Ibn-e-Batoota*** [سفرنامہ ابن بطوطہ] ***Pashto Zaban au Adab ki Tareekh*** [پشتو زبان وادب کی تاریخ] ***page No.9***).

There was a pertinent fact that Koh Seeyah" (کوہ سیاہ) (*Black Mountain*) was the main abode of the Panni nation until recently. The inhabitants of said mountain were the same people who used to live in the eastern part of Iran. Ibn-e-Batoota [ابن بطوطہ] had called them specifically as (*Ajmi*) (عجمی) i.e. the non-Arabs or the Persians due to the same reason. They were the same people from whom Ardsher [اردشیر], the founder of the Sassanid ruler dynasty, had usurped the control of Iran in 226 AC. Then he had condemned them into exile. We will explain *in extenso* later that the people who were the plunderers and who used to come out from their ancient habitats to loot

the other inhabitants, in fact they were the ones, who were known as the “Alafghan” (الافغان) and they were the people of the Panni nation.

There were some historians who had maintained the view that the word “Pathan” was derived from the Sanskrit word “Pattan” (پتان). The Hindus had used it for the Parthi nation. The said nation had the mainstream status in Roman history from 248 BC to 226 BC. They had their reign up-to the outskirts of the River Sindh. When those people had faced the downfall in the present Afghanistan and Ghandaharah, the Hindus of the area somehow or the other, had started calling the other people who used to look like the Parthi people, as the “Parthian” and thus, the word “Parthian” was distorted further to sound as the “Pathan” by virtue of remaining in the common use for a long time (*Azad Pathan* [آزاد پٹھان] *page No.65*). We have already explained in the beginning while discussing the subject the “Panni nation” that those who were known as the “Pathans” initially they were the people of the Panni nation. The said word was a coined out reference of their existence. The statement of aforementioned historian was in line with the actual history of the Panni nation because the Panni nation used to enjoy the authoritative influence of reigning from Rome to the River Sindh (248 BC to 226 AC).

Nawab Akbar Khan Hoti [نواب اکبر خان ہوتی] had written, while describing the word “Pathan” that, said word was in fact from the Sanskrit language etymologically. The Hindus had used the same in ancient times for the Parthi nation (*for Panni nation, writer*). The said nation had descended from the Prophet Yaqoob [حضرت یعقوب علیہ سلام]. The people of that nation had dwelled in the mountains of Iran, particularly in Khurasan [خراسان] after the Jewish Diaspora. The Parthi nation had established a very powerful kingdom thereafter, with its eastern limits up-to River Sindh whereas, it had the western limits up-to the Roman Empire. Their kingdom had lasted from 248 BC to 226 AC. Those people used to launch the frequent attacks into the areas in Hindustan. They used to kidnap the girls of the Hindus and the Hindus used to call them therefore, as the Pathans (Parthian) i.e. “Path” (پٹھ) means, girl and “Aan” (آن) means, kidnapper (*Pathans i.e. Girl Kidnapper*) (***Muhammad Maki Abbasi*** [محمد مکی عباسی] ***page No.5***). We will explain *in extenso* later in the context of history of the Panni nation that those people who were called as “Pathans” were the Panni Parthian. But according to the aforementioned interpretation, those who were called as Pathans, they were also believed to be Israelites [بنی اسرائیل].

The Iranian Studies expert namely, Professor Fry [فرائی] had explained that, there was a possibility that the word "Pathan" was from the Armenian etymological source. The said word was used by the Panni nation due to the fact that there was a frequent use of the Armenian and Manaishi (منیشی) (*Spoken language in Iran, writer*) words which were derived from the language of the Panni nation. (***Page 180-190***). Whether the word "Pathan" had the Armenian origin or not but the same was derived undoubtedly from the word "Parthi" [پارتھی] and those who were called as the "Parthi" [پارتھی] were in fact the people from the Panni nation. The word "Parthi" [پارتھی] had acquired probably the sonic shape firstly as "Parthia" [پارتھیا] then it had became "Perthia" [پرتھیا] then "Pathian" [پارتھین] and then it was further distorted vernacularly to sound as "Pattan" [پتان] and then ultimately it had sounded as "Pathan" [پٹھان] and the same is in vogue as such as a custom and is used frequently.

There were some historians who had maintained the view that the Pathan [پٹھان] people were an assemblage of many tribes like GalZai (غلزیی), Abdali (ابدالی), Kakar (کاکڑ), Panni (پنّی), Wazeeri (وزیری), Yousafzai (یوسف زیی), Mohmand (مہمند), Afridi (آفریدی) and Bungush (بنگش) etc. among other nations which were popular due to their residential abodes like "Khosti" (خوستی) Karmi (کرمی) ,Bajori (باجوری) etc. Those groups were a composite whole of many tribes and nations in their respective composition i.e. GalZai (غلزیی) which were consisted of Hotak (ہوتک), Tokhi (توخی), Suleiman Khail (سلیمان خیل), Oria Khail (اوریاخیل) etc. The origin and the root source of those tribes and nations was the same however or we may say that those nations had originated from the source which was called as the Pashto (پشتو) or the Pushtan (پشتان) source. (***Hayat Afghani*** **[**افغانی] ***page 69***). The actual issue in our opinion notwithstanding the above still remains unresolved. What needs to be explored was that, what was the source of the word Pushtan (پشتان) as well as the very criterion to define the very nomenclature of the same.

There was also a considered view of some historians as well as the intellectuals that, the Pathans was in fact, an assemblage which had originated from the Khazer [خزر] area. They had dwelled in the towns as well as, at the seashores of the Khazer Sea [بحیرہ خزر], i.e. in Kastban [کاستبان], Bab-ul-Abwab [باب الابواب], Sherona [شرونا] etc. They used to be involved in looting and plundering frequently, within the local limits of Iran. Then some king of Iran had shifted their habitats by design into some of the eastern cities of Khurasan [خراسان] due to some unknown reasons. The exact time and period of said shift had however remained obscured in history. Syed

Jamal-u-din Afghani [سید جمال الدین افغانی] was also among those intellectuals who had maintained the same view. We will prove explicitly later that all those connotative terms which had contained the reference of the Panni nation only, in one form or the other. We take all those references which had pertained to the word Pathan to conclude this part of our narrative and maintain our view that those words were meant originally for the Panni Parthi nation or the Panni nation only.

There were some historians who had followed the view of Khan Jahan Lodhi [خان جہان لودھی] that the Pathans were Israelites [بنی اسرائیل]. (***Hayat-e-Lodhi*** حیات لودھی ***page 42***). The later explanations in this book shall disprove said dogmatic view. The Pathans of today were in fact the sequel assemblage of different nations.

There were also some historians who were unfamiliar seemingly with the principles of historiography. They had maintained the view that Ameer Tamoor Gorgan [امیر تیمور گرگان] had shifted those tribes from Iran and Torran [توران] to the eastern country i.e. Khurasan [خراسان]. We maintain the view however without casting any aspersion on the status of the Pathans of said particular era that they had existed in the Subcontinent as well as in the eastern and western Khurasan [خراسان] even prior to the advent of Ameer Tamoor Gorgan [امیر تیمور گرگان]. They were already condemned into the exile after their rule in Iran for years and years. The other nations had integrated with them as a result of their stable life and they were known as the Pathans, collectively. Those other nations had also collaborated with them in looting and plundering or they had supported them otherwise. Ameer Tamoor Gorgan [امیر تیمور گرگان] had sowed the seed of animosity however between the Pathans and the Mughals when he had carried out the genocide of the Pathans. The said incident had become one of the ultimate causes of weakness and annihilation of the Mughal reign in the Subcontinent. The references of Iran and the country of the east even in the present narrative had adverted to the Panni nation of said area. The same had proved the subsequent use of the word Pathan was in fact a reference for the erstwhile Panni nation.

There were also some historians who had maintained the view that all the Afghan or the Pathan people were the descendants of Zahak Tazzi (ضحاک تازی). What was needed to be taken into

consideration was the fact that whether one person was possibly the agnate of such a large populace?

There were some other historians who were of the view that the Pathans were in fact the Guldani-ul-Alasal Ashoori (گلدانی الاصل آشوی) people. The said view was articulated so frequently and even to the extent that some English travelers were convinced to believe that some of the words of the Afghan language were close to Guldani (کلدانی) language and those words were similar in nature. Those travelers were unfamiliar seemingly with the history of Afghanistan, Iran and Ghandaharah. Then the event of intermingling of the eastern and the western highland people of Iran in the ancient times as well as, the migration of some of them into the eastern areas and the incorporation of the words of the western language into a nascent eastern language were the variant events which had failed to render an authentic chain of proofs to establish the true origin of said nation.

There were other historians who had maintained the view that the Afghan tribes belonged to that particular group which used to live between the River Attock [دریائے اٹک] and Khurasan [خراسان]. They had inferred from said postulate that the people of Afghanistan were the descendants of those Copts (قبطی) who had accompanied Seiyasher Miseri (سیاشر مصری) at the time of his attack against Hindustan. The ancient history of the Afghans which will be examined in the pages to follow had disproved the same. The people who used to live between the River Attock [دریائے اٹک] and Khurasan [خراسان] had included the people of the Panni nation as well. They had in fact a predominant sway in the area.

There were people who had called the Afghana [افاغنہ] as one of the lost tribes [اسباط بنی اسرائیل] of Israel because Bakhat Alnasar [بخت النصر] had massacred those tribes in great numbers. Then, those who were able to escape his sword had opted to live in the mountains which were known as Ghor or Ghor [غور] mountains. Those migrants were called as the “Bakhtoo” [بختو] whereas, there was a common perception that they had named their new abode as “Ghor” [غور] just in commemoration of their previous abode, which was in Syria. There was also a common misperception that the word “Bakhtoo” [بختو] was attributed to Bakhat Nasar (بخت نصر). The Arabic alphabet “Yay” [ئے] is normally used for attribution. The vowel “Wao” (و) of the Persian language was therefore, deemed to have been used in the word Bakhtoo” [بختو], for the same

reason. When those people had multiplied in number, they had occupied in all the contiguous areas slowly and gradually along-with the adjoining areas of Ghor [غور]. The same is correct in our opinion with regard to some of the tribes of said area but to hold and maintain that kind of view however, from the known history of the area of such a large magnitude and for all those people collectively, is incorrect.

There were some historians who had maintained the view that the ‘Afghana” (افاغنہ) was that group of the Armenian nation which used to live in Sherwan [شروان] at some point of time. They were known in said area by the name of “Alpaan” (الپان). The existence of the Armenian Churches which were in the outskirts of Sherwan [شروان], Karabagh [کاراباغ] had also proved the same view. The area was known then as Kandahar [قندھار]. Those people used to call their Chieftain or the leader as “Aghwaij” (اغوایج). The word “Aghwaij” (اغوایج) had conveyed the meaning in their languages as the “Aghwan-e-Azam” (اغوان اعظم) (Chieftain) or the big leader. Those Armenians who had opted to live in Ganja [گنجہ], Rawan [روان], Khajwan [خجوان] and Gillan [گیلان] just for a few years and as a result of their temporary stay in those areas they had also claimed themselves to be the Agwaan [اغوان]. They used to take great pride in fact for being known by said title. The probabilistic view was that the word Afghan [افغان] was a combination of two words i.e. Aghwaan [اغوان] and Alpaan [الپان]. When those Armenians had migrated from their original country to the northern frontier of the Subcontinent, the Agwaan [اغوان] factor had also accompanied them in their social life quite visibly. Then some of them were the followers of the Christian religion at that point of time but most of them had embraced Islam, subsequently. The historians who had maintained the same view were also of the opinion that said view was a research based discovery. The conventional impacts of their Christian forefathers somehow or the other are still traceable. The instant view had even supported our viewpoint because the historical references had again alluded to the Panni nation. We will discuss the same later. Iran, which was stretched out up-to Armenia, was the stronghold of the Panni nation. The Christians [عیسوی], Mosaics [موسوی], Zoroastrians [زرتشتی] and the followers of Sabaism [ستارہ پرست] etc. had the full religious freedom during the Panni reign in both the countries. There was a great tussle however, between the Armenian Christians and the Zoroastrians during the last part of their reign. The Zoroastrians were subdued to accept Christianity, ultimately. There was a possibility that some Armenians were forced to migrate to the Iranian part of Ganja [گنجہ], Rawaan [روان] and to other places during said period. There was another fact however, which

cannot be cast aside that Armenia had also remained under the Iranian Panni rulers and those rulers were also from the same nation. Then even this fact cannot be ignored that the word "Aghwaij" (اغوایج), which was popular and a favorite for a particular group, was also adopted by a large majority of non-Christian Armenians during the ensuing period of their migration. The birth of Christ had taken place when the Panni ruler namely, Alshak-XV [الشک] (Ferhad-XV) [فرہاد] was in power in Iran.

The Pathans were in fact the Iranians, according to Fancies Liveryman and their language was derived from the ancient Persian language i.e. Zend-Avesta [ژندواوستا] which had the resemblance with the present day Persian language. The latest opinion had endorsed the fact that the people who were called as Pathans at the initial stages were in fact the people from the Iranian Panni nation. Then some of the words of their language were also used commonly in the Pashto [پشتو] language as well.

The Afghans were the descendants of those soldiers who had accompanied Alexander the Great in Afghanistan, according to the History of Afghans [تاریخ افغاناں] by Mr. Fryer Moalif. They had opted to live in Afghanistan after the conquest or they were perhaps the descendants of those Greek colonialists who had succeeded Alexander the Great and they had opted to live in Afghanistan [***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***page 36***]. The said opinion was correct seemingly to the extent that the archaeological traces of the Helenian civilization had existed in the areas of Radah [ردہ] and Gandharah [گندھارا] but, said view was not supposed to be applied uniformly for all the people of the area.

The Afghans were Armenians according to Monsieur Ruffian, the compiler of the History of the Afghans [تاریخ افغاناں]. He had discussed in this context that when any Armenian used to affront the ruler, said ruler used to condemn him into exile in the Iranian limits, away from the limits of the Black Sea [بحراسود] and the Khezer Sea [بحرخزر]. Those Afghans were known during said period as the Agwaan [اغوان] or Agwaani [اغوانی]. There was yet another view that the word "Afghan" [افغان] was a specific word and the "Afghan" [افغان] people were the Albanians. The area around the Khezer Sea [بحرخزر] was the stronghold for the Panni nation which had ruled Iran for about 475 years. Armenia had also remained under their rule for 600 years approximately. The local rulers used to be at clash against their ruler at the centre at that time

therefore, it was quite possible that they had embarked upon the campaign of condemning the offenders into exile. The Pathans or the Afghans notwithstanding the aforementioned facts cannot be considered *en bloc* as the banished offenders. The local history of the area had brought forth the variant local proofs about the local Pathan populace.

The viewpoint of Monsieur Vivian Jovian Bore was contrary to the abovementioned view. The Afghani [افغانی] people according to him were not Albanian [البانی] but were an ancient nation which used to live in high mountains as well as in the Khazer Sea [بحرخزر] valley. The divergence in said view with regard to the Afghani [افغانی] people was the reference to the Panni nation, because those who used to be called as Afghans initially were in fact the people of the Panni nation.

We have already explained that the ancient historian namely, Strabo (60 to 63 BC) had called the Pathans by the name of the Afghan [افغان] and said word was a derivate from the Armenian language which had the meaning as "The people from across the mountain" (***Dani*** [دانی] ***page 61***). Since the Panni rulers of Iran had enjoyed their reign from Armenia to Baluchistan up-to the southeast of Afghanistan i.e. River Sindh during the time of the historian Strabo therefore, the Armenians had attributed the word Afghan [افغان] (combination of Aghwaan [اغوان] and Alpaan [الپان]) to the Panni nation of Paarat or Afghanistan province possibly. There was also another possibility that the same was used for the Panni nation which had emerged from the Paarat province (present Khurasan [خراسان]) and the gradual use of weasel words like "Parti" [پارتی] "Parthi" [پارتھی] "Pathian" [پارتھیان] (*which are synonyms for Panni nation*) had culminated to form the ultimate word "Pathan" [پٹھان]. We may also mention that the Armenian words are used commonly in the Kashmir as well as in the Pathan areas.

Viewpoint of the Pathans [پٹھنوں کی اپنّی رائے]:

The factual position in this regard had emerged that the Afghan [افغان] or Pathan [پٹھان] people had never maintained the unanimous view about their own origin. There was one group which maintained the view that they were the descendants of Khālid bin al-Walīd (خالد بن الولید 592–642) who was also known as Saif Allāh (*The Drawn Sword of Allah*). He was among the companions of the Prophet Muhammad [محمد ﷺ]. He was a famous Muslim General and the

local Pathans have always expressed the euphoric sentiment in their epics by virtue of said ethnological reference. There was another group however, which had called the Pathans [پٹھان] very proudly as Israelites [بنی اسرائیل]. There may not be any Pathan [پٹھان] however, who was ready to feel extolled in any manner whatsoever if he was called as the Jew. Those who had erred to call the Pathans as the Israelites [بنی اسرائیل] included strangely some highly pronounced and very coveted intellectuals, as well. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگ] of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] had expressed his view in this regard through his letter Dated.15.06.1933. The same was addressed to the former Shah of Swat namely, Syed Abdul Jabbar [سید عبدالجبار], in the manner as below:

> "Your kind treatise and not a letter on "Bani Israel aur Milat Afghana" [بنی اسرائیل اور ملت افغنہ] was received duly …. My wife had read the same for me and said letter had served the dual purpose. The whole-blood Pathani [پٹھانی] (*my wife*) had also come to know besides me, the reality of our ethnological origin. You have fulfilled a great demand of our times. There was no room for any controversy after your secant and traverse arguments which had fully elaborated that Bani Afghna [بنی افغانہ] was Israelite. Your treatise had endorsed my belief which I had inherited from my filiations because of my (late) father's love and by virtue of the training of my (late) maternal and paternal grandmothers" [***Makateeb Bahadur YarJung page 430 (***مکاتیب بہادر یار جنگ***)***]

The gallantry and the bravery of the Pathans were perhaps due to the geographical conditions but, the weaknesses were the result of very tough living conditions as well as, their failure in catching up with the pace of time and acquiring the education in the field of science. We will discuss in detail later the perturbation of Allama Mohammad Iqbal [علامہ محمد اقبال] in this regard and the way the people of Punjab used to express their sympathies for the Pathans because of their unenlightened approach and their failure to benefit from the modern progression. Those details were not available most probably even in the literature of Pathans. The tough lifestyle has become the characteristic and a mental disposition of Pathans in the mountainous areas. The available glorious history of ancient Pathans had highlighted however their very significant role in the past. They had the privilege even otherwise to hold the prominent positions in every field of life by virtue of their strong administrative authority, bravery, chivalry and gallantry. The Pathans have a peculiar mannerism and managerial qualities as well as, the

educational excellence. The Pathans have proved to be the best scholars, scientists, politicians, poets, doctors, soldiers and leaders etc.

Controversial Genealogical Tree [شجرے میں اختلاف]:

The genealogical table which the Pathans had prepared and which started from Qais Abdur Rasheed [قیس عبدالشید] and was connected to Adam with 62 links, the same was totally ridiculous. They had also prepared a very complicated genealogical tree of Qais Abdur Rasheed [قیس عبدالشید] regarding which they had failed to evolve the unanimity. They had also divergent views about the other genealogical trees. There were some historians who had maintained the view that, Gorghasht [غورغشت] or Garghasht [غرغشت] was the only son, out of the three sons of Qais Abdur Rasheed who had three sons namely, Dani [دانی] Babi [بابي] and Mando [مندو]. Then, Dani [دانی] had four sons i.e. Kakar [کاکڑ], Naghar [ناغڑ], Davaie [داوي] and Panni [پنّی] according to them (***Tareekh Afghna*** [تاریخ افاغنہ] ***part II Lahore 1911 page 77***, ***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***page 200***, ***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***page 321***). There were some historians who had depicted in the genealogical tree of Garghasht [غرغشت] that, Dani [دانی] had seven sons, namely, Kakar [کاکڑ] Naghar [ناغڑ], Davie [داوي] and Warni [ورني] and others. There was a reference of yet another son, as well (***Aaena Annassab*** [آئینہ النساب] ***page 107***). Those genealogical trees cannot be taken as correct because the same were acrimoniously against many other historical facts which had made it all the more essential that we may explore the fact in the light of modern historical discoveries that who were those people who were known as the Afghan [افغان] or Pathan [پٹھان]? What was their true origin? What was the actual position of the alleged genealogical table of Qais Abdur Rasheed which was linked back to Adam? Whether anybody by the name of Garghasht [غرغشت] had ever existed? What was the reality of the alleged sons of Garghasht [غرغشت]? and/or "Panni" was actually the name of his son? How the historical realities had determined the issue of the alleged sons of Garghasht [غرغشت] and how the history had disclosed the factual position with regard to the word "Panni"? Those questions had remained amazingly unanswered as a whole and no historian had ever presented the correct and research based historical treatise regarding the same or such treatise which was considered as in consonance with the facts which were established in the light of the latest historical discoveries. The missing links of history had remained unchained, resultantly.

Present Pathans or Afghans are a sequel assemblage of many nations [موجودہ پٹھان یا افغان مختلف اقوام کا مجموعہ ہیں]:

We may well have to carry out a deeper study of the mountainous areas along-with the long history of adjoining areas, which were attributed to the Pathans before we may explore the correct answers of aforementioned questions. The outcome of the same will nullify the paradoxical situation into the realism of history. The views of historians mentioned above were not the result of any scientific research of history and were based on conjectures and the hearsay storylines. The writings in question as a matter of fact had pertained to the period when the Archeological Department was not established and the earth connected historical secrets were not unearthed. Then the books on the ancient Helenian history were also not examined thoroughly. The monuments of Harappa [ہڑپہ] and Mohenjo-Daro [موہنجودڑو] and Taxilla [ٹیکسلہ] were not excavated for research. There was no authentic history of ancient secrets of District Hazzarah [ہزارہ], Mardan [مردان], Khyber [خیبر], Swat [سوات] and Dir [دیر] etc. and so much so, the facts regarding Gandharah [گندھارہ] and the nations which had migrated from central Asia to the surrounding areas of Gandharah [گندھارہ] and impacts which they had left behind were also not dawned on the researchers. There were neither the compiled ancient history books on Iran, Iraq and Syria nor the information with regard to the antiquities discovered from those areas was available to the private and public researchers. There was no real substance before the researchers to carry out the actual study about the ancient nations which used to move back and forth in those areas. The conventionality was taken resultantly as the reality. The edifice of history was erected therefore, on the orthodox parochial tittle-tattle. We will examine the history of Gandharah [گندھارہ] and its vicinity firstly, then the nations which used to move up and down at different times, according to the research of history. The reality will become clear automatically thereafter, with regard to the origin of the present Pathans.

Aryan [آریا]:

There were some researchers who were of the view that it was about six thousand years ago but, according to the scholars of modern history it was at the end of the second and in the beginning of first millennium BC that one nation had entered into the Subcontinent from the northern areas of Pakistan which was called as the Aryan. There were some scholars however, who had called the same as a civilization instead of a nation. The word Aryan means the honorable person or the master. The said nation had occupied the vast areas multitudinously, between the rivers Ganges [گنگا] and the Euphrates [فرات] which was the reason that said nation had started considering itself as superior in Hindustan and in the western countries. They had assumed their role in the process with a euphoric mindset of masters towards other nations. Hitler of Germany, who was an Aryan ethnically, had also fallen prey to the same euphoric delusion. The Aryans used to treat the ages old settled local inhabitants of those areas as subservient riffraff in their euphoric reign. Thus, they were able to bring the original inhabitants, which were known as Kolh [کولح] and Dravidians [دراوڑ] below the human status. They had reduced their level to schedule castes.

The base of the Aryans, who had opted to go to Hindustan, was in the northwest of the Subcontinent whereas those who had opted to go to Mesopotamia, their bases were towards the east. The Aryan [آریا] from the Helenian source of terminology was written as "Arians" [آریانے]. The Sassanid [ساسانی] of Iran had opted to apply the terminology of "Aryan" on the center of their then expanding kingdom, i.e. the Iran city in 226 AC. The name of Iran for the present Iran was perhaps due to the continuous use of the same ancient terminology. The Sassanid [ساسانی] used to treat the present Asfhan [اصفہان] which is near Baghdad [بغداد] as a part of 'Iran city' (***Fry*** [فرائی] ***page No.3*** [فرائی]). The said nation had opted to move in succession like sea waves from far and wide and thus they were able to cross the Hindu Kush [کوہ ہندوکش] area. They had made their entry from there and then they had migrated to the far-flung areas in the south of the Subcontinent through Darrah Khyber [درۂ خیبر] and through other Darrah [درۂ] (clefs). The probable view was that most of the groups were able to exercise their option for their permanent abodes in the areas during their *en bloc* forward march. Those areas were considered resultantly as the Afghan areas and the vast regions of the Gandharah [گندھارا] were supposedly populated densely in the past. The Aryan [آریا] was therefore not a nation rather it was a particular culture and a civilization, according to the modern theory (*Pashto Adab* [پشتو ادب] *page No.11*).

Yahoodia [یہودیہ] Judea:

The kingdom of Jews was set-up by Taloot [حضرت طالوت علیہ سلام] in the south many years thereafter. David [حضرت داؤد علیہ سلام] and Solomon [حضرت سلیمان علیہ سلام] had become its rulers, respectively. The reign of both of them was supposed to have lasted for 80 years, approximately. Solomon [حضرت سلیمان علیہ سلام] died in 975 BC and the kingdom was divided into two parts after him. There was one part which was established as Israel in 586 BC whereas the second part was established in the south in 721 BC and was known as Judea i.e. Yahoodia [یہودیہ]. The Judeans were incarcerated practically for some time, by the Babylonian ruler(s). The Judeans were able to reach back to their own territory as soon as they were set free. They had opted to be subservient to the Salukis [سلوقی] rulers of Iran after their return. Then they were able to liberate themselves from their yoke once again, after sometime. The Roman Emperor had conquered their territory in 63 BC and subjugated them again. The tenth Roman Emperor namely, TITUS prior to that had destroyed their temple. The Romans had also made an attempt to condemn them into exile. Thus, they had no other option as a result of aforementioned upheavals but to disperse in the world, directionless.

There was one fact which may not be out of place to mention that some of the Jewish convoys were taken into custody during said period of Diaspora in Gandharah [گندھارا] territory. The view that, (*as already explained above that some Aryans and locals were already the residents there*) Israel alone was the source to provide the enlightenment to the area and all the Afghans were the Israelites [بنی اسرائیل] was apparently contradictory and was against the actual course of history. There was no similarity between the Pashto [پشتو] and the Hebrew languages. The Darrah Khyber [درۂ خیبر] of Gandharah [گندھارا] however, was named after the Fort Khyber [قلعہ خیبر], despite the distance from Arabia. The said incident was also an indicator of the fact that, the Jews had landed in said area, as well. The existence of some Jewish conventions and traditions among some of the Pathan tribes who used to exist in the vicinity of Koh Suleiman [کوہ سلیمان], Takhat Suleiman [تحت سلیمان] (*Praaspa, throne of Solomon*) and Ghor [غور] also known as, Sham [شام] and at other places, had endorsed the view that the Afghans were Israelites [بنی اسرائیل]. We have already explained that, those who were known as Pathans at the initial stages and those who had adopted the Jewish religion, were the people of the Panni nation.

We will establish *in extenso* later that there were many nations according to the modern research which had acquired the domineering reign in Iran, Armenia, Mesopotamia and in the Subcontinent, during the period of the Jewish Diaspora.

XERXES [خشایارشا] [زرکسیز]:

The Xerxes [خشایارشا] [زرکسیز] (487 to 466 BC) had raided the present Afghanistan which is in the north of Pakistan, many years after the advent of the Aryans i.e. in 480 BC. The people of said nation used to wear Shalwars [شلواریں] and used to put on the conical long caps [اونچی نوکدار ٹوپیاں]. They used to remain equipped with arches and arrows. Those people were from the Amurgian Seythi [امورجین ستھی] nation (***Fry*** [فرائی] ***page No.59 and No.123***).

Shamanic [اشامینی] Rule:

The Iranian territory had remained under the rule of different dynasties for a longtime. The Shamanic [اشامینی] dynasties had ruled Iran from 330 to 550 BC. The periphery of their rule according to the historians was up-to the fringes of Gandharah [گندھارا]. The Shamanic [اشامینی] rulers who had emerged from the adjoining areas used to call the whole area from Peshawar to Gandharah [گندھارا] as, "PARU PARAESANNA" i.e. "From across the mountains" [ماورائے کوہستان]. The same name is still alive in the epigraphs of Babylonian era (***Dani*** [دانی] ***page No.35*** [دانی]).

Alexander the Great [اسکندراعظم]:

The Roman Alexander the Great [اسکندراعظم] had raided the northern areas of Pakistan in 325 BC or 326 BC. The Afghanistan region was a part of eastern Iran at that time. He had moved across the Punjab limits after trampling those areas of Afghanistan. Then the Grecian name "PAROPAMISADAE" (*Greek name for the southern region of the Hindu Kush in the southeastern part of present-day Afghanistan*) had emerged and the same was used for the upper Kabul Valley. The Iranian territory had remained as a Greek dominion from 330 to 341 BC. The present day history had brought forth the fact that the Grecians had a considerable influence in those areas. The statues discovered not in hundreds but in thousands of that particular era were

the vivid depiction of those times. The soldiers who had deserted Alexander the Great [اسکندراعظم] were able to settle down in said area, according to the historians.

Greek Bactrian: [یونانی باختری]

The Bactria [باختر] was the Iranian name of Balkh [بلخ]. The Hindus used to call it "BALIKA" [بالیکا] whereas the Greeks had used the word "Bactria" for the same. The said Bactrian kingdom was up-to the fringes of Sindh [سندھ] from its southern boundaries (***Races page*** No.59 [ریسز]). The Bactrian kingdom was established in 256 BC. Davidus from the Greek origin was its founding father. Davidus had consolidated and established his rule in three areas, i.e. Balkh [بلخ], Sofd [سفد] or (*Sholgara*) [شولگڑہ] and Merv [مرو] or (*Mamul*) [مامل] in 256 BC. Thus, he was able to eradicate the impact of the Iranian repression. He had brought those areas under the acclaimed Greek Bactrian [یونانی باختری] reign. The first Panni ruler of Iran had captured Khurasan [خراسان] by force just after six years of autonomy only i.e. in 249 or 250 BC. He had taken the adjoining areas from Davidus, according to some historians and he had included them into Parthia [خراسان] (*Badakshani* [بدخشانی] *page No.226*). Davidus had established a city close to Peshawar at the site of present "Dehri Sheikhan" [ڈھیری شیخاں] which was named after his name. There was an epigraph of about five hundred years of later period of the Sassanid [ساسانی] era, which was also discovered among the epigraphs of "Naqsh-e-Rustam" [نقش رستم]. The word "Pushki Pur" [پشکی پور] was engraved on said epigraph instead of Peshawar. The Iranian rulers used to take the present area of Peshawar as their eastern border (***Dani*** [دانی] ***page No.32*** [دانی]) which had proved the fact that the whole area of Gandharah [گندھارا] was well populated during said period. The Iranian influence in addition to the influence of other nations was also very much there.

Moriya Dynasty [موریا خاندان]:

The Moriya Dynasty [موریا خاندان] had also created a tangible influence in and around the Gandharah [گندھارا] territory during said period. The period of said dominancy was between 185 to 323 BC (***Dani*** [دانی] ***page No.41*** [دانی]). The earth traces of said dynasty were visibly available in large numbers in the area.

Advent of Sakaya or Sathi (Scythian) [سکایا یا ستھی کی آمد]:

The Sakaya [سکایا] in fact was the nation which used to live in the surrounding deserts of central Asia. There were some historians who had maintained the view that they were Turani [تورانی] people and they were from Sis-tan [سیستان]. The Greeks had called them "Saka" [ساکا] which had conveyed the meaning as, "MAN" (***Fry*** [فرائی] ***page No.43*** [فرائی]). When the Saka people were on the move towards Iran, there were two Panni rulers namely, Fratiter and Artatois (123 to 138 BC). They were engaged in squaring the circle at that time, politically. They both had died, one after the other in the process of settling the account with the Saka people (***Fry*** [فرائی] ***page No.14*** [فرائی]). The Iranian ruler Ashk Panni [اشک پنّی] or Farahad-V [فرھاد پنجم] (2 BC to 4AC) of said era was able to enter into the area of Gandharah [گندھارا] in the first century AC. Then, they were able to rule the area of Taxilla for about one hundred years. The names of four rulers i.e. Mavaiz [ماویز], Assize First [آسز اول], Aizi Laiz [ازی لائز] and Assize II [آسز دوم] had also come to the surface, from the above named areas. The historians were of the view that the tenure of Mavaiz [ماویز] as a ruler was from 77 to 99 BC when he had conquered a portion of Punjab during his reign of power and he had made Taxilla as the capital city. The Assize [ازی] tribe of said nation had assumed the control thereafter in 46 BC (***Kero*** [کیرو] ***page No.25***). The historians also maintained the view that when the said tribe had assumed power, the existence of the Buddhists was also in said area. They had migrated however, towards the south to land in the city of Kandahar [قندھار], on the arrival of Assize [ازی] tribe. When they were on the move from the north to enter Punjab, the people of the Saka nation were on the move towards Sindh and they had penetrated deep into Kathiawar [کاٹھیاواڑ]. There were some traces notwithstanding the above, which had pertained to the advent of Saka or Sathi [ساکایا ستھی] (Scythian) people who used to exist in the present areas of the Pathans. There was another fact which may also be reiterated that the Saka or Sathi [ساکایا ستھی] (Scythian) and Parthian were related co-sanguinely. The traditions and culture of Saka or Sathi [ساکایا ستھی] (Scythian) and Parthian Panni had left a great impact on the area, undoubtedly. *The impact on the construction of the Pashto language in this regard, shall be examined thoroughly in the later chapters.*

Indo-Parthian [انڈو پارتھی]:

There was a group of the Parthian Panni nation which had ruled the Subcontinent region after the Saka reign. The historians had called the same as the Indo-Parthian era. The reason for said nomenclature was that the Parthian [پارتھی] nomads had landed as vagrants in Hindustan from central Asia just like their Saka co-sanguine brothers. Their rule had lasted for about 70 years. *Their reign shall be discussed later after the Panni rule of Iran and Armenia*.

Kashn or Kashan [کشن یا کشان]:

The kingdom of the Panni rulers of Iran was at its climax by 60 AC. They had their capital in the south, on the banks of the river Tigris [دجلہ]. (*Detail of the same will come later*) They were constantly up against their Roman rivals from the western side. When, Caesar of Rome had exerted pressure from the western side in 75 AC, the Chinese nation which was known as the Kashn or Kashan **[**کشن یا کشان**]** had launched an attack (*in 50 or 60 AC*) from the eastern area from across the river Oxus (Drya-e-Ammo) [دریائے آمو]. They were able to capture gradually, the area of present Afghanistan, Kandahar [قندھار] as well as, the northern areas of Punjab where the Sareen [سرین] Panni had ruled and the Gandaferi [گنڈافری] Panni tribe had taken over the reign from them. The Kashan had defeated the ancestors of Gandaferi [گنڈافری] Panni right under the walls of Taxilla. The discovery of five coins during the recent excavation was the endorsement of the same fact among other things. The team of archeologists also discovered some cleaves in the walls at Sircape [سرکیپ] Taxilla. They had also found many arrows which the Kashan nation had shot supposedly, on those walls at the time of aforementioned attack which were deemed to be the remnants of the Kashan era. The city of Taxilla was annihilated probably, during said attack (***Kero page No.72*** [کیرو]). The remnants which were unearthed in said area had the resemblance with the cloisters of the northern and eastern mountains. The Kashan people had launched the attack on the dominions of the Gandaferi [گنڈافری] Panni ruler while they were on the move from the southern borders of Iran. They were able to weaken the Panni rule of Iran in said process. Since, the Kashan people were under the Iranian rule therefore, they attacked and occupied eastern Iran i.e. the present Afghanistan along-with far-flung areas of Taxilla which is in Pakistan at present. They had made Peshawar as their capital city (***Kero page No.73*** [کیرو]). They had occupied Balkh [بلخ] and they had unified five capital cities under the command of one

of their chieftains and resultantly their rule had expanded across river Oxus (Drya-e-Ammo) [دریائے آمو]. Then, there were their rulers i.e. Kashka [کشکا] and Bonshka [بوسشکا] who were able to bring new glories to their reign, subsequently. They used to follow Buddhism very ardently. The historians and researchers had held many seminars to determine the period of the Kashka [کشکا] reign, during the past sixty odd years but they had failed miserably, despite many discussions and debates. There were some historians who had formed the view that the Kashka [کشکا] era was around 110 AC (***Fry*** [فرائی]), probably.

The culture of the Kashan people had resembled although, with the Saka or Sathi [ساکا یا ستھی] (Scythian) culture and they had many common values yet, their way of governance was different from the Parthian Panni nation. The archeological department in recent times was able to establish, from the artifacts which were discovered from Bagram [بگرام] area that, the Parthian Panni culture had included the mural paintings, which had resemblance with the Roman photogram and with the Chinese lacquer artifacts and engraved ivory and the Egyptian style glass pottery. The same had endorsed the fact and their linkage with the far-flung areas. Then, some coins were also disinterred with mint-mark effigies of Greek gods, like Hercules, Haphaestus and Serapis and Iranian gods and goddesses like Mithera, Ardoxsho, Atar and Verithragna. The coins with the idol effigies of Hindustan like, Eshoo, Mahsina and Buddha were also disinterred. The gold coins were in use during the Kashan era, which from said angle had the resemblance with the Roman way of governance. The use of coinage had also proved that they had remained uninfluenced by the cultural impact of the Panni rulers of Iran. The coins of the Iranian rulers were not made of gold. The practice in the mountainous areas of Iran was to mint the silver coins which was considered as the rural or nomadic practice. The teams of archeologists had disinterred numerous coins of the Kashan era as well (***Fry*** [فرائی] ***page No.204***).

The Hoshka [ہوشکا] reign was established after the Kashka [کشکا] era. The earth effects which had pertained to the reign of another ruler by the name of Wasodave [واسودیو] were unearthed as well. The Kashan people used to consider themselves as the successors of the Bactrian Greek [یونانی باختری] people. The Kanashka [کنشاکا] people had adopted therefore the Greek alphabets whereas the Kashan rulers had modled their way of governance on the pattern of the Greek Bactrian [یونانی باختری] way of governance. The limits of the Kashan kingdom were seemingly from

Mithra (India) to the river Oxus (Drya-e-Ammo) [دریائے آمو] (central Asia) or perhaps the same were even beyond said area. The kingdom was divided into two or three parts. They had taken advantage of the weaknesses of their neighbors and gradually they had expanded their kingdom. When the Sassanid [ساسانی] had touched the zenith of their reign after 226 AC and when the Gupta dynasty had acquired power in Hindustan in the fourth century AC, the central Kashan authority had dissipated into the smaller city states, by that time. The history had revealed that, the Kashan used to pay tribute money to Shah Pur-I [شاہ پور اول] (240 AC to 272 AC). Then, an Iranian governor was appointed supposedly in the Balkh area of Kashan. There were also five golden coins which were disinterred during the excavation at Khawarzam [خوارزم] and near a stupa at Taxilla [ٹیکسلہ]. Then, there was a big pond or pool which was unearthed and was constructed supposedly during the Parthian or Toorani era (***Al-Hilal 1st July 1927*** [الحلال]). The disinterred coins were the manifestation of business relations of the Kashan people with said area. The archeological sources other than the Chinese sources had established the fact that the Kashan had the control over "Kashgar" [کاشغر] "So Gadyana" [سوگدیانہ] and "Ferghana" [فرغانہ] areas. The rulers of Afghanistan used to introduce themselves as the Kashan people prior to the Islamic conquests. The said nation had not only left a lasting Chinese impact on central Asia, eastern Iran as well as, on the Indo-Pak Subcontinent rather, their impact had also engulfed the northeastern areas of Pakistan (***Fry*** [فرائی] ***page No.202-204***).

The quote of Tebari [طبری] had established the fact which was also endorsed by the historian namely, Herzfeld that the Kabul Valley [وادئ کابل], Punjab [پنجاب], Tooran [توران], Mako (Quetta) [کوئیٹہ] and Makran [مکران] were under the control of the Kashan people during the reign the of the last Panni ruler of Iran namely, Balash-V [بلاش پنجم] (209 to 226 AC). There were some memoirists besides Frishta [فرشتہ] who had written that Ardsher-I [اردشیر], the Sassanid ruler (226 to 240 AC), had launched an attack against Hindustan and had conquered the Punjab area. The said postulate was also endorsed by the fact that some coins were disinterred in Punjab which had depicted apparently the pattern of the Kashan era because one side of the coins contained the effigy of Ardsher [ارد شیر] whereas, the other side contained the image of a fire temple (***Badkshani*** [بدخشانی] ***page No.335***).

The reason for the attacks of the Sassanid [ساسانی] on the Kashan nation was that they had sided with the Panni Parthian rulers during the brinkmanship period between the Panni Parthian rulers

of Iran and the Sassanid [ساسانی], according to the historians. When, the Sassanid [ساسانی] removed the Panni Parthian rulers, they were also able to subjugate the Kashan people (***Dani*** [دانی] ***page 149***). The depiction of said incident was also available in the Shah Pur [شاہ پور] epigraphs of "Naqsh-e-Rustam" [نقش رستم]. The ascendency of the Kashan rule lasted for about one hundred years (***Dani*** [دانی] ***page 148***).

Midget Kashan [کدار کشان]:

There was another nation after the Kashan era, which had acquired the domineering control in Gandharah [گندھارا] in the 4th century AC. The historians had called them as the "Midget Kashan" **[**کدار کشان**]**. The same nation was also known by the name of Aftali [افتالی]. They had ruled from the 4th century AC to the beginning of the 5th century AC. The Chinese traveler Fahyan [فاہیان] had also visited Gandharah [گندھارا] during the same period. The Berhami [برہمی] ideograph had replaced the Khuroshti [خروشطی] ideography, during that period. The capital of "Midget Kashan" **[**کدار کشان**]** was Posha Pura [پوشاپورا] i.e. the present Peshawar (***Dani*** [دانی] ***page 49-50, Kero*** [کیرو] ***page No.74, Al-Hilal*** [الحلال] ***1st July 1927***).

White Hun [سفید ہن]:

There was an uncivilized and brutal nomadic nation which had emerged from central Asia, in the beginning of the 5th century and after the downfall of the "Midget Kashans" [کدار کشان]. They had ravaged the Gandharah [گندھارا] territory as well as its mountainous vicinity. They were known as the "White Huns" [سفید ہن] and their period of emergence was supposedly the Chander Ghupt [چندر گپت] era. The Huns had not only annihilated the Kashan nation but they had also mutilated the Ghupta [گپتا] civilization completely in Punjab [پنجاب], Sindh [سندھ], Rajputana [راجپوتانہ] and Malwah [مالوہ] etc. There were some historians who had maintained the view that the Sudhans [سدھن] of the Punch [پونچھ] (Azad Kashmir) area were descendants of the white Huns whereas the Sudhans [سدھن] were of the view that they were Sadozai [سدوزئی] Pathans (*If the same was correct then they will be considered as a splinter group of the Panni nation, writer*). The Huns attacked however, the areas of the Kashan nation after the 4th century AC according to Sir Olaf Kero (***Dani*** [دانی] ***page 49).*** The proof of the same fact had the certification because there were some ancient nations at that time which used to live in the surrounding areas of Peshawar (***Kero***

[کیرو] ***page No.77***) and had included the Panni [پنّی] and the Saka [ساکا] nations etc. The Hun era had ended in 565 AC and the Berhami [برہمی] ideograph had replaced the Khuroshti [خروشطی] ideography. Then, the Sanskrit [سنسکرت] language besides that had emerged as a spoken language (***Dani*** [دانی] ***page 50-52)***.

Turk Shahi [ترک شاہی]:

The Turk Shahi [ترک شاہی**]** rule had touched the climax after the Huns in the area of Gandharah [گندھارا] in 565 AC. The Turk Shahi people were Kashan and said fact had the certification from the inscriptions on the epigraphs of 862 AC which had pertained to the Uzbekistan area (*South of Kabul*). Those epigraphs had depicted the ruler of "Koh Jana Puter" [کھو جانا پتر] i.e. the Kashan Puter i.e. the descendant of Kashan. The Khaharistan [خحارسستان] area was known as "Khalkh" [خلخ] or "Talhaj" [طلحج] at that time (***Dani*** [دانی] ***page 54-55)***.

Hindu Shahi [ہندو شاہی]:

There was another view that the Hindu Shahi [ہندو شاہی] rule was also dominant in the same area during the aforementioned period. Abu Rehan Barooni [ابو ریحان بیرونی] had written in his book, which was captioned as Kitab-ul-Hindh [کتاب الہند] that, there were Hindu Rajas in Kabul [کابل] who were Turks and their family was supposedly from Tibet [تبت]. The Hindu Shahi [ہندو شاہی] ruler had moved the capital to the area which was known as "Hund" [ہنڈ]. The word "Hund [ہنڈ]" as a matter of fact was the distorted form of the word Hindu. The complete name of the same was "Wae Hind" [وائی ہند]. The alleged incident of shifting the capital had taken place in the middle of the 7th century AC. The boundaries of said kingdom were from Laghman [لغمان] to the river Chenab [جناب] and from Kashmir [کشمیر] up-to the outer fringe of Multan [ملتان]. The Chinese traveler namely, Heun Sang [ہیون] had visited said area during the same period i.e. in 24 Hegira (644 AC) which was the period when the influence of Buddhism was submerging and Hinduism was emerging.

Kabul Shahi [کابل شاہی]:

The Arabs had started moving towards the center of Afghanistan during the Caliphate of Usman Ghani [حضرت عثمان غنیؓ] when, the Kabul Shahi [کابل شاہی] era was at its peak after the Hindu Shahi [ہندو شاہی] reign. The ruler of Afghanistan, as already explained above, was "Kabul Shah" [کابل شاہ] at that time and his tribal name was "Zenbeel" [زنبیل]. He was the same ruler whom the Chinese traveler Heun Sang had named as "Kasteriya" [کشتریا] when he had visited said area in 24 Hegira (644 AC). He was the ruler of the area, from KAPISA or Kabul [کابل] to the river Sindh [سندھ] and from Hindu Kush [ہندوکش] to Serbano [سربنوں]. Yaqoob Ibn Lais [یقوب بن لیث] was able to exterminate said dynasty in 870 (***Dani*** [دانی] ***page 54-56)***. The four hundred years history of the Huns era was untraceable according to the historians because the Hindus used to lack the knack of promoting the historiography. Thus, the Hindus had failed to document the history. The historians had called the same therefore, as a dark period and they used to face many difficulties because of said vacuum in the cycle of history. We have narrated all the aforementioned historical facts so that the readers may know that there were many nations which had moved back and forth for a considerable length of time in the areas of the Pathans and they had intermingled *savoir-vivre* with them. Then, how one can infer in the wake of such a diversified and protracted interaction of nations that the Pashto [پشتو] speaking people or the Pathans were constituted as one nation? The back and forth movement of those nations with their respective natural amalgamation had played its part in the overall make-up and continence of the area. The same was the case with their Pashto [پشتو] language as well. The ultimate composition of the Pathans was therefore a resultant spin-off assemblage of various constituent nations and the same had not emerged homogeneously.

There were many different nations which used to live in the northern mountainous parts when the Arabs had attacked Hindustan. There were also besides the Iranian and other nations, as already mentioned, the Saka or Sathi [سکا یا ستھی] nations were among them. The northern part of Afghanistan was called as Kablistan [قابلستان] whereas, the southern part was known as Zablistan [زابلستان] (***Races*** [ریسز] ***page 17***).

The Arabs had marched gradually into the present Afghanistan during the Caliphates of Umer [حضرت عمرؓ] and Usman [حضرت عثمانؓ] after removing the Sassanid [ساسانی] rulers in Iran. The

area of Afghanistan was considered as a part of eastern Iran, during those days. The ruling dynasty of Kabul was known as the "Rateel" [رتیل] which was also its national name, at that time. The Muslims were able to march ahead in 24 Hegira (634 AC) after defeating the Sassanid [ساسانی] at Hilmand [ہلمند]. The religion Islam had also gained the roots in the north-south of Kabul which had proved the fact that the Muslims alone were not there at the conquest of Kabul. Those who had landed in the area from the northern side from time to time were also among the locals and some of them were from the Saka or Sathi [سکا یا ستھی] origin. The place like Sakistan [ساکستان] (Sajistan [سجستان] or Sakastan [سکستان]) was very much there. Sakastan [سکستان]) was named after the word, Saka. The inhabitants of said area were those people who were probably known as the SAKA HOUMAVARGA [ساکاہاموی] which alluded to those Saka people probably who had migrated from the river Oxus (Drya-e-Ammo) [دریائے آمو]. There were also other nations besides the people of the Panni nation. There was perhaps the emergence of a new generation with a great societal transformation which had taken place as a result of intermittent military attacks by the Muslims on Sindh from Iran as well as, in southern Afghanistan. They had brought about a change in the societal composition and resultantly, there were many multilingual groups which had also emerged in southern Afghanistan by the 10th century AC (***Races*** [ریسز] ***page 17-18***).

Yaqoob Bin Lais [یقوب بن لیث]:

The Muslims had a loose federation in the beginning with the southern mountainous people of the Hindu Kush [کوہ ہندوکش]. Yaqoob Bin Lais [یقوب بن لیث] of Safaria dynasty [صفاریہ خاندان] from Sijistan [سجستان] was the first sultan who had laid the foundation of the Islamic rule in 870 A.C. We have already explained in the context of nations which had landed in Gandharah [گندھارا] that the history had insignificantly traced the Pathans amongst those nations. The local governor Samaniya Allaptageen [سامانیہ الپتگین] had become the founding father of the Islamic sultanate in Ghazni [غزنی]. The said dynasty had ruled for about two years in Gandharah [گندھارا]. The rapid spread of Islam had taken place under their rule but as the Muslims had reached Merv [مرو] when Hajaj Bin Yusuf [حجاج بن یوسف] had become the governor of Iraq in 86 Hegira (704 AC) he sent Qutaiba [حضرت قتیبہ] to conquer the area in the northeast beyond the river which was known as "Ma Wara Annaher" [ما ورالنہر]. They had made Merv [مرو] as their capital and they had moved towards Balkh where they were welcomed with open arms (***Dani*** [دانی] ***page 64)***. Muhammad

Bin Qasim [محمد بن قاسم] had already conquered Sindh in 92 Hegira (710 AC) and despite the fact that the Muslims had the access to the northern mountainous area of Ghandaharah, the Islamic impact had remained almost insignificant for a longtime. Yaqoob Bin Lais [یقوب بن لیث] had promoted the Islamic sultanate of Ghazni [غزنی] whereas, Hamza [حمزہ] was able to conquer Kabul in 657 Hegira (870 AC). The Muslims had the access although to the present Afghanistan in 850 AC yet, Islam with its entire resplendency had not created any significant impact on the locals till the 3rd century Hegira. Then why one may accept the postulate in the back-drop of such unexciting historical journey of Islam that someone by the name of Qais [قیس] alone was able to preach Islam in the mountainous areas after embracing Islam before Khalid Bin Waleed [حضرت خالد بن ولیدؓ]. The aforementioned absence of Islamic impact in the area was also evident from an inscription on an epigraph which was discovered in 1907 from Tochi Valley [وادئ ٹوچی]. The epigraph had pertained to 242 Hegira 857 AC and the same was about a house. The inscription on the same was bilingual i.e. Sanskrit [سنسکرت] and Arabic, with Kofi [کوفی] ideograph. The Sanskrit [سنسکرت] part of ideograph was in "Serada" [سرادا] which was the elementary form of the Devanagari [دیوناگری] language. The name of the non-Arab house owner was inscribed in the Arabic language. The epigraph was illegible therefore to render the paleographic account with regard to the name of the house owner was not possible. The remaining part of the epigraph however, was readable easily. The said epigraph had revealed on the one hand that, the Muslims and Islam by that time had reached in said area and it had explained on the other hand that, both Sanskrit [سنسکرت] and the Arabic [عربی] languages were very much in practice in Sijjistan [سجستان] during the last lag of Abbasid caliphs (slightly before the advent of Yaqoob Bin Lais [یقوب بن لیث] (*1st Safari* [صفاری] *ruler*) (***Kero*** [کیرو] ***page No.105***). The said epigraph is still available in the Peshawar Museum. The Pathans [پٹھان] or their Pashto [پشتو] language even till the period of said epigraph had not attained any historical reckoning and if it had some status on the contrary then the manifestation of the same was invisible in the history. The factual position was that let alone the general populace even the luminary like Sultan Shahab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghori [شہاب الدین محمد غوری] (1162–15 March 1206) had also remained uninformed initially about the correct Islamic teachings. *Detail of the same will be mentioned later*.

The long history of the Pathan areas had revealed that they were not the tribes rather their culminated emergence was the result of natural intermingling of the nations in their respective areas. There seems to be no possibility for any social group to escape the social intermingling

process in the natural course and even if there was any Muslim Pathan [پٹھان] group which had existed in the subsequent era then Mahmud of Gazni [محمود غزنوی] was supposed to have exercised some restrain while attacking the people of the mountains. He was not also supposed to indulge in looting and plundering in (414 Hegira) 1023 AC as well as in 1016 AC, according to Tabaqat-e-Naseri [طبقات ناصری] complied in 658 Hegira (1259 AC). He had attacked them a second time from the Balkh side (***Tabaqat-e-Naseri*** [طبقات ناصری] ***page No.320***). Then, if Qais Abdur Rasheed [قیس عبدالرشید] had embraced Islam allegedly at the hand of Prophet Muhammad [محمد ﷺ] and according to the Pathans, he had preached Islam in his tribe then the Muslims should have been in great numbers in the area and Mahmud of Gazni [محمود غزنوی], being a Muslim, should have abstained to attack the Muslims repeatedly. The historians had maintained the view that, Mahmud of Gazni [محمود غزنوی] had raided the far-flung areas of Somnat [سومنات] after two years of his second attack i.e. in 1417 Hegira. There was no cogent proof according to our analysis (*writer*), with regard to the locals of Ghazni [غزنی] area as well as, the non-Muslims of the surrounding areas who were supposed to have participated obsessively in the seventeen attacks which were attributed to Mahmud of Gazni [محمود غزنوی]. The figure of seventeen attacks on Hindustan during the rule of thirty three years also seems somewhat debatable and disputable.

We give hereby the descriptive account of the archeological traces and the antiquities of those nations which had travelled to and fro in the Gandharah region at different times. The discovered terramaŕė like archeological deposits not only proved by virtue of the uniqueness the vivid existence of those nations in the area but the same had also provided the enlightening information about the culture as well as the traditions of those nations of yester years.

ARCHEOLOGICAL EFFECTS FROM DIFFERENT PLACES

Hindu Kush [کوہ ہنو کش]:

The southern valleys of the Hindu Kush [کوہ ہنو کش] were unlikely to avoid the impact of Zoroastrian (Sassanid) beliefs. The same had proved the fact that the Sassanid [ساسانی] had made the inroads into those areas. There were traces of minarets and many other similar buildings which still exist in WAKHAN area. The same had established the fact that there used to be the fire worshippers in the past.

Chitral [جترال]:

The traces of Zoroastrianism still exist in the area of YASSIN near Gilgit [گلگت] and Chitral [چترال] (***Budlaff*** [بڈلف] ***page No.108***). The ancient traces of an open book were also unearthed from a mountain in the vicinity of Gilgit [گلگت].

Swat [سوات]:

There were about two hundred stupas in Swat valley [وادئ سوات] which were unearthed besides hundreds of pieces of stonework (***Kero*** [کیرو] ***page No.61***). There was a big ancient graveyard which was also unearthed. The archeologists had declared the same to be a monument as old as 1000 years BC, approximately. The archeologists had inferred naturally with the discovery of the same that there must have been a big city close to said graveyard. Then, there was an Italian team of archeologists which had discovered a few traces of some ancient civilization on the roadside at Bari Kot [باری کوٹ] across Saidu Sharif [سیدوشریف]. They were expecting to discover more but the discovery of those traces alone was quite sufficient to establish the linkage of some buried ancient civilization with Iran as well as with central Asia.

Dir [دیر]:

There was an ancient fort in Dir [دیر] area which was unearthed below the site of the Churchill point at Chakdrra [چکدرۂ] and the ruins of the same are known at present as "Shah Dairie" [شاہ ڈیری]. The said fort was also deemed to be a monument of Gandharah [گندھارا] period. Then there were about one dozen statues of Buddha which were unearthed from the same site at the lower periphery of the fort towards the river bank (***Pakistan Times Lahore 25th April 1968***).

Bunair and Bajor [بنیر اور سوات]:

The archeological discoveries of Bunair [بنیر] and Bajor [بجوڑ] had proved that the Greeks had introduced the art of sculpturing in the area. Then many ancient relics were also discovered from Nawagram [نواگام], Khrki [کھرکی] and Paja [پاجا] etc. (***Races page No.72).*** The archeologist team had also unearthed one epigraph in Khuroshti [خروشطی] ideography (***Dani*** [دانی] ***page 43)***. There was nothing however which had come to the surface with regard to the Pashto [پشتو] ideography or the Pashto [پشتو] language.

Peshawar District [ڈسٹرکٹ پشاور]:

The monuments of those ancient nations were available infrequently in the district Peshawar which had always recounted the tales of some glorious past. The Chinese traveler namely, Heun Sang [ہیون] had also given the reference of a stupa in the southwest of Peshawar which was as high as five hundred and fifty feet, approximately. The remnants of Shapola [شپولا] stupa were about 27 miles away from the city and had always reminded the locals about their ancestral past. The site of Peshawar University used to be the site of the Buddhist academy hundreds of years ago and was the only academy during said period. The Buddhists used to come from far and wide to acquire education from the academy. Raja Kanshak [راجہ کنشک] was also educated from that academy and the Buddhist scriptures had also contained that reference. The ruins of the academy as well as, the adjoining buildings exist even today on the road side which leads to Jamrod [جمرود] and Landi Kotal [لنڈی کوتل]. The traces of some ancient remnants are still available in the vicinity of the city. Those remnants had included "Shah Gi Ki Dahrie" [شاہ جی کی ڈھیری] "Panj Terath" [پنج تیرتھ] "Sher Napersan" [شہرناپرساں] "Platio Dahrie" [پلتیو ڈھری] and

"Mama Nay Dharie" [ماما نئے ڈھیری]. The widespread ruins of the ancient Bagram [بگرام] city also exist on the western side of the Peshawar area. There were a number of other monuments besides the stupas of Buddha. The population which occupied the area up to Kabul was known as "Hindhki" [ہندکی] in those days (***Races page No.65***). The locals of the Peshawar city even today, call their customary language as "Hindko" [ہندکو] which was the memento of the Hindu Shahi [ہندو شاہی] era. We leave aside the other areas and refer to one statue of Buddha only, which was discovered in a far off area of the Bukhara [بخارا] city. The ruins of a city known as "Pushkawani" [پشکاونی] were discovered at about 24 miles in the north of the Peshawar city in April 1923. The Greek Bactrians [یونانی باختری] had established said city within the radius of one and a half mile about two thousand years ago, according to the archeologists which used to be the center of Gandharah [گندھارا] at some point of time and was also the capital of the Saka [ساکا] or the Sathi [ستھی] nation (***Daily Jung Rawalpindi 16th September 1963***). The Sakistan [ساکستان] (Sajistan [سجستان] or Sagastan [سکستان]) city had also enjoyed said name just because of that Saka [ساکا] or Sathi [ستھی] nation which is known as Seestan [سیستان] at present (***Races page 18***). There were also many other ruins close to the Peshawar city other than the aforementioned remains.

There was no inscription however, in the Pashto [پشتو] language which had come to the surface from said great Pukhtoon [پختون] center. The traces of other than the Pashto [پشتو] related effects were available however in abundance.

District Mardan [ضلع مردان]:

The ancient Takhat Bie [تخت بائی] city was discovered in the Mardan district and was known in the ancient Persian language as Takhat-o-Har [تخت و ہار] i.e. Garland and Throne. The city of Balwal [بال ول], Jamal Garhi [جمال گڑھی], Sawal Dhair [ساول ڈھیر], Shahiyaz Garh [شاہباز گڑھ] and Gar-e-Kashmir [غار کشمیر] were considered collectively as the ancient vestigial treasure of archeology. There was one place which was known as the "Panni Dahrie" [پنّی ڈھیری] which was located at Toor Shamatpur [طور شامت پور] and has the significance as a historical place even today. There was another monument with the name as "Panni Dahre" [پنّی ڈھیر] in Mardan near Gujjrat [گجرات بخشالی] in the village Bakhshali [بخشالی] and was known as Rustam [رستم]. There were also traces of a pond or pool which were in the Tehsil Swabi [تحصیل صوابی] near the Lahore village and was known as Pannay Wand [پنئے ونڈ] (***Monthly Oolus*** [اوہس] ***1965 page 20-22***). The

Dharie referred at the Lahore village amongst other Dhariyan [ڈھیریاں] was also known as the Dahrie Rata Neirah [ڈھیری رتہ نیرہ] and was also called at times as the Surkh Dahrie [سرخ ڈھری] in the Pashto [پشتو] language. The word "Surkh" means color red. The word red was attributed to the Dahrie [ڈھری] just because of the scattered potsherds [ٹھیکریاں] which existed on its surface which used to emit the reddish glare. There was a well known Sanskrit grammarian by the name of Paninie [پانینی]. The common perception with regard to him was that he was from Mozia Samotala [موضع سموتلہ] of district Mardan. (*In the 4th century B.C "Panini" (patronymic meaning "descendant of Pani") was known as an ancient Indian Sanskrit grammarian and he had lived in Pushlalavati Gandharah area of present day Pakistan*). The same place was also known as Sam Atarla [سام اتارلہ]. The Chinese traveler Heun Sang [ہیون سانگ] had written the name of said area as Salatora [سالاتورہ]. There were some archeologists who had maintained the view that Paninie [پانینی], whose actual name was stated to be Panni [پنّی] or Paninie [پانینی], was possibly from a village which was buried under Rata Panra [رتہ پنڑ]. There was a Doctor by the name as Ragerwal who had written a research paper on Paninie [پانینی] a longtime ago and it had earned him the doctorate degree. Doctor Ragerwal, while standing on said mount, had revealed the aforementioned historical facts according to a retired superintendent. The retired superintendent was also present with him at the site. (***Letter Khan Wali Khan*** [خان ولی خان]). The excavation was not carried out on said site yet the possibility was that some more interesting information about the Panni nation was likely to surface from the site. (***Professor Dani*** [دانی] ***page 42***). There was also one engraved epigraph which was discovered on a rock-tablet near Shahbaz Garh [شہباز گڑھ].

Hazzara District [ڈسٹرکٹ ہزارہ]:

There were some monuments of ancient nations which were available in the northwestern corner of the Hazzara District (***Races page 94*****)**. There was one epigraph of the Ashok [اشوک] era (232 to 273 BC) which was engraved on a rock-tablet close to a Nula in Mansehrah [مانسہرہ] (***Kero*** [کیرو] ***page No.61***).

Taxilla [ٹیکسلہ]:

The historians had maintained the unanimous view that Taxilla was a buzzing and vibrant city socially in the 6th century BC. When Alexander the Great had conquered Punjab in 326 BC, it

was a beautiful city of erudite and affluent people and was densely populated. The antiquities and the archeological traces which were unearthed from Taxilla reflected that the living standard of the inhabitants of the area was quite high. Those discoveries had always invited for a deeper archeological study. The ruler of the Moriya dynasty [موریا خاندان] (297 BC) namely, Ashok [اشوک] was a Buddhist preacher. The statues of Buddha which had pertained to the Ashok [اشوک] era were discovered from the Taxilla vicinity. There was a fire temple which was also unearthed and besides that there was a depiction of a bi-cipitous eagle effigy (*which writer has seen personally)* on one of the discovered relics. The bi-cipitous eagle used to be popular among the ancient criminals. Those archeological discoveries cannot be attributed to the Pathan populace because there was no possibility that the neighboring area(s) of such an advanced nation was without the existence of human beings and which is believed to be the Pathan area at present. Those historical facts had proved that there were different nations which had ruled the Pathan areas in old times and the present Pathan populace was the intermingled descend of those nations of bygone eras.

VIEWPOINT OF SOME SMALLER NATION

Kafir or Kamooj [کافر یا کاموج]:

We have to discuss the smaller nations in the context of the Pathan populace which was a sequel assemblage of different nations. Those nations had proliferated in Gandharah [گندھارا] and Afghanistan. There was a non-Muslim nation which was known as Kamooj [کاموج] and still has the existence at the foot of the Hindu Kush [کوہ ہندوکش]. They were also known as the Kafir [کافر] people generally whereas, their area was known as Kafiristan [کافرستان] (or Nooristan [نورستان]) (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***page 472***). We have already mentioned that the remnants of Zoroastrian fire temples still exist in the Hindu Kush [کوہ ہندوکش] area as well as in its vicinity. The existence of those historical discoveries had established the fact that the whole Chitral valley [وادئ چترال] was ruled in the past by the Zoroastrians or the Gheber [گبر] nation. There were those Kafir tribes [کافر قبیلے] below Bir-Kot [بیر کوٹ] on the southern side who mostly used to wear the black dresses instead of white. They had belonged to the BUSHGALI nations. The Kafir [کافر] nation was although under the control of the Chitral [چترال] district yet they had always enjoyed the freedom of practicing their brand of religion and other traditional and cultural values as well

(***Budlaff*** [بڈلف] ***page No.64-65***). The Kafir [کافر] nation had always claimed that they were in fact four groups and three groups out of those four i.e. Kamoz [کاموز], Balar [بلار] and Salar [سلار] had embraced Islam. They initially used to live in the Kandhhar [قندهار] area. When some of their tribesmen had embraced Islam, the Kamooj [کاموج] nation had condemned them into exile. They had drifted then towards the north and east gradually but when their new areas had also come under the influence of Islam, they were left with no other option but to live in the northern mountains which was the area exactly where they live even today (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***page 473***). They were Greek genealogically, according to some historians. They had Russian origin with Slav roots, according to a Russian historian. The historian Budlaff was of the view that they were ancient Aryans and their present lifestyle is still somewhat in accordance with their ancient way of life (***Budlaff*** [بڈلف] ***page No.126***). We (*writer*) place them however, in the cyclic chain of historical events and take them as from the Panni nation. They had not intermingled perhaps with other nations frequently. *The explanation in detail, in this regard will follow later*. When, we see that the Kafir or Kamooj [کافر یا کاموج] people live in the areas of the Muslim Pathans even today and they are different completely from the rest of the Pathan populace, in terms of their culture and traditions, features and language, religion and ethos then, we feel somewhat constrained regardless of their origin, to draw the inference that the Pathans cannot be the considered *en masse* as the descendants of alleged sole agnate namely, Qais Abdur Rasheed [قیس عبدالرشید]. They were also not Jews which was a common perception among most of the Pathan groups with regard to their origin. We have to accept therefore, the self-supporting reality that the Kafir [کافر] people were the original inhabitants of said upland area. The present Afghanistan is located on the southern side of their country which had come into being in 1747 after receding from Iran and was the eastern part of Iran previously and Badkhshan [بدخشاں] was in its north whereas, Kashqaz [قاشقاز] was in the east. The area of Andrab [اندراب] and Khost [خوست] was located respectively, in the west which was connected to Balkh [بلخ] (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***page 472***). The population of said large size locale is generally Muslim by faith (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***page 133***).

There were a number of people from the Panni nation in Balkh [بلخ], Hurrat [ہرات] and Ghazni [غزنی]. They also used to live in the neighborhood of the Kafir [کافر] nation particularly the Safi offshoot [صافی شاخ] of the Panni nation. They are Muslim Pathans. The Kafir [کافر] people for instance feel inclined to embrace Islam at sometime in the future, which they will In sha'Allah

[انشا الله], and intermingle with the local Pathans and amalgamate particularly with the Safi [صافی] Pathans who happen to live in their neighborhood then, shall we also call them as the descendents of Qais Abdur Rasheed [قیس عبدالرشید] and will treat them as the ancient Afghans and/or Pathans? They will also become in other words, the descendents of same Qais [قیس] involuntarily, who was supposed to have become Muslim and he was named Abdur Rasheed [عبدالرشید] by the Prophet Muhammad [محمد ﷺ].

Safi Panni [صافی پنی]:

The Safi Pathan nation was a declared famous offshoot of the Panni nation. (***Makhzan Afghani*** [مخزن افغانی] ***page 120 Fahrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست بلوچستان] ***Page 54***). They are in great numbers in Afghanistan and particularly, in the surrounding areas of Peshawar.

They exist in great numbers also even today in Sorkamer [سورکمر] in the outskirts of Bajor [بجوڑ], in the area of Ter Kalie [ترکلائی] (***Imperial volume No.17 page 385***) towards Bajor [بجوڑ] and among Mohmand [مہمند] tribes (***Kero page 215***) in between Mohmand [مہمند] and Atman Khail [اتمان خیل] and in the north of Kabul [قابل] and Jalalabad [جلال آباد]. They exist besides that, in Kuner [کنڑ] and Tagao Valley [وادئ ٹگاو] and in Swat valley [وادئ سوات] (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***page 215).*** Then, they exist in Safi Kot [صافی کوٹ], on the river Zob [دریائے ژوب], in the south of Ghazni [غزنی] (***Afghana*** [افاغنہ] ***page 218***), in the southern area of Darrah Khyber [درۂ خیبر] and Tera [تیرہ]. They have their abodes among the Afridis [آفریدی] (***Problem page 62***). Then, they are available in the Kafir [کافر] and Mohmand [مہمند] areas (*They are the intermediary source of maintaining the relationship between the Kafir* [کافر] *and the Mohmand* [مہمند] *tribes*) (***Across the Border page 250***). They had twelve thousand houses in Afghanistan in 1867 (***Imperial volume No.5 page 47***) and in the Swat Valley [وادئ سوات]. There used to be hardly any village without at least two houses of the Safi Pathans (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***page 215).*** The Safi [صافی] Pathans of the Panni nation, who happen to exist in the neighboring area of the Kafir [کافر], speak the Indo-Aryan language which is somewhat similar to the language of the Kafir [کافر] people (***Imperial volume No.14 page 12***). The historians had held the unanimous view that the Safi tribe was the last amongst the Pathan groups to embrace Islam whereas they were from the Kamooj [کاموج] nation of Kafiristan [کافرستان] ethnically and used to have the parallel existence on their western side (***Imperial volume No.13 page 13-138***). The historians

were also of the view that as Safi [صافی] people were the last to embrace Islam therefore, their fanatic religious exuberance was much stronger as compared with other nations and was perhaps the reason that there were many religious Sheikhs [شیوخ] and religious mystics [عارف] amongst them (***Imperial volume No.14 page 12 volume 17 page 385***). *Details regarding the same will follow later*. The book which was captioned as "The Races of Afghanistan" ***page 70***" had revealed that the Safi [صافی] people used to live in the south of Kafiristan [کافرستان] and were the last ones to embrace Islam. The Safi [صافی] people were among the last ones to enter into the realm of Islam, according to Sir Aolaf Kero (***page 218)***. The compiler of the book which was captioned as "Across the Border ***page 250***" had revealed that the Safi [صافی] people were either from the Kafir [کافر] nation or they must have already intermingled with them. They had embraced Islam just in recent times and besides the name Safi [صافی] they were also known as the "Kafir" [کافر] people till the period of the Emperor Babar [شہنشاہ بابر]. They had become popular as Safi [صافی] people during the reign of Nadir Shah [نادرشاہ]. They were known in their evolutionary period or in between the period which was subsequent to giving up the Kafir status and accepting Islam as their religion as "Neemcha" [نیمچہ] or "Aneemcha" [انیمچہ] Kafir i.e. half Kafir and half Muslim. (*The word Neemcha* [نیمچہ] *was used with the names of some Nobles as a suffix in the history books of the Mughal period, Writer*). When, they had become complete Muslims after the completion of the intervening period, they were declared as "Mussaffa" [مصفحا] (sanitized) and thus they qualified to be called as the "Safi" [صافی] which means the "purified" (***Across the Border Page 25, Journal of Political Mission to Afghanistan Page 14-20, Bibliography Page 14)***. The factual position was that the Pathans had not accepted all the Islamic traits and practices straight-away. They had maintained somewhat confused beliefs, initially (*Detail will appear somewhere else*). Since, the Safi [صافی] was an offshoot of the Panni nation and they were considered as kin of the Kafir nation therefore they were possibly the reminiscent group of the ancient Panni nation.

Dahgan Nation [دہگان قوم]:

The book which was captioned as the "Military Reports on Afghanistan" had revealed that there was a nation by the name of Dahgan [دہگان] which used to live in the vicinity of Dir [دیر]. They were seventy five thousand people in number. They were in fact from the Kafir [کافر] nation. They had embraced Islam, about three hundred years ago and were harvesters by profession.

They used to prefer intermarriage with the Tajik [تاجک] people and their atypical language was from the original Sanskrit [سنسکرت] script which had the resemblance with the Safi [صافی] diction of expression which was known as "Naghmani" [نغمانی] or "Kohistani" [کوہستانی] language. The aforementioned facts had proved that there were many different nations which used to live in the areas of the Pathans. They had embraced Islam gradually and their remnants were still there but they were not the descendants of any so called person who had occupied the space in the books of history with the name as Qais Abdur Rasheed [قیس عبدالرشید].

Shansbani [شنسابنی]:

There was yet another proof available from the history of the Shansbani [شنسابنی] dynasty. The Shansbani [شنسابنی] people like the Safi nation had belonged to the Tajik [تاجک] nation. They used to live in the Hazzarjat [ہزارہ جات] of Afghanistan. They were popularly known as Shansbani [شنسابنی]. There was a common perception that said nation had embraced Islam in recent times (***Kero page 14***) and were considered as Pathans. The Muslim Pathans, if all of them were the descendants of Qais Abdur Rasheed [قیس عبدالرشید] then, the question was that what about said Shansbani [شنسابنی] tribe which had given up Islam as a religion about three hundred years ago then some of them had embraced Islam afresh, in recent times.

EVIDENCE OF PATHAN CULTURE AND TRADITIONS

The Monuments of the Panni and the Aryan nation:

The research based analysis of the Pathans traditional culture had also revealed that they were an assemblage of many nations which had included the Jewish people as well. There was a tradition amongst the families of Darrah Bollan [درۂ بولان] that they used to make a swastika (卐) *hakenbreuz* mark on the wall close to the bed of a mother and her newly born baby during the maternity period which used to be the national sign of the Aryans. The Pathans in the areas of the fort Sandayman [سنڈیمان] and in the district Mardan etc. also used to enjoy a very interesting tradition. The guests, according to said tradition, used to start ripping apart the dresses of each other at the wedding function and at the time of departure of a bride, without having even any

regard for the expensiveness of clothes. They used to provoke each other by pinching with the pointed objects in order to initiate said tradition. The relatives of a bride in the fort Sandayman [سنڈیمان] area used to make hue and cry ostentatiously and they used to pretend that the relatives of the groom were there to kidnap their daughter. The non-relatives of the bride, if avoided the hue and cry exercise, then those guests used to force them to express at least their sympathies. When the hue and cry exercise used to be pacified by the sympathizers then the relatives of the groom used to be allowed to take away the bride. There were also available references that the (*would be*) bride used to be kidnapped even without Nikkah [نکاح] and the Nikkah [نکاح] used to be solemnized at the place of the groom. The relatives used to pretend to grapple with each other during the hue and cry session. The objective of the same used to be to establish that the relatives of the groom were powerful enough and they were capable enough to protect the honor of the bride. Thus, they used to snatch her away. The same tradition with regard to kidnapping the girls of the Hindus was popular among the Panni Parthian nation in ancient times. The Hindus used to call them resultantly as the Pathans. The word "Path" (پٹھ) as mentioned above, means the girls and "Aan" (آن) means, the kidnapper ((*Parthian or Pathans i.e. the Girls Kidnappers*) (***Muhammad Maki Abbasi*** **[**محمد نقی عباسی**]** ***page No.5***). The aforementioned tradition is presently nothing more than a reference of good old times among the Pathans.

Cancellation of the Right of Nikkah and Pinky Marriage [حق نکاح کی تنسیخ اور پنکی شادی]:

The references were also available that if any girl used to show willingness to marry a particular person on her own or she used to be desirous to marry into a particular family then she used to be denied in reprisal the right of Nikkah [نکاح] for her entire life which was a non-Islamic tradition. The widow or the widows used to be distributed amongst the relatives of the deceased at some places just like the other heritable commodities. The said tradition used to remind the masochistic [مزدک] canons of the Sassanid [ساسانی] era in Iran which were based on sharing woman [زن], wealth [زر] and land [زمین]. There was yet another form of Nikkah [نکاح] which used to be prevalent among the Pathans besides the Nikkah [نکاح] in accordance with Sharia [شریعہ]. The same was known as the "Pinky" [پنکی] Nikkah [نکاح] but said form of marriage, unlike "Mutta" [متعہ] i.e. the temporary marriage which is in practice in Iran, even today. Then, the right of second Nikkah [نکاح] also used to be denied to some widows in some families of the Pathans and the same was also one of the practices which were inherited from the Hindu culture.

Sacrifice as per Torah [توراۃ کے باب قربانی**]:**

There used to be an old tradition which was practiced in the family of the writer and according to the same, the mother of a new born baby was restrained even to touch the mutton dish. Then, the paternal side of the baby used to prepare the festive mutton dish along-with some sweet dish and all the Panni family members used to recite the Holy Quran [قرآن] and after offering the prayers for the departed souls of the ancestors, they used to make the mother of a newly born baby eat the cooked mutton first. Then, they used to enjoy the mutton dish, collectively. They used to bury the leftover bones of the mutton dish afterwards and if any family member was unable to attend the function, his share used to be sent to his place. The children of a Panni girl married into a non-Panni family were not invited to participate in said function. The symbolic objective of said tradition used to be to announce the formal entry of the newly born baby along-with his/her mother into the Panni family and the announcement of their formal patronage in the presence of all the Panni family members as flesh and blood of the family. The mother of the writer (*Writer of this book*) was ironically not allowed to eat mutton due to some medical reasons at the time of his birth. The said tradition was observed therefore, after one year when she had recovered fully from her poor health. There was one fact which may also be kept in mind that the Panni people used to be less inclined towards any religion in ancient times (***Fry*** [فرائی] ***page No.199 and No.200***). The aforementioned tradition was the replicated version of a tradition which was mentioned in Torah [توراۃ]. The lips of the newly born used to be made red according to the same with the blood of some sacrificed animal and his forehead also used to be marked with the blood stain [تلک]. The tradition which used to be practiced in the family of the writer was also perhaps the Islamized version of said Jewish tradition which in any case was a Jewish practice which had trickled down probably into the old Pathan culture as well.

Impacts of Masochism [مزدکی مذہب کے اثرات]:

The Kakar [کاکڑ] tribe of the Pathan nation was an offshoot of Saka [ساکا] or Sathi [ستھی] nation, in accordance with our research which was akin to the Panni nation. There were some people among them whose way of living used to be somewhat on the Masochistic [مزدکی] style. The Masochism [مزدک] used to exit during the era of the Iranian ruler namely, Qabad [قباد] (487 AC

to 531 AC). He was a self acclaimed prophet and the then king had accepted him as a prophet along-with forty thousand Magus [پارسی]. There was peace in the world because of executing the canons of sharing woman [زن], wealth [زر] and land [زمین] by every human being according to his teachings and most of the feuds were also due to acting on the contrary (***Syed Jamal-u-din Afghani*** [جمال الدین افغانی] ***page 133***).

Proof of Masochistic Impacts [مزدکی اثرات کا ثبوت]:

There was yet another tradition among the Pathans and Khushal Khan Khatak [خوشحال خان خٹک] had also referred to said tradition in his poetry. The translation of one of his stanzas was that, "They will gobble up the inheritance of the father and will not recognize the right of a paternal aunt [پھوپھی], mother [ماں] and sister [بہن]" "Even the funeral (*dead body*) of the brother would be lying at home and they will marry the widow [بھاوج] of their deceased brother with or without her consent" They will not take retaliation money [قصاص] and instead will murder someone else as a revenge" (***Swanaih Khushal Khan*** [سونح خوشحال خان] ***page 226***). We have already explained above that the feuds were supposed to be settled and the peace was possible in the world by sharing woman [زن], wealth [زر] and land [زمین] in accordance with masochism [مزدکیت]. The Pathans cast aside innovatively however, the wealth [زر] and land [زمین] part and prefer to settle the issue of woman [زن] first. Then, they do not have to part with the other two this way.

Impacts of Khawarij [خوارج کے اثرات]:

The customs of Khawarij [خوارج] and Nawasib [نواصب] used to be very much in vogue among the people of Khost [خوست] and Karm [کرم]. Those people used to make a human effigy and then they used to bury the same on the 1st day of Muharam [محرم]. Then, they used to bring it out on the 10th of Muharam [محرم] with the joyous slogans and then they used destroy the same after sometime. Those people used to avoid circumcision and they used to consider it as a bad omen. They used to defy the Islamic values by practicing the eccentricities and despite that they used to be known as Muslims (***Syed Jamal-u-din Afghani*** [جمال الدین افغانی] ***page 134-135***).

Impact of Christianity [عیسائت کے اثرات]:

The book which was captioned as Tatima-tul-Bayan [تتمہ البیان] by Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, had revealed that when the Pathans of Kandahar [قندھار] had migrated from their homeland and they had settled down in their new country, their religion was Christianity [عیسائت] at said time. They frequently used to practice the customs of their forefathers and used to make for instance, a sign on their tortillas (Chapati [روٹی]) which used to have the resemblance with the Christian cross.

Individual or Collective Bond [انفرادی یا اجتماعی تمسک]:

There was a general practice among the smaller Pathan tribes to establish the bondage with the larger tribe. The smaller tribe used to avail the right of collective protection according to said practice by affiliating and amalgamating itself into a larger tribe. The said tradition was called as "Humsaya" [ہمسایہ]. The tribe which used to opt to merge into the other tribe used to be considered to have relinquished its identity in the process. There used to be a similar tradition which used to be in practice also in the family of the writer, since ages. When a new non-Panni bride used to marry into the Panni family, a ceremonial function used to be arranged by the groom at his place just after a few days of marriage, according to said tradition. The Panni family members besides the bride, used to participate in the same. The eatables used to be supplied by the parents of the bride, as a matter of tradition. The said tradition was called as "Reet" [ریت] in the common parlance. The objective of performing "Reet" [ریت] used to be to acknowledge the entry of a new bride formally as a member of the Panni family. The bride used to be encouraged in this way to amass the requisite confidence to bid farewell comfortably, to her family.

The aforementioned practices had provided collectively the food for thought and all those traditions used to be prevalent among the Pathans. These were the reflection of the diverse impacts and diversified influences of the non-Muslim nations, in one way or the other. We will discuss in detail, in one of the chapters to follow that, neither the rulers nor, the subjects used to follow any particular religion, during the period of ancient Iranian rulers. They were the followers of more than one religion at a time, according to their religious practices which used to include the Zoroastrianism [زرتشتی], Jewish [یہودی] and Aryan [آریا] practices etc. There were some rulers however, who had allowed some very special concessions to the Jews. They were

the ones who had preserved resultantly, the Zoroastrian teachings and traditions. Then they had passed the same on to their Sassanid [ساسانی] successors.

PANNI PATHAN

Chapter-II

Pashto language is an amalgam of different languages [پشتو مختلف زبانوں کا مجموعہ ہے]:

We will now examine the construction of the Pashto language and we will analyze its formulation as well as its other lingual constituents. We shall also try to determine from some more sources that the Pathan populace was a spin-off assemblage of various nations.

Resemblance of the words with other languages [دوسری زبانوں کے الفاظ سے مماثلت]

There were undoubtedly many other nations which had also contributed in the wholesome existence of the Pathan populace. The traditions and culture, habits and the customs of the Pathan people were therefore unlikely to avoid the general cultural impact of those other nations. The ecological demeanors had also played an important role in characterizing their general way of life, traditions, culture and language.

Mr. Hazy Walter Blue had compiled a dictionary of the Pashto language. The words of the Pashto language were derived mostly from the Persian language, according to him. The contrary view of a French scholar was in this regard, that the Pashto language was close to Sanskrit [سنسکرت] and Avesta [اوستا] languages (***Pashto Zaban aur Adab ki Tareekh*** [پشتو زبان وادب کی تاریخ] ***page No.46***).

The Pathan tribal areas are located in the middle of the Gandharah [گندھارا] region. The peripheral stretch of the same is up-to the area of present Afghanistan, generally known as the Pathan [پٹھان] tribal areas. There were different nations in said large region which were able to create their respective regal episodes of rise and fall in the history and the Saka [ساکا] or the Sathi[ستھی] nation was also among them. They had landed in the area from the north, to imprint their way of reigning. The Panni Parthi nation (249 AC to 236 BC) (*We will discuss in extenso later*) and the Sathi [ستھی] nation (*We have already discussed)* had migrated into Iran at a large scale, according to Sir Olaf Kero. They were able to unwrap in the process, the ancient cultural as well as, the traditionally warped linguistic tapestry of the Greeks and *Achaemenids* [اشامینی] eras. The

reigning oligarchs of those two nations had also contributed to a large extent, in the transformation of the antediluvian countenance of the area (*Page 64*). The advent of the Panni nation in Iran was about one hundred years prior to the advent of the Saka [ساکا] nation in the Gandharah [گندھارا] region. The advent of the Saka [ساکا] nation in Iran had auspicated literally, the spread of the culture and the traditions of the Panni nation, as a civilization. Those two nations were not only akin to each other rather, the Saka [ساکا] nation had perpetually remained under the tremendous cultural impact of the Panni nation. The hierarchy and the chiefs as well as, the leading personalities from northern Iran, which is known as Afghanistan presently, were also influenced by the cultural impact of the Panni nation, well before the advent of the Saka [ساکا] nation. (*We may point out that the nation which is known as Kakar* [کاکڑ] *is also an offshoot of the Saka people. They are based in Afghanistan as well as, on its southeastern fringe, towards Kashmir. They are based besides that, in the Valley in Baluchistan)*. The said cultural influence had overwhelmed the area generally because the suzerains of the Panni nation were able to acquire the control over other areas besides the present Afghanistan. Those areas were under the Greek Bactrian [یونانی باختر] kingdom. They were able to surface as a strong checkmate and resultantly, they were also able to create the impact on Baluchistan.

The historical events have further unfolded the facts that when the Panni nation was able to bring the check from the south, on the forward march of the Saka nation into their country, the Saka nation had no other option but to turn towards the Gandharah [گندھارا] as well as, towards the Sindh [سندھ] areas. The cultural and the traditional influence of the Panni nation had absorbed the Saka nation more rapidly as a consequence of the same. The linguistic character of the Saka language and the language of the Panni rulers of Iran was quite identical, according to the historians. The unanimous view of most of the historians was that the Pashto language had received the exposure at its embryonic stage, in the Gandharah [گندھارا] region only which was during the reigning period of the Saka nation. The said view has remained unchallenged somehow or the other till today. When the Panni rulers of Iran were enjoying the glorious reign of power up-to Armenia and Iraq in the 2nd century AC, the language of the Panni nation was also the common language of the Medes [میڈیا] and the Sathi [ستھی] or Saka [ساکا] people, according to the Greek historian, Justin. The other historians had acknowledged the primordial shape of the Pashto language as the common language of the same era. Then whosoever was present in the Pathan areas at that time, he was involved in the literal sense, in the process of

blending the vocabulary from other languages, with the Pashto language. Thus, every contemporaneous member of the then society had rendered his bit of contribution perpetually in the formulation of a new language.

The researcher namely, Grieson Dramiter had declared in his treatise, with regard to the Pashto language, which was captioned as "Linguistic Survey of India" [ہندوستان کی زبانوں کا جائزہ] that, it was a definite eastern tributary language of Iran which had enormously benefitted from the northwestern areas. He had given his explicit views that the origin of the Pashto language was the Avesta [اوستا] language whereas the Zend [ژند] language was its exegesis (*Kero Page 65*). Syed Jamal-u-din Afghani [سید جمال الدین افغانی] had also expressed the same view in his book which was captioned as Tattima-tul-Bayan [تتمہ البیان]. Then, there was certification from a historian, namely, Morgenstern and according to him, the Pashto language was the tongue of the Saka nation which was able to create its tenor into the Gandharah [گندھارا] region, from the north. There were some names in this regard, which had come to the surface from the discovered epigraphs along-with the terminologies of the Saka rulers of Gandharah [گندھارا] which were identified as the *Kharoṣṭhī* [خروشطی] characters. Then, there were some disinterred coins of the Saka rulers, which were also in the same *Kharoṣṭhī* [خروشطی] ideograph. Those epigraphs and the coins had depicted the lingual impact of the eastern part of Iran which was not limited to the Saka period only. The *Kharoṣṭhī* [خروشطی] script had remained in vogue rather, even during the Kashan [کشان] era (50 AC) after the reign of the Saka people. The general constituents of those names on the epigraphs and the Pashto language were quite identical. We may well infer that the Pashto language was indebted to a great extent to the Saka nation for its verbalized version (*Kero Page 66, Syed Jamal-U-Din Afghani Page 27*). There was one fact which was established at least from the general style that the Pashto language, as a result of its birth in the medial area of Iran and Hindustan, had benefitted from other prevalent languages of both areas (*Kero Page 68*). The impact of the Iranian influence on said area can also be ascertained from the coins which were disinterred in recent times. Those coins had the graphed effigy of a fire temple which was similar to the effigy on the coins of the Sassanid Ardsher [ساسانی ارد شیر] era (226 to 240 AC).

Terminologies of the Panni rulers [پنّی حکمرانوں کی اصطلاحات]:

The terminology "SPADA DA GAMA" of the Panni nation had attained inter alia, the significance of a usage among the Saka nation. The meaning of the word(s) "Spada" was taken as "the Lashker [لشکر]". The meaning of the word "Da" was taken as "Junior [چھوٹا]" and "Gama" was taken as "the Leader [قائد]" i.e. the junior leader of a lashker. The term "AHURAMAZDA CHASTAN" was the second example in this regard, which had included the terminology of "Spalahora" or "Spadahora". The word "Spada" was taken as "the lashker [لشکر]" and the word "Ahwar" was taken as "the spirit" or "god [روح یا خدا]". The word "Chistana" [چستانا] is pronounced as "Chastaan" [چستان] in the Pashto language. The word "Takhtaan [تختان]" was used with the meaning "to have or hold", according to the grammatical rule of the Pakhto [پختو] language. The same was modified in the Pashto language as "laram" [لارم]. There were many other quotable examples besides that, in which the Persian words were incorporated into the Pashto [پشتو] language. There are just a few examples, as below:

Persian:	Pashto:	Urdu:	English:
هم	هم	نیز، بھی	also, besides that
پدر	پلار	باپ	father
دیدن	لیدن	دیکھنا	to see
ده	لس	دس	ten
دست	لاس	ہاتھ	hand
دیوانہ	لوانہ	پاگل یا دیوانہ	mad or insane
ہمیان	ہمیانی	روپے رکھنے کی تھیلی	pouch for money

(*Kero Page 44*)

The area of Afghanistan and Gandharah [گندھارا] had experienced the Iranian influence for about two hundred years under the *Achaemenid* [اشامینی] Iranian rulers, prior to the takeover of the same by the Saka nation. The entire region had not only remained under the influence of the *Achaemenid* [اشامینی] rulers but, the same had failed to wriggle out from their cultural and lingual impact for about one century and even after the fall of the *Maurya* dynasty **[**موریا خاندان]. The language and the civilization of the Greek Bactrian **[**یونانی باختر] rulers with their peculiar cultural tinge had also created an impact on the area thereafter (*Kero Page No.67, 68, 1240*). Mehrdad

Panni-II [مہرداد دوم] was able to defeat the aggressor Saka nation just after his enthronement in Iran. The said event had taken place just before the Jesus Christ era. Mehrdad Panni-II [مہرداد دوم] had pushed them towards the present Afghanistan. Those throngs of the Saka nation had emerged from across the river Oxus [دریائے جیحوں]. They were able to overwhelm the entire Gandharah [گندھارا] region. Then, they had remained in power till the 5th century AC. The Khuroshti [خروشطی] ideograph had also remained in vogue in the Gandharah [گندھارا] region as long as they were in power. The Sareen Panni [سرین پنّی] people were able to topple the reign of the Saka nation thereafter. Then, the Ghandaferi Panni [گندافری پنّی] nation had assumed the overall administrative control of the area. The said domination had lasted till 75 AC. Islam as a religion had not made its entry into the Gandharah [گندھارا] region till that time. The Kashan [کشان] nation had taken away said area thereafter, from the Ghandaferi Panni [گندافری پنّی] people. The paleographical proof of aforementioned facts had come to the surface from a discovered epigraph which was in the Khuroshti [خروشطی] ideograph (*Details will follow later*). Iran and Hindustan were also able to cast a very strong lingual influence on the overall civility of the area during the course of said historical journey. The Saka nation had evolved a peculiar dialect by virtue of their interaction with the local populace, in said area as well as, in the Gandharah [گندھارا] region generally, according to the historians. The same was the downright foundation *donné* of the Pathan tongue i.e. the Pashto [پشتو] language. When, the nations find an uninterrupted opportunity to live together, the aforementioned dynamics also determine the course of formulating a language. The Saka nation was on the move from east and west and was also on the move from the Herat [ہرات] route. There were also historical proofs with regard to the entry of the Saka nation into the north as well as, in the northeastern areas from Gomal [درہ گومل], Tochi [ٹوچی] and Pewarr [پیواڑ] Derrahs (*Kero Page 70*).

The resemblance of the abovementioned words as well as, the general events had proved sufficiently that the Pashto [پشتو] language had emerged as a new language just by virtue of interaction of the people and as a result of frequent movement of nations which were based in the Gandharah [گندھارا] region. The same was also the result of interaction with other people who used to dwell in the vicinity. The birth of the Pashto [پشتو] language had taken place in the same manner, in which the Urdu language had come into being in the Shah Jahan [شاہجہان] era. The emergence of the Urdu language was also the result of large scale interaction among the soldiers of different nations.

When we were able to carry out the comparative study of the language of the Kafir [کافر] or Kamooj [کاموج] nations with the Pashto [پشتو] language then, both languages had emerged as an agglutinative compound of the Greek [یونانی] Sanskrit [سنسکرت], Sac tan (locals language) [سکہتن] and the Bhasha [بھاشا] languages. The aforementioned facts were indicative of a reality that the Greeks, Tatars and Hindu idolaters had also contributed respectively in the overall demography of the Pathan populace. There was also an established historical fact that the Bhasha [بھاشا] language was used as a common language up-to the Kandahar [قندھار] area during the Hindu era (***Hayat Afghani*** **[**افغانی] ***Page 474***). The word "Mian" [میاں] of the Urdu language, which is used commonly for Sardar [سردار], Chaudhry [چودھری] and Syed [سید] (for elders) was derived in fact from the Sanskrit word "Maha" [مہا]. The said word is also in common use amongst the Pathan people and was also historically used with the names of the Pathan elders besides, with the names of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] and his father. The morphological comparison of some words of the Pashto [پشتو] language had revealed that there was also a considerable contribution of the Bhasha [بھاشا], Pahlavi [پہلوی] and Sanskrit [سنسکرت] languages other than the language of the Saka nation in the overall composition of the Pashto [پشتو] language.

There were many words of the Pashto [پشتو] language which were identical with the language of the Kafir [کافر] or Kamooj [کاموج] nation of today. The words of the Pashto language, besides resembling with the Bhasha [بھاشا] language, had the resemblance with the words of the Urdu [اردو] language as well. There are some words of the Kafir [کافر] language, as below:

Kafir [کافر] **language**:	**Urdu**:	**English**:
ایمز	خدا [god]	Hermaz [ہرمز] is the first day of every solar month. The same reflects the link of ancient people of Iran and Zoroastrians with sun.
آئے	آگ [fire]	In Persian [آتش]
پتال	زمین	The word "Patal" [پتال] is used for ground depth. In Panjabi [پنجابی] the

		same is used for lower ground portion.
ڈپلا	پسر [father]	In Persian [پسر]
گا	بیل [ox]	In Persian [گاونر] in Urdu [گئے] in Hindi [گٹو]
آؤ	پانی [water]	In Persian [آب]
تاره	ستاره [star]	In Persian [کوکب]
تپئے	گرم [hot]	In Persian [آتپ] substantive verb [تپیدن] in Panjabi [بخار]
زوان	زمستان [winter]	In Persian [زمستان]
		(***Hayat Afghani*** **[**افغانی**]** ***Page 186***)

Miscellaneous words [چند متفرق الفاظ]:

We feel that it will be appropriate to explain some words with the literal meaning in order to highlight the similarity in the construction and composition with the words of the Pashto [پشتو] language.

Pashto [پشتو]:	**Persian and Urdu** Resemblance[مماثلت]:	**English**:
خرمستی [roistering]	بے تمیز	The word which gives the meaning as "roistering" is used in Urdu and Persian for the same meaning.
سونار [goldsmith]	سنار	A distorted form of word goldsmith.
شادی [joy and happiness]	خوشحالی	It is used in Urdu and Persian for the same meaning.
شهلا [brown eyed]	بھورے رنگ کی آنکھ، اردو	The poets in Urdu use the word

	میں شعرا محبوب کی آنکھ کو نرگس شہلا سے نسب دیتے ہیں	"Negis Shalla" [نرگس شہلا] for the eyes of beloved.
شومی خست [Stinginess]	بخل، کنجوسی	Stinginess [کنجوسی] It is used in Urdu and Persian for the same meaning.
غنم [wheat]	گندم	Distorted form for word Gandum [گندم wheat].
لکی [millionaire]	پشتو میں لاکھوں کا مالک، پنجابی لکھی ہزاری مستعمل ہے	It is used in Pashto for millionaire and in Panjabi "Lakhi" [لکھی] is used for millionaire.
منڈیل [turban]	پشتو میں عام دستار کے لئے، لیکن اہل پنجاب ایک خاص قسم کی نفیس دستاراور باریک کپڑے کی دستار کے لئے استعمال کرتے ہیں۔	In Pashto it is used for a common turban. In Punjab it is used for fine/thin turban cloth.
نوی [new]	نوے، مماثلت ظاہر ہے۔	Navi [نوی] and Navay [نوے] the resemblance is quite evident.
وتر [to make wet]	پشتو میں زمین میں جزب شدہ نمی، پنجابی میں تھوڑا سا گیلا کرنے کے لئے استعمال ہوتا ہے	In Pashto it is used for moisture absorbed in the ground and in Panjabi it is used for wetting by sprinkling the water.
وٹ [objection or defect and resentfulness.]	پشتو نقص، یا اعتراض کے لئے، پنجابی میں خفگی کے لئے استعمال ہوتا ہے	In Pashto it is used for objection or defect whereas, in Panjabi it is used for resentfulness.
وہاری [merchant]	بیوپاری،سوداگر لفظ بیوپاری،سوداگر اردو اور پنجابی میں مستعمل ہے،مماثلت واضع ہے	Sodagar [سوداگر] is used in Urdu and Panjabi for the same meaning.

The history of the Pashto language and literature [پشتو زبان و آدب کی تاریخ]:

The archeological studies had brought forth the names of three rulers i.e. Pakhthu **[**پختهو**]**, Sewa **[**سیوا**]** and Yadoo [یادو]. They used to be the rulers in the ancient Gandharah [گندهارا] region (***Dani*** [دانی] ***Page 30***). Those rulers were seemingly at clash against each other. We may suppose adroitly that the identity of the followers of those rulers was very much patronymic in nature which was by virtue of their allegiance with their respective chiefs. The followers of the Pakhthu **[**پختهو**]** used to enjoy the patronymic identity as "Pakhthu **[**پختهو**]**" due to the sonic attribution. The initial spadework was carried out therefore, under the influence of said ruler and the word "Pakhthu **[**پختهو**]**" had resultantly become popular. Then the idiolect use of the same had changed the pronunciation of the word "Pakhthu **[**پختهو**]**" gradually and it had assumed the sound as "Pashto" [پشتو]. Thus, those who used to speak said language had also acquired the identity as the "Pakhtoon" [پختون] with the passage of time. The Pashto [پشتو] speaking people are well acquainted with the fact that the areas where Pashto [پشتو] is used as a customary language, the alphabet Khay [خ] is replaced with the alphabet Sheen [ش] and vice versa. They write and read the same therefore, as Shadi Khan [شادی خان] instead of Khadi Khan [خادی خان]. There are some people who pronounce Peshawar [پشاور] as Pekhawer [پخاور]. Thus, said language is known as the Pakhto [پختو] as well as, the Pashto [پشتو] language. Those who speak the Pakhto [پختو] or the Pashto [پشتو] language are also known with the slight inflection of pronunciation as the Pashtoon [پشتون] or the Pakhtoon [پختون] people. The people who speak said language are also known as one nation, despite some variations in their dialect at the regional level. There was a general perception that the names of the other two rulers were also inflected to sound as Gadoon [گدون] or as Jadoon [جادون] or Judoon [جدون] or Yazdoon [یدون]. The people of those tribe(s) were the known offshoots of the Panni nation. There is a small town in the district Mardan even today with the people of the third name i.e. Yadoo **[**یادو**]** which is known as Sewa **[**سیوا**]**. There were some historians with the view that the people who used to live in the Gandharah [گندهارا] area were known amongst the Armenians [آرمینی] as the Afghan [افغان] people. The word Afghan [افغان] means, in the Armenian [آرمینی] language as "the people from across the mountain" (***Dani*** [دانی] ***Page 111***). Those people were known therefore, as the Afghan [افغان] people, collectively. There was yet another fact which was worthy of consideration that Abu Al-Fazal [ابو الفضل], the courtier of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر], had given the reference of the "Afghani" [افغانی]

language among other languages, in Aaien-e-Akberi [آئین اکبری]. He had not branded the same as Pashto [پشتو] or Pakhto [پختو] language (*Aaien-e-Akberi* [آئین اکبری] *Volume No.3 Page 45*). The aforementioned explanation had brought forth the fact that the Pashto [پشتو] or the Pakhto [پختو] language had no existence whatsoever till the period of abovementioned three rulers. The traveler Albrooni [البرونی] was believed to have reported in the 11th century AC that there were different nations which used to live at the western mountainous frontier. The stretch of the same was up-to the Sindh valley [وادئ سندھ]. The famous traveler Fahyan [فہیان] had called Afghanistan as Lo-I [لوئی]. He had expressed his views further that the people of said area used to live in high mountains in the tribal order (*Page 62*).

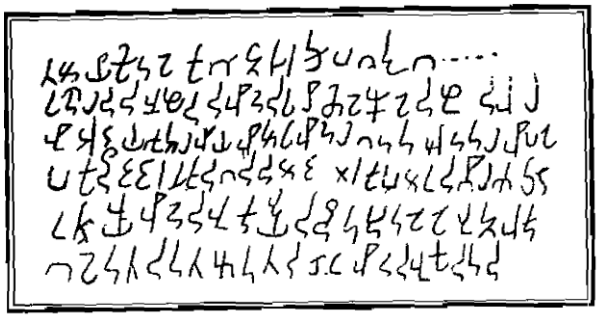
The old as well as, the modern literature of the Pashto [پشتو] language had not brought forth any proof of the fact that said language had any existence historically, even prior to the above mentioned massive intermingling orgy of many nations. The same had also not provided any clue as to when its seminal beginning had taken place. Then, it had also not provided the guidance to ascertain the morphological inclusion of the Hindi [ہندی], Sanskrit [سنسکرت], Zend [ژند], Arabic [عربی] and Persian [فارسی] words in said language. There was undoubtedly the inclusion of some Turkish words into the Pashto [پشتو] language as well. The Pashto [پشتو] language was resultantly one of the tributary tongues among the Aryan languages. There was also a noticeable dialectical difference in the Pashto [پشتو] language of different areas. The accent of the customary Pashto [پشتو] language of the northern areas of Pakistan is slightly harsh which is known as "Pakhto" [پختو] language. The aforementioned Pakhto [پختو] accent is prevalent in Swat **[**سوات**]**, Bonair [بنیر], Bajor [بجوڑ] and among the Yousaf Zai [یوسف زئی], Mohmand [مہمند], Afridi [آفریدی], Orak Zai [اورک زئی] and Bangush [بنگش] areas. The accent of the Pashto [پشتو] language is polite however, which is commonly used among the Mahsood [محسود], Marwat [مروت], Khattak [خٹک] tribes and in the southern areas which is known therefore as Pashto [پشتو]. The Pashto [پشتو] language, which is prevalent amongst the Yousaf Zai [یوسف زئی] tribe at present, enjoys the insurmountable ascendency over other accents (*Azad Pathan* [آزاد پٹھان] *page No.74*). There was no existence of the Pashto [پشتو] as a customary language till the Hindu Shahi [ہندو شاہی] era, according to Sir Olaf Kero. The language of said era was Prakrat [پراکرت] which had not contained even a single word from the Pakhto [پختو] language. There were some pantheist nations which used to live in the area of Teerah [تیرہ]. They used to cause problems to the Muslim population of Peshawar which had proved the fact that the people of Teerah [تیرہ]

were not known as the Pakhto [پختو] people till that time. They are recognized however, in the area at present, as Afridi [آفریدی] and Orak zai [اورک زئی] Muslims (*Page 56-58*).

There was another viewpoint with regard to the connotation of the Pashto [پشتو] or Pakhto [پختو] language which was also required to be considered duly. The name of the Bactria [بلخ] was Pakhat [پکهت] according to the religious book, Rig-Veda [رگ وید] which was mentioned in Awista [اوستا] however, as Bkhad [بخد]. The word Bakht [بخت] or Pakhad [پخت] and Pusht [پشت] were the vernacular manifestations only. The people of said area were known as "Bkhadi" [بخدی] "Pakhti" [پکهتی] or "Pakhteen" [پکهتین] and "Pushti" [پشتی] or "Pushteeni" [پشتین] as it was evident from the statements of Batlimoos Herodotus and the Chinese travelers. Muhammad Hayat Khan, [محمد حیات خان], the author of Tareekh Afghanistan [تاریخ افغانستان] had maintained the view that the connotation of the word "Pashtoon" [پشتون] was just due to the fact that the place which was known as Ghoreen Pusht [غورین پشت] was the abode of Qais Abdur Rasheed [قیس عبدالشید] who was allegedly the agnate of said nation. The said nation had become known as Pashtoon [پشتون] by virtue of provenance with "Ghoreen Pusht" [غورین پشت] area and consequently, their language had also become known as Pashto [پشتو]. Since, those people used to live in the mountains therefore, the same was known as the Pushta [پشتہ] which means, the mountain. Thus, the inhabitants of said area had also become known as the Pashtoon [پشتون] by virtue of their *pied-à-terre* association with the word Pushta [پشتہ]. The word "Pashtoon [پشتون]" means "Kohi [کوہی]" i.e. the "Hillman" or "Kohistani [کوہستانی]" "Highland Man". The famous historian, politician and the author of the book which was captioned as "Pakhto Tareekh" [پختو تاریخ] *Page 33 Volume 1*, namely, Qazi Atta Ullah (late) [قاضی عطا اللہ] had endorsed the aforementioned view with regard to the provenance factor in the construction of the word Pashtoon [پشتون] (*Madni* [مدنی] *Page No.3 and No.10*). The first theory in our opinion (*writer)* was that the Pashto [پشتو] language was a grotesque compound of many languages and the same was acceptable morphologically. The last theory had also endorsed said view. The postulation with regard to Qais Abdur Rasheed [قیس عبدالشید] and his abode at "Ghoreen Pusht" (غورین پشت) was a mere supposition however, in the light of those historical facts.

There were no traces whatsoever of the early history and literature of the Pathans. The Pashto [پشتو] language had failed to rise apparently above the status of a dialectical tongue for centuries. Then, there were no paleographical traces of the Pashto [پشتو] language even prior to the advent

of Islam. The Pashto [پشتو] lettering as a medium was also the gift of Islam. The folklores, tales, stories and lyrics etc. had travelled from mouth to mouth (*Azad Pathan* [آزاد پٹھان] *page No.76*). The ideography of the Pashto [پشتو] language had proved that the attention was diverted towards the Pashto [پشتو] language as a writing medium only in the Islamic era. There was neither any historian who had provided any paleographic evidence of any ideograph which had pre-existed the present Pashto [پشتو] ideogram nor, there was any document which had provided any guidance in this regard. The oldest book of Pashto [پشتو] language was "Sheikh Mili Ki Tareekh" [شیخ ملی کی تاریخ] i.e. the "History of Sheikh Mili" according to Mr. Rawerti, the author of Pashto [پشتو] lexicon. The author of said book had narrated the history of his tribe which was also coupled with the achievements of his tribe. **(*Pashto Zuban au Adab ki Tareekh*** [پشتو زبان وادب کی تاریخ] ***page, No.27*)**. Then, if there was any ideograph at all which had pre-existed the Pashto [پشتو] language, the same was also available in the Kharoshti [خروشطی] ideograph or in the ideograph of Veda [وید] i.e. Devanagari [دیوناگری]. There was no written document available in the Pashto [پشتو] language to match those ideographs. There were ancient graffito inscriptions available however and the same were also not in the Pashto [پشتو] language. The sacred books of the Hindus i.e. Rig-Veda [رگ وید] etc. had existed in the ancient times. The Aryans [آریا], Buddhist [بدھ] and the Hindu Shahi [ہندو شاہی] had ruled the Pathan areas as old civilizations for a long time therefore, if any ideograph had emerged during the ensuing period, the same was in Devanagari [دیوناگری] ideogram only. The proof of the Kharoshti [خروشطی] ideograph in said area was the ancient graffito on a well at Ara [آرا] near Attock [اٹک].



Translation from left to right: This well in the period of son of Washka Maharaja Wyoputra Kisara Kanshaka, on 41st year, month chalisthah, day 25th Dashahara of the Pashawari offshoot of dynasty, for the good reputation of his mother, father and son, without distinction of human birth, race and caste, has been dug for the welfare of human and after writing the same..... ***Dani Page 68***.

The graffito in question had pertained to the period of Raja Daiva Putra Kasara Knshaka (***Dani*** [دانی] ***Page 28***). The same had also proved that the Devanagari [دیوناگری] ideography was also not in vogue by that time and was introduced very late during the ensuing period. The tombstone (*written epitaph*) which was affixed on the tomb of Sultan Shahab-ud-Din Ghori [شہاب الدین غوری] (1162–15 March 1206) was also the in Khuroshti [خروشطی] script (*Madni* [مدنی] *Page No.23*). The discovery of said epigraph was made very deep in the area of the north, which was quite away from the graffito of Attock, as mentioned above. There was an epigraph which had pertained to 243 Hegira, 857 AC and was discovered in 1907 at a house in Tochi valley [وادئ ٹوچی]. The said epigraph had contained the bilingual inscription i.e. Sanskrit Devanagari [سنسکرت دیوناگری] and the Arabic languages with the Kofi [کوفی] ideogram. The said epigraph is available in the Peshawar Museum and indicates the period of introduction and familiarity with the Islamic lettering in said area. Then, the same had also proved that the Pashto [پشتو] language had neither, flourished in the area nor, it was the solitary medium of expression at the introduction of Islamic lettering and so much so, the Pashto [پشتو] language was neither in its evolutionary phase nor, even it had any particular script at that time. The ideogram of the Pashto [پشتو] language had come into being as late as in the ensuing times of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] and if at all, the Pashto [پشتو] language was in existence, the use of the same was very limited or was a colloquial tongue only. We may also point out that the Tochi Valley [وادئ ٹوچی] is also away in the northwest, from the place of epigraph i.e. the Attock area and if the Pashto [پشتو] language had acquired any status of literary expression by that time then, some sentences at least, should also have been inscribed in the Pashto [پشتو] language on those epigraphs or the words of the Pashto [پشتو] language at least, should have been engraved instead of the words from the Devanagari [دیوناگری] ideogram. The aforementioned explanation had endorsed the statement of historians like, Dani and Sir Olaf Kero that the Brahmi [برہمی] script had replaced the Khuroshti [خروشطی] ideography in said area in the 4th and 5th century AC (***Dani*** [دانی] ***Page 49 $ 50,*** *Kero Page 65*). When, the epigraph in question was written in the Kofi [کوفی] ideogram, the basic Islamic standards had yet to create an impact and the situation was such that the practical Arabic Naskh [عربی نسخ] script was not introduced in the area as yet. The epigraph which was discovered from the Tochi [ٹوچی] area pertained to the period about 140 years prior to the reign of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی]. The Muslims of the area were supposed to have covered many evolutionary stages during the period of almost one and a half century and their own language was also supposed to have received the influence from

the Arabic as well as, the Persian expressions. The Pashto [پشتو] language had also developed to the extent in said process that, Abu Salah [ابو صالح] (*Probably his original name was Qazi Saif Ullah*) a minister of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] (997 AC to 1030 AC), had introduced paragogic changes in the Pashto [پشتو] alphabets with the help of the Arabic script towards the end of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] era. He had replaced the letter [te] and [dāl] and [re] and [nun] with the standard Arabic language and the same used to represent the retroflex consonants i.e. [ʈ] and [ɖ] and [ɭ̣] and [ɳ]. The same appear at present with a small circle as [ټ] [ډ] [ټ] and [ڼ] respectively. He had also included the letters as šin and žḛ (*which represent voiceless and voiced retroflex fricatives*) which look like "sin" and "reh" respectively with a dot above and under as [ښ] and [ږ] etc. The letters which used to represent the voiceless alveolar affricate like "ts" and used to voice alveolar affricate like "d͡z" now look like [ځ] with three dots above [څ] and a hamza [ځ] and [ځ]. Those changed letters were considered to be the specific alphabets among the Pashto alphabets. Abu Salah [ابو صالح] had related the literation of the Arabic alphabets like [ت] [د] [ر] and [ک] with the new Pashto [پشتو] phonetic alphabets as [ټ] [ډ] [ړ] and [ګ]. Those Pashto [پشتو] alphabets had a peculiar sound but, for which there were no substitutes or alternates in the Arabic as well as, in the Persian scripts. He had retained the same literation but, had devised the alphabets like [ځ *Zeem*] for [ځیم] and [څ *Seem*] for [څیم] and [ښ *Kheen*] for [ښین] and [خ *Kheh*] for [خې] and [ږی *Geh*] for [ګے] and [ڼ *Noorr*] for [نوڼ]. The same had the combined sound of [ن] and [ڑ]. Mr. Raverty, who was an expert in the Pashto language, had expressed his views in the preface of his famous book of grammar in the manner that the Pashto [پشتو], Zend [ژند] and Pahlavi [پہلوی] languages had sprung out from the same wellhead. Mr. Hennery Water, who had compiled a Pashto dictionary, was of the view that most of the words of the Pashto [پشتو] language were derived from the Persian language. The Pashto [پشتو] language was close to Sanskrit and Awista [اوستا] languages, according to a French scholar (*Madni* [مدنی] *Page No.23 and No.26*). Thus, all those three experts of the Pashto [پشتو] language had apparently maintained divergent views. There were some Pashto [پشتو] scholars who had maintained the view that the Pashto language was as old as four millennia, approximately and was the mother of the Sanskrit language. They had failed to present however, any cogent proof in support of said view. Thus, such postulates were nothing but a mere expression of love for the language and were devoid of any historical credence (*writer*). There was another epigraph which was discovered lately, in Sistan [سیستان] (Iran) area which was

as old as, three to three and a half millennia BC, according to the archaeologists. The following three sentences were inscribed in the Khuroshti [خروشطی] ideograph, on the same:

1. [نہ اڑیک یم] Na iraik am (I am not obstinate)
2. [نہ داوزن یم] Na daozan am (nor I am a liar)
3. [نہ زور کڑے یم] Na zore karay am (nor I am a tyrant) (*Madni* [مدنی] *Page No.2*).

The aforementioned epigraph had definitely the depiction of sentences from the Pashto [پشتو] language and demanded to be treated as such undoubtedly but, in the light of foregoing views of the adept archaeologists to accept the view that, the epigraph was as old as three to three and a half millennia BC, was simply untenable because the alleged Khuroshti [خروشطی] ideograph had no existence whatsoever in those ancient times. The history of Iran of four millennia i.e. from Aryan [آریا] and All-Mao [آل ماو] to the present times is very much accessible in a composite form. The same had not indicated anything with regard to the Pashto [پشتو] language or its alleged ancient status. The said history had provided rather, the proof of various other languages and had also determined the respective paleographic periods of the ideographs. There was a possibility that, the aforementioned epigraph was related to some subsequent period when the miscibility of the Pashto [پشتو] language had assumed some form and the same was also written in the Khuroshti [خروشطی] ideogram. The language of the sentences of aforementioned epigraph may have some other branded name at the time of inscription but, those sentences were labeled as the sentences from the Pashto [پشتو] language subsequently, just due to the identical nature of some of the contents. The text of the epigraph had also reflected a tinge of Pahlavi [پہلوی] language.

Analysis of the Pashto epigraph [پشتو کے کتبے کا تجزیہ]:

We have to analyze the language of the aforementioned epigraph very carefully to determine the fact that the Pashto [پشتو] language was as old as three to three and a half millennia BC. The word [نہ] was used thrice in said epigraph. The same word is used in the Urdu language as well as, in the Panjabi language, frequently. The word [نہ] was a Persian word, which means “no” [نہیں] or the same is used for a refusal [نفی] and was used in the sentence to convey the meaning of “Refusal”. The Persian language somehow or the other was older than the Pashto [پشتو] language. The said word [نہ] was seemingly derived therefore, from the Persian or the Pahlavi [پہلوی] language. Then there was another word [اڑیک] which means to get stuck [اڑجانا] and/or to

be obstinate [ضد کرنا]. The said word was derived from the Hindi word [اڑنا] (Arna) with the same meaning i.e. obstinate. We use the expression as [اڑیل گھوڑا] (Arial Ghora) in the Panjabi language. The meaning of the same is that the horse which refuses to budge or which obstinately gets stuck. The word [یم] was derived from the Persian word [ام] which means "I am". Then, there was a word [دروزن] (Drozan) which means, a "liar" [جھوٹا]. The word [درو] or [دروغ] was an abbreviation for the word "liar" and the same was a Persian word. Then, the Pashto [پشتو] word [یرخ] was abbreviated as [سر] and [زل] which means [مارنا] (Marna) i.e. to beat or to utter (say) [کہنا] something unreal. The same was also a Persian word which gives the literal meaning: as to tell the tattletale [جھوٹ مارنا] or to tell a lie [جھوٹ کہنا]. The word [زور] which was used in the third sentence was also a Persian word, which means: coercion [جبر] or hardship [سختی]. The word [کرنا] (to do) is used in the Urdu language, as a common verb. The above mentioned explanation had proved that the epigraph in question was not as old as three to three and a half millennia BC rather the same had pertained to some subsequent period when the miscibility of the Pashto [پشتو] language with the Hindi and the Persian languages had acquired a particular shape. The Khuroshti [خروشطی] script was very much in vogue in said area in the 4th and 5th century BC in accordance with the historians Dani [دانی] and Kero [کیرو]. The Brahmi [برہمی] script had replaced the same thereafter. (***Dani*** [دانی] ***page 49-50, Kero*** [کیرو] ***page No.70***). The sentences of the epigraph which were alleged to be in the Pashto [پشتو] language were written in fact in the then prevalent Khuroshti [خروشطی] script.

The ancientness of some of the Pashto [پشتو] words cannot be challenged but to maintain the view that the Pashto [پشتو] language was an ancient language, the same remains nevertheless, unsubstantiated by the paleographical evidence. Sultan Balban [سلطان بلبن], Khilji [خلیی], Lodhi [لودھی], Tughlaq [تغلق] and Suri [سوری] had ruled Hindustan for centuries but, all of them had adopted the Persian language as a medium in running the state affairs during their respective reigns. There were some Muslim oligarchs who had also ruled the capital cities randomly even prior to them. The official language of those Muslim rulers was also the Persian language whereas the Pashto [پشتو] language *in vacuo* was not their language at any stage. The Pashto [پشتو] language had attained recognition in its true shape during the period of Akhundrovizah [اخونددرویزہ]. The same period cannot be treated however, as an ancient era in the history.

The book which was captioned as Tuzk-e-Baberi [تزک بابری] was written in the Turkish language. The Hamayyon Nama [ہمایوں نامہ] of Gulbadan Begum [گل بدن بیگم] was also written in the Persian language. Those rulers had emerged however, from the Pashto [پشتو] speaking areas and some of them were known as Pathans as well. The Pashto [پشتو] language in any case was never a common language during the reigning eras of anyone of the aforementioned rulers. There was no book whatsoever which was produced in the Pashto [پشتو] language during said period. The book which was captioned as Tabaqat-e-Naseri [طبقات ناصری] was written in 1259 AC but, the same was also in the Persian language. The alleged age of the Pashto [پشتو] language therefore, cannot be taken as correct because the available chirography of the Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] era was also in the Persian language. The irrefutable proof of the same was the famous Shah Nama Firdausi [شاہنامہ فردوسی]. We have to examine also the Hindkay [ہندکے] language in the context of the Pashto [پشتو] language with its existence in the mountainous areas which is a commonly spoken language in the Peshawar area.

Blessings of Islam [اسلام کی برکات]:

The Muslims were able to enter into the present Afghanistan and Gandharah [گندھارہ] region from north when Muhammad Bin Qasim [محمد بن قاسم] had landed in the Sindh [سندھ] area, in 92 Hegira (710 AC). He had to conduct his northward march because his focus was the center of Afghanistan. There was no single common language even at that time and there was a plethora of tongues which were in use in the entire locale. The Arab scholars had failed to structure resultantly, their cultural identity to easily emblematize the nature of their own specific reign. The Pashto [پشتو] language with its declared *in utero* status had not come out of the incognito status therefore, till the time even when Yaqoob Bin Lais [یعقوب بن لعیث] had laid the foundation of the Islamic rule in Kabul [کابل] in 870 Hegira. The Alaptageen [الپتگین] dynasty (Sabuktageen [سبکتگین] and Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی]) (942 to 1030 AC) were also able to perpetuate their reign for about two hundred years and there was no sign of the Pashto [پشتو] language. The noticeable impact which was there only, the same was Islam which had enshrined the Islamic values in the hearts and in the minds of the locals of the area quite vibrantly. The same impact had revolutionized the entire milieu generally, after gaining the roots far and wide but, there was no traceable impact of the Pashto language.

The Dahgan [دہگان] nation which is based even today, in the vicinity of Dir [دیر] and the Kafir [کافر] or Nuristani [نورستانی] Kamooj [کاموج] nations (which are based in the vicinity of the Koh Hindu Kush [کوہ ہندو کش]) they do not also speak the Pashto [پشتو] language. The former speaks a tongue of the original Sanskrit [سنسکرت] which is known as "Naghmani" [نغمانی] or "Kohistani" [کوہستانی] and which has the resemblance with the tongue of the Panni nation of yester years. We have to infer therefore that if the Pashto [پشتو] language had the alleged anciently recognized status then, the same must have radiated in some form or there must have been some impact on the traditions as well as in the history of the Subcontinent. The factual position had appeared however, on the contrary. Abu Al-Fazal [ابو الفضل] had referred to the languages of Hindustan and even he had only given the name of the Afghani [افغانی] language (*Aaien-e-Akbari* [آئین اکبری] *Urdu translation*, *Volume No.3 Page 45*).

We feel that it shall be important to mention that neither all the people had embraced Islam *en masse* initially nor, the Muslims had accepted all the Islamic values instantly, at their respective individual level. They had marshaled in the beginning, the preliminaries of Islamic teachings only and then they had plunged deep into the spiritual teachings of Islam, with the passage of time. Then, some of them had become the staunch Muslims by submitting to the faith, completely. Then, most of the others had opted to go through perhaps the rigors of the evolutionary process to develop the true Islamic faith because even the theistic values of some of them were blended with atheist beliefs despite embracing Islam as a religion. They had espoused Islam nonetheless and they had also benefitted from its blessings. The Islamic teachings and the Arabic and Persian languages had also brought some impact on the local languages. The meaningless ancient tribal names were in use among the people till that time. The same had included the nations like Kakar [کاکڑ], Panni [پنّی], Shoran [شورن], Sanzer [سنزر], Hotak [ہوتک], Sena Khadak [سینہ خدک], Gharay [غڑے] and Karay [کرے] etc. The same period is treated even today as one of the humdrum pre-Islamic eras. When, the impact of Islam was embedded fully, the people only then were able to modify their names. Then, they had clubbed more meaningful Persian and Arabic suffixes with their names like Panni Zai [پنّی زئی], Shoran Zai [شورن زئی], Sanzer Khail [سنزرخیل], Khadak Zai [خدک زئی], Sena Khadak Zai [سینہ خدک زئی], Gharay Zai [غڑے زئی] and Karay Zai [کرے زئی] etc. Thus, when the people of said area had started adopting the Islamic names, their tribes had also adopted the blended names like Yaqoob Zai [یقوب زئی], Umer Zai [عمر زئی], Ali Zai [علی زئی], Rasheed Khail [رشید خیل], Yaseen Khail [یاسین خیل] etc.

They had also Islamized the construction of some of the ancient non-Islamic names of some other nations in the subsequent phase. The replaced names had adjusted so befittingly well that the old names had become extinct in such a manner as if they had never existed. The private history writer of Alexander the Great had referred to an ancient nation by the name of "Aspasii" and the same was as Aspayana [اسپایانہ] or "Aspasi" according to the Sanskrit language, it was changed however as Yousaf Zai [یوسف زئی] (***Dani*** [دانی] ***Page 58***). When Alexander the great had landed in the area, the same was obviously the pre-Islamic era and those people were not even remotely close to the religious values. We have already studied that the Gondophares [گنڈافری] chief of the Panni nation had ruled in the Gandharah [گندھارہ] area for a particular period. When the Gondophares [گنڈافری] had embraced Islam and they were able to establish their faith firmly then, they had also Islamized the word Gondophares [گنڈافری] and had branded the same as "Gundapuri" [گنڈاپوری]. The historian Herodotus (484 BC to 424 BC) had given the reference of an ancient nation by the name as "Apartyae" [اپرتائی]. The same nation is known at present as Afridi [آفریدی] (*Races Page 77*). The historian Morgenstern had named said nation however, as "Aparotai" [اپاروتائی]. There was an ancient town in the vicinity of Peshawar by the name of "Ashtakanagar". The Muslims had also Islamized said name and had given it the Persian name as "Hasht Nagar" [ہشت نگر] ***Dani*** [دانی] ***Page 59***). The aforementioned examples had explained the evolutionary structure of the Pathan populace as well as, their ancient values and culture. Thus, their local tongues have also been supplemented by the Islamic impact. The present Pashto [پشتو] language resultantly, was able to come out of its embryonic state with the miscibility of the Arabic and the Persian languages. The chart given below will establish the nature of the miscibility of some words of the Pashto [پشتو] language with the words of other languages:

English	**English Explanation**	**Pashto [پشتو]**
Hungry	In Arabic Nehar [نہار] means "day". In Panjabi it means hungry, for example, take the medicine empty stomach [دوائی نہار منہ لو] and Nehari [نہاری] breakfast.	[نہار] Nehar
Happy	This word is from Hindi [ہندی] language.	[نہال] Nehal
Death	Murdan [مردن] is Persian word. In Hindi [ہندی] [مرنا] means death.	[مزینہ] Mazeena

Fake coin	Na [نا] is Hindi [ہندی] word and Chal [چل] is Sanskrit word.	[ناچل] Nachal
Piece	It is a Hindi [ہندی] word.	[کلی] Kali
Miser	It is a Hindi [ہندی] word.	[کنجوس] Kanjoos
Piece of cloth	This word is very common in Punjab.	[لیرہ] Leerah
Harvester	This word is used in both Urdu and Persian.	[دہقان] Dahkan
Work	In Persian and Urdu [کار] in Hindi [ہندی] [کارن].	[کڑن] Karran
Small loop of chain	Word [کڑا] Karra is used in Punjabi.	[کڑی] Kari
Simoom	This word is used in both Persian and Arabic.	[صرصر] Ser
Bail	It is derived from Arabic word Zaman [ضامن] and is used in Persian as well.	[ضامنی] Zamni
Confiscate	It is an Arabic word.	[ضبط] Zabt
Queue	Qattar [قطار] and [صف] Saff both are Arabic words.	[صف] Saff
Cleansed	It is an Arabic word and is used in Persian and Urdu.	[صفا] Saffa
Extravagant	It is an Arabic word.	[صراف] Saraff
Flood	It is a Persian word.	[سپلا] Sapla
Cleanliness	It is used in Punjab for cement leveling in masonry work.	[دریشی] Daraishi
Abase	It is a Persian word.	[خوار] Kwarah
Ladder	It is a Persian word.	[زینہ] Zeena
Children	It is a Persian word and its substantive verb is Zaedan [زائیدن] which means to give birth.	[زئی] Zai
Group	It is an Arabic word.	[خیل] Kail

When the Pashto [پشتو] language was enriched gradually, with the blessings of Islam then the impressionism of the refined and delicate sentiments had also found place as an expressible medium with the help of acquired terminologies, script and the words of the Arabic and Persian languages. The Pashto [پشتو] language had become thus a new lingo to promote its literature. We have more cogent proofs in this regard and we refer to Muhammad Hotak [محمد ہو تک] who had compiled a book in 1141 Hegira 1728 AC which was captioned as "Patta Khazana" [پٹہ خزانہ] and was discovered in 1323 Hegira (1904). The said book consisted of a descriptive poetic account of fifty one ancient poets. The oldest poet among them was Ameer Krorr Jahan Phalwan [امیر کڑور جہان پہلوان]. He was known for his epic [رزمیہ] poetry. We hereby give the translation of a few stanzas from his epic poem which was an imitation of the Arabic style of epic poetry:

Like a lion, I live in this world
There is none as my match
In Hindustan, Sindh, Takharo, Kabul and Zabil too
There is none as my match
Arrows of my bravery, fall on the enemy like a thunderbolt
I walk into the battlefield to attack
He who failed to face me in the battlefield, he had to flee
Mountains shiver and I depopulate, populated areas
There is none as my match
I put to the sword Herat, Jerome for people of Ghorj, Bamyan
My name is a source of satisfaction for them
My name is popular even, in Rome
There is none as my match.

(*Madni* [مدنی] *Page No.33*) The said stanza was written by Ameer Krorr Jahan Phalwan [امیر کڑور جہان پہلوان] in 139 Hegira 756 AC, as mentioned in the book, Patta Khazana.

The aforementioned poem was in pure Pashto [پشتو] language and was without the exogenous miscibility, according to Shah Mahmood Madni Abbassi [شاہ محمود مدنی عباسی]. The premise of the poem was perfect and serious. The language was also perfect besides being eloquent and

fluent. The said appreciation of the poem and its squeezed out perfection was a proof of the fact that the Pashto [پشتو] language had entered into the phase of refinement by that time. Thus, the same had also acquired the ascendency from its archetype evolutionary phase. The language had progressed to a stage thus to offer a sizable vocabulary and help unfold the sentiments within the ambit of conceptualization. Ameer Krorr Jahan Phalwan [امیر کڑور جہان پہلوان] was believed to be the son of Ameer Folladi Suri [امیر فولادی سوری]. He was the ruler of Mandaish [مندیش] at Ghor [غور] in 139 Hegira 756 AC. Shah Mahmood Madni Abbassi [شاہ محمود مدنی عباسی] had expressed his aforementioned view in the context of the book Patta Khazana [پٹہ خزانہ]. We have to examine however the very *raison d'être* of Patta Khazana [پٹہ خزانہ] in order to authenticate said view. We (*writer*) had approached a highly literate well-wisher of the Pashto language in this regard. He had expressed his views in the manner, as below:

> "The factual position was that the very *raison d'être* of the book was questionable which was captioned as Patta Khazana [پٹہ خزانہ] because most of the scholars had doubted the authenticity of the same. Qalandar Momand [قلندر مہمند] a famous poet, writer and scholar of the Pashto [پشتو] language had published an article on the said subject". (*Letter Dated.05.05.1976 by Syed Khayal Bukhari* [سید خیال بخاری] *Director, Pashto Academy Peshawar*).

We (*writer*) may acknowledge the fact that said poem was written in 139 Hegira and was in pure Pashto [پشتو] language. The poem was also free from any exogenous element supposedly but, we cannot help spot out three words in this regard, in the very name of the poet namely, Ameer Krorr Jahan Phalwan [امیر کڑور جہان پہلوان] which were not from the Pashto language. The word Ameer [امیر] was an Arabic word. The word Jahan [جہان] was a Persian word and the word Phalwan [پہلوان] was from the ancient Persian language which is also used in the Urdu and in the Punjabi languages. Since the name of aforementioned poet had contained three out of four non-Pashto [غیر پشتو] words therefore the same had proved irrespectively the introgression of the words from some other languages into the Pashto [پشتو] language. Then, the same had also proved the fact that the names of the people also used to contain the words from their native languages. The period with regard to aforementioned practice was after the advent of Islam and had also proved that the non-Pashto [غیر پشتو] words particularly, the words from the Arabic as well as, from Persian languages had recurrently crept into the common dialect of the general

public. The poem in question was however, an imitation of the rhapsodic [رجزیا] or epic [رزمیہ] form of the Arabic poetry. There was one fact which was proved nonetheless that the litterateurs and the poets of the Pashto language were also helplessly casting the aspersions on the very status of the book, Patta Khazana [پٹہ خزانہ]. We may further point out that when the poem in question was written the influence of the Arabic language was not inspiring and motivating overwhelmingly even to write the rhapsodic or the epic imitation. The epigraph which had pertained to the period of 243 Hegira 857 AC as mentioned above was discovered from the area of the Tochi valley [وادئ ٹوچی]. The contents of the same had also endorsed the instant view. The said epigraph had also contained the bilingual inscription i.e. the Sanskrit, Devanagari [سنسکرت دیوناگری] and the Arabic languages. The Kofi [کوفی] ideogram of the epigraph had endorsed the fact that what to talk of the Pashto language as a poetic lingo, the same had not even been able to break the embryonic shell *terra incognito* till that time. The epitaph regarding the tombstone of Sultan Shahab-ud Din Ghori [شہاب الدین غوری] (1162 – 15 March 1206) was also in the non-Pashto Khuroshti [خروشطی] ideograph (*Madni* [مدنی] *Page No.23*). We can infer at least this much from the aforementioned explanation that the Pashto language was not as old as it was usually alleged. The Pashto language is still coasting along slowly and gradually to achieve the ever evolving new dimensions by virtue of interaction of various nations. There were some archaic words however, which were used in the Pashto language. The Pashto language cannot be considered resultantly, as an ancient language just because its vocabulary had the etymological tinge of ancientness.

There was a similar reference of another ancient Sufi poet namely, Sheikh Batten [شیخ بٹن] or Bait Baba [بیٹ بابا] whose period was supposedly 1186 AC, which was the Ghori era. There was a common perception that he was the agnate of many Pashto tribes. The famous Pashto writer namely, Suleiman Ma Ko [سلیمان ما کو] had given the reference of Bait Baba [بیٹ بابا] in his book which was captioned as "Tazkira-tul-Oliya" [تذکرۃالاولیاء]. There was one of his poems which was worthy of mention. The translation of the same was in the manner, as below;

Oh' Gracious God!!! Oh' Gracious God!!!
Mountains praise you everywhere!
All creatures worship you!!!
We have setup our tents in valleys
Oh' God! Bless those people and multiply them

Oh' Gracious God!!! Oh' Gracious God!!!
Here we have lit the fire
Ours is a simple house, an ignoble abode
We ardently depend upon your omnipresence
We do not turn towards anyone else
You created this earth and heaven
You bring death and you deflagrate
You are worthy to hold deity
Oh' Gracious God!!! Oh' Gracious God!!!

The Afghan historian namely, Siddique Ullah Rushteen [صدیق اللہ رشتین] had expressed his views with regard to the abovementioned doxology [مناجات]. The same had the resemblance with the prayers of the Aryans and such archetypal prayers had also existed in Rig-Veda [رگ وید], according to him. There was always a line of prayer for the family, after the praise of the Almighty, in such type of doxology (*Madni* [مدنی] *Page No.37-38*). When, the Pashto doxology had reflected the non-Islamic influence even in Tazkira-tul-Oliya [تذکرۃالاولیاء] then, how it was possible that the book which was captioned as Patta Khazana [پٹہ خزانہ] was free from any exogenous elements.

The term Aryan [آریا] used to include the Pathans and Iranians as well. The same was not a name of any particular tribe, according to the Afghan historian namely, Muhammad Ameen Khogiani [محمد امین خوگیانی] but was rather the name of a complete civilization and culture. There were nations like Sassanid [ساسانی], Iranians [ارانی], Toranian [تورانی], Chinese [چینی] and Greek [یونانی] etc. which had also rendered their respective contribution in the formulation of said civilization and culture (*The same used to include Ashkani* [اشکانی] *or Panni* [پنّی] 249 BC to 226 BC *of Iran (writer*). He had expressed his views further that the biggest proof of said contribution was the composition of "Zameena" [زمینہ] poetry in the Pashto [پشتو] language which had included the words from other languages. The main source was however the words of Awista' [اوستا], Pahlavi [پہلوی], Persian' [فارسی], Arabic' [عربی], Mongolian [منگولی] and Hebrew' [ابرانی] languages. (*Madni* [مدنی] *Page No.11*). The Armenian words have also played the part in said progression, in our opinion (*writer*). The upshot of the matter was that the Pashto language, like the people who speak it, was a perceptible amalgam of various languages. The same was not conceivably as old

as it was alleged by its sanctifiers. We have to be broadminded enough in this regard to acknowledge some irrefutable historical facts.

We have to examine now, the Pashto [پشتو] language with regard to the existence of the words from the Pahlavi [پہلوی] language in the same. There was a line in the Pahlavi [پہلوی] language "گشمائے بیاگوش اروا گرزدا" which was translated in the Persian language of the Islamic era as " بشما روانِ گاؤ فریادی بود" The meaning of the same was that "soul of cow clamors before you". There was another line of the Pahlavi [پہلوی] language "موای سمتا و ہو واستریا" which was translated in the Persian language of the Islamic era as "مرابیا موزید خوب دہقانی" which means "Teach me how to be a very good peasant".

The word "اروا" was used in the first sentence and was from the Pahlavi [پہلوی] language which means "ارواح" (souls) or "روح" (soul). The said word was used in the Pashto [پشتو] language to convey the meaning as "جان" (life) or "روح" (soul). Khushhal Khan Khatak [خوشحال خان خٹک] has also used said word in one of the stanzas of his poetry in the manner, as below:

په ذیر ضرور خوشحال دیار له جرا اکینبری
ارواکله راضی وی چه بیلنیری له قالب

The said word was used in the Pashto [پشتو] language with the same meaning even in the plural form e.g. "اروا" and " اتومل" which means to lose one's nerves or "اروا" or "بیلنیری" or it means to sustain the shock or "اروا" or "اوژ" means grabble etc. [طفرالغات *page No.28*].

There was another line from the Pahlavi [پہلوی] language i.e. "نرات مورئے داستا" which was translated in the Persian language as "نیست مرا چوپان" which means "cow says that, I do not have my milkman". The word "مرا" in said line means "mine" whereas, the same word was used as "مو" in the Pashto [پشتو] language which means mine as well as, yours [طفرالغات *page No.915*].

The word "باچا" from the Pashto language was in fact, the distorted form of the ancient word "پادشاہ" or "پادشاہ" of the Pahlavi [پہلوی] language which means the "king". The same is used in the Urdu, Punjabi as well as, in the Persian languages, frequently. The abovementioned explanations had proved that the words from the other languages were absorbed into the Pashto [پشتو]

language. The Pashto [پشتو] language had very much travelled therefore, to complete its journey from the status as a general tongue to a proper language.

Facts about Afghanistan [افغانستان کی حقیقت]:

The word Afghanistan means the country of the Afghans or the abode of the Afghan people and is a misconstrued connotation in a popular form. There was a historical fact that Afghanistan had come into being as a single unit, in 1747 during the period of Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدلی] (1747–1773). Afghanistan was not a separate identity geographically prior to that and the entire area of present Afghanistan was a part of Iran which was known as eastern Iran. The history of Afghanistan was treated in the context of the side-section history of Iran, prior to 1747. Afghanistan was never characterized in this context as a separate entity. The occidental experts of the Iranian language had maintained the unanimous view that the plateau of Iran, which had its boundaries from Iraq up-to Pamir [پامیر] and which also used to include Afghanistan, has no linguistic affinity. The language of Afghanistan was the same Persian language which was the language of the rest of Iran prior to seceding from Iran, or which is still in vogue in its generic form. The language of Afghanistan is literally the same even today whereas said language used to be the refined and highly acclaimed language in Iran. The famous Persian poet namely, Firdausi [فردوسی] had compiled the "Shahnama" [شاہنامہ] at the behest of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] as long ago as one millennium. He had used the same Persian diction which was used then, in Ghazni (i.e. present Afghanistan) commonly and in Asfhan [اصفہان] in the west (i.e. present Iran). Firdausi [فردوسی] had incorporated all those events in "Shahnama" [شہنامہ] which had formed and constituted supposedly the history of present Iran. Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی], who had hailed from Ghazni [غزنی], was the king ruler of the entire (present) Afghanistan as well as, Iran. He had not given the reference of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] as Shah of Iran and Afghanistan or Shah of Ghazni and Iran. He had addressed Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] while eulogizing him in the manner as [شہنشاہ ایران، زقنوج تامرز کابلستان] "The Emperor of Iran Zablistan, the conqueror of Qanoj to Kablistan" (*Volume N.3 Page No.366*). There was similarly another poet of the Persian language namely, Furkhi [فرخی]. He had given the reference of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] who had hailed from Ghazni [غزنی]. He had called him the Emperor of Khurasan [خراسان]. Khurasan [خراسان] is a part of Iran at present and was away from Afghanistan. The

aforementioned facts had proved that Afghanistan never had any concern whatsoever with the Pashto [پشتو] language. The same was rather the solitary base for Persian language. The cradle of the Pashto [پشتو] language was in fact the Gandharah [گندهاره] region and its vicinity which had also included the Peshawar valley [وادئ پشاور].

The Afghan society is an intricate mélange of antinomies. The area of Afghanistan has never enjoyed the fruits of ethnical, linguistic and cultural affinity within its internal composition. The abstract dichotomies have always entrapped the people of Afghanistan. There are just one million and five hundred thousand people who are Afghans supposedly, in the population of fifteen million. There is a population of about one million Ghal Zai [غلزئی] or Khilji [خلجی] who are ethnically not Afghans. There is a population of about eight hundred thousand Auzbuk [ازبک] people. The Tajik [تاجک] people are about two million. There are about six hundred thousand Aibak [ایبک] and there is a population of about eight hundred thousand Hazaray [ہزارے] (Mongolian [منگولی]) people. The rest of the population consists of people from Herat [ہراتی] with Iranian origin and Balochi people [بلوچی] from the southwestern desert, Chitrali [چترالی] and Nuristani [نورستانی] (Kafir [کافر] (who had embraced Islam) from the northeastern mountains. Then, there are people from the Panni [پنّی] nation, who had come from Ural Sea [بحیرۂ اررال] and Khazer Sea [بحیرہ خزر] i.e. from the plains of Turkistan. The aforementioned statistical composition of the northwest of Gandharah [گندهاره] is just enough to conclude that the country, which is known as Afghanistan, has no concern whatsoever with the Pashto [پشتو] language even today. Since, the period of Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاه ابدالی] till today, whatever epistemological *belles-lettres* and religious literature which Afghanistan was able to produce was in the Persian language and had also proved the fact that the Persian language was ubiquitous among the Pathans of northwestern Gandharah [گندهاره] since times immemorial. Then, if Pashto language was as ancient as it was alleged then no other language should have been the language of Afghanistan except the Pashto language. The factual position was that the Pashto language *locus citato* was able to flourish thus far just because of the scrounged words from other languages.

Gradual sway of Islam [اسلام کا مرحلہ وار تسلط]:

The religious minded people have a common perception with regard to Afghanistan and Gandharah [گندھارہ] that the ubiquity of Islam had overwhelmed the entire area *par excellence* but, said perception was contrary to the historical reality. The people of Afghanistan had embraced Islam in a piecemeal manner. The Islamic values had permeated into the society gradually. We will examine in this regard firstly, the area of Ghor [غور] which used to be a snowbound hilly area, according to Minhaj Aus-Siraj [منہاج السراج] (12th century AC) (*Page No.113*). The statements of Tabri Abn-e-Aseer [طبری ابن اثیر] and some other Arabian historians had reflected that, said area was conquered during the course of the first few centuries when the campaign to preach Islam as a religion was initiated. The conquest in question had lasted however, with a negligible impact only. The geographical conditions of the area were so challenging and were so depressing that it was out of question even to associate said area with any established cultural and civic center of Muslims let alone to change the traditional way of life. The foundation of the Islamic political rule was also devoid of the true Islamic spirit due to those insurmountable harsh conditions (*Tareekh Taberi (Urdu translation)* [تاریخ طبری اردو ترجمع] *part II Volume No.1 Page No.65, part III Volume No.I1 Page No.128*). When, Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] had attacked Ghor [غور] in 41st Hegira (1010 AC), he was up against a sacrilegious mighty bunch of infidels [کافران پلید تر وقوی تر] according to Abu Al- Fazal Bhieqi [ابو الفضل بہیقی]. When, Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] had opted to turn towards them, he had to fight against a profane bunch of depraved (Malaeen [ملاعین]) people (Tareekh Aal Subuktageen [تاریخ آل سبکتگین] *Page No.128-129)*. The Islamic impact had made itself felt manifestly in those areas in the middle of the 11th century AC, according to the supportive statistics of history (*Ghor is a great ancient base of the Panni nation and the hideouts in every nook and corner of the Koh Seeiyah* [کوہ سیاہ] *were their abode. They had not embraced Islam till that time* (*writer*). The same was exactly the period when the signs of retrogression and decadence of the Islamic practices had become evident fully, in the very epicenters of Islam and all the fundamentals of morality and social norms were at the verge of evaporation. The same was in fact the period in the historical terms when the historical upsurge of the Tatars was about to collide against the walls of Bagdad. When Ghor [غور] had emerged all of a sudden, on the political horizon in the 12th century AC, the world had come to know only then that there was a reckonable Muslim population in said area. The said new Muslim area was immersed deeply into

intellectual profanity, exiguousness and delinquencies. Those factors were the contributory features of the retrogressive period.

The cultural picture of Ghor [غور] and its vicinity which was brought forth for us with the constant efforts of Mr. A. Stein, Mr. Goddard and Mr. Le Cog along-with other experts was a valuable account of the historical realities. The same had revealed that said area was under the influence of Mahayana Buddhism [مہایانہ بدھ مت] i.e. the Buddhism of the northern side. The Islamic influence which had crept into the area was also by the adherents of non-Islamic practices and most of the inhabitants of Ghor [غور] were the followers of the Kramia sect [کرامیہ فرقہ]. The founder of said sect was Abu Abdullah Mohammed Bin Kiram [ابوعبداللہ محمد بن کرام] (decedent 255 Hegira). The acclaimed belief of Abu Abdullah Mohammed Bin Kiram [ابوعبداللہ محمد بن کرام] was that the faith was dependent simply on the verbal acknowledgement and conviction of the heart whereas the ritual practices were unessential. The "Epitome of god" was like the human body who was enthroned at a particular place in the heavens. The metaphoric personification of "Persona of god" in his belief was undoubtedly very much influenced by the Buddhist teachings. Mohammed Bin Kiram [محمد بن کرام] had explained in detail the aforementioned belief in his book which was captioned as Azab-ul-Qaber [عذاب القبر] (*The same had proved that the Pathans were not the practicing Muslims despite adopting the Islamic names and accepting the Islamic values Writer*). Where the religious awareness was inculcated under the influence of Mahayana Buddhism [مہایانہ بدھ مت], such profanity in beliefs was rooted deeply in the entire locale which was the reason that the overall qualitative societal change rate was very poor and sluggish. *Idée reçue* Mohammed Bin Kiram [محمد بن کرام] was able to integrate thousands of non-Muslims into his sect which had included the Pathan populace as well. The same had given rise to a query definitely that who were those Pathans? The answer to this will be given *in extenso* later. The un-Islamic aspects of the Kramia sect [کرامیہ فرقہ] were clear in the society, quite vividly. Sultan Shahab-ud-Din Ghori [سلطان شہاب الدین غوری] and his elder brother namely, Sultan Ghyas-ud-Din Ghori [سلطان غیاث الدین غوری] had also initially espoused the Kramia sect [کرامیہ فرقہ]. Shahab-ud-Din Ghori [شہاب الدین غوری] had switched over his allegiance later on to the Hanfi [حنفی] sect whereas Sultan Ghyas-ud-Din Ghori [سلطان غیاث الدین غوری] had adopted the Shafi [شافعی] sect. When Moez-ud-Din [معز الدین] was enthroned in Ghazni [غزنی], he had taken the account of the religious perceptions of the people of Ghazni then, the reality had dawned on him that most of them were the followers of the Hanfi [حنفی] sect. He had no other

option then but to follow the same which had proved the fact that the religious beliefs were also regulated at that time by the general trends and political dictates of time.

We have little knowledge about the Aibak [ایبک], Altamash [التمش] as well as, the Balban [بلبن] dynasts but, most of the Sultans of Dhali [دہلی] were either Turks or they were Afghans. The general perception was that the aforementioned three Sultans like many Turks, who were the purchased slaves, were also from the tribes which had either not embraced Islam as a religion or if they had become the Muslims, it was nothing more than an act of novel change in their lives. The information about the cities of the Muslims, in which such slaves were sold, can be obtained from the history book of Fukher Mudaber [فخر مدبر]. He has discussed in detail the traditions, civic conditions and the religious beliefs of the Turks. The Turk tribes were unfamiliar mostly with the religious aspects of the Islamic culture and its spiritual ubiquity according to him. The ignorance based practices were very much prevalent among them which were also the case with the Afghan populace. Islam was a dominant religion however, in their bigger cities whereas their many tribes had not yet had the acquaintance with the actual faith of Islam. The resultant religious status of faith was therefore slightly above infidelity. Mollana Syed Suleiman Nadvi [مولانہ سید سلیمان ندوی] had expressed his views in this regard in the manner, as below:

> "We were supposed to analyze the Turk conquerors who had invaded Hindustan. They were not the true champions of Islam or the representative of the entire Uma [امت]. Their principles of governance as well as, the rule were neither, in accordance with the Islamic injunctions (with the exception of some high officials) nor, the same were based on the Islamic principles of governance. The Turk officers were slaves mostly and they were not even familiar with the Islamic canons of war as well as, the mode of acquiring peace". The status of the Turk tribes was such that, most of them were *giaour* non-Muslims. They used to come in thousands, as sold slaves. The sultans and the nobles *corps d' elite* used to purchase them. They used to enroll them as army soldiers, after converting them to Islam. There were some Turks who used to venture out all the way from central Asia into the Islamic countries to carry out looting and plundering only. They used to end up embracing Islam during the course of such adventures and used to join the army of the kings and *corps d' elite* nobles and then they used to acquire the high official posts gradually and so much so that, some of them were elevated even to

be declared as kings. Alaptageen [الپتگین] dynasty (Sabuktageen [سبکتگین]) who were the founders of the Ghazni [غزنی] sultanate, were from the same category of slaves. The successors of Sultan Ghori [غوری] namely, Altamash [التمش] etc. were also the archetype slaves and besides that the Ghori tribes had not opted to become Muslims, till the middle of the 4th century i.e. prior to the upsurge of the Ghaznawis [غزنوی]. There were no Islamic teaching centers therefore prior to Sultan Mahmud Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] nor even, the Islamic teachings were in practice and even the supposed existence of the Muslim scholars was not proved, in any manner whatsoever (*Muzhbi Rojhannat* [مذهبی رجحانات] *Page 11-12*, *Tabqat-e-Nasiri* [طبقات ناصری] *Page 77*, *Tareekh Fakhur-ud-Din Mubark Sha*h [فخرالدین مبارک شاه] *Page 39-42*, *Ibn-e-Aseer* [ابن اثیر] *Volume No.2 Page 218*, *Arab au Hind Taaloqat* [عرب و ہند تعلقات] *Page 187-190*).

The language of those rulers was obviously either, the Arabic or the Persian language. Had there been any Qais [قیس] who had embraced Islam at the hands of the Prophet Muhammad [محمد ﷺ] as alleged and he was really there in person in the aforementioned areas then the overall religious order of the area certainly would not have been the way as it was described above.

Sheikh Hameed Lodhi [شیخ حمید لودھی] whose family had ruled the area of Multan from 351 Hegira to 390 Hegira (999 AC), had an uncle by the name of Sheikh Razi Lodhi [شیخ رضی لودھی]. He was considered a saintly poet of the Pashto language. The cousin of the Sheikh and the son of Sheikh Hameed Lodhi [شیخ حمید لودھی] namely, Ameer Naser Lodhi [امیر نصر لودھی] *idée reçue* had adopted some sacrilegious practices and beliefs. Sheikh Hameed Lodhi [شیخ حمید لودھی] was himself a very staunch Muslim. He had sent Sheikh Razi Lodhi [شیخ رضی لودھی] into the mountains of Pakhtoonkhawah [پختونخواہ] to preach the religion Islam. He had phrased some stanzas in the Pashto language with regard to the sacrilegious practices of Ameer Naser Lodhi [امیر نصر لودھی]. The translation of the same was in the manner, as below:

> "You have adopted the path of heresy and you have corrupted our religion. We light up the religion and you have smitten it with the darkness. If you had to give it up then, why did you adopt it, in the first place? Your profanity has maligned the name of your father. We used to love him, Oh' Naser you are not one of us because you are unlike Lodhis in your deeds. We are sick of your practices"

Ameer Naser Lodhi [امیر نصر لودھی] had become the ruler of Multan amazingly, after the death of Sheikh Hameed Lodhi [شیخ حمید لودھی] (*Muhammad Madni Abbasi* [مدنی] *Page No.36-37*). The same was also a weird reference which was mentioned in "Patta Khazana" [پٹہ خزانہ]. There was no independent evidence available from the period of Sheikh Hameed Lodhi [شیخ حمید لودھی] in order to authenticate said reference.

The gist of the aforementioned facts was that the areas of the Pathans, which had included the Ghor [غور] as well as the Gandharah [گندھارہ] region, had accepted Islam as a practical religion but, slowly and gradually. Then, if there was anybody by the name of Qais [قیس] at all and he had preached Islam in those areas then the upsurge of the Islamic belief among the leading Muslims of the area, certainly would have given more firm manifestations and Islam would have been a more ubiquitous religion. Then, if the Pashto language had the anciently existence then, it would have been a common language of the entire area and would have travelled down to us as a classical and traditional language of the area amidst other traditions.

Qais, a pseudonym [قیس ایک فرضی نام]:

Nayyer Islam [نیر اسلام] had embarked upon a mission to enlighten the people with the teachings of Islam, in the month of February 610 AC of the 41st year of Mellad [میلاد النبی ﷺ]. The religious vibes of his mission had illuminated the east and the west, gradually. There was a common perception among the Pathans that they had their religious descend from Qais Abdur Rasheed [قیس عبدالشید] who had embraced Islam at the hands of Khalid Bin Waleed [حضرت خالد بن ولیدؓ]. Had Qais [قیس] appeared before the Prophet Muhammad [محمد ﷺ] and the Holy Prophet had named him as Qais Abdur Rasheed [قیس عبدالشید] and his Nikkah [نکاح] was solemnized thereafter with the daughter of Khalid Bin Waleed [حضرت خالد بن ولیدؓ] and the Pathan mothers had proclaimed the Pathan children in the lullabies of the Pashto language, as the grandchildren of Khalid Bin Waleed [حضرت خالد بن ولیدؓ] and they had imparted the encouragement for becoming brave and chivalrous like their ancestral grandfather then, the Pashto literature certainly would not have been devoid of qualitative touch, with regard to all the aforementioned narratives. Since, there was nothing in the archives of history to substantiate the aforementioned narratives

therefore we consider the same as nothing more than an implanted truism because the historical credence is as flimsy with regard to the same as in the case of many other parochial tittle-tattles.

No delegation had appeared before the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ [باگاہ رسالت میں کوئی وفد نہیں گیا]:

There was no doubt that during the course of the initial spread of Islam, the non-Muslim delegations used to appear from far and wide before the Prophet Muhammad [محمد ﷺ] to embrace Islam. There was no historical reference however, to substantiate the view that there was a Sardar [سردار] by the name of Qais [قیس] from the eastern mountainous area and he had appeared before the Prophet Muhammad [محمد ﷺ]. The famous historian of Islam, Ibn-e-Khaldoon [ابن خلدون] had given the reference of the delegations in the first part of his world famous history book. Those delegations used to appear before the Prophet Muhammad [محمد ﷺ] from time to time but, even according to said book, there was no reference of any Qais [قیس] or any delegation from the areas of the Pathan populace. There was one reference however, with regard to a tribal name, Abdul Qais [عبدالقیس] in the context of "Arab Delegations" [وفود عرب] of the 10th Hegira. The name of the chieftain of said tribe was Jarood Bin Umer [جارود بن عمر] and not Qais [قیس] (*Tareekh Taberi (Urdu translation)* [تاریخ طبری اردو ترجمع] *part I Volume No.1 Page No.417*). The meaning of the same was that he was an Arab and said Sardar had reverted back to the way of apostasy, after the demise of the Prophet Muhammad [محمد ﷺ]. The reference of Qias Bin Hissain Zoalqisa [قیس بن حصین ذوالقصہ] was available in the 10th Hegira but, there was no reference whatsoever for taking him as Qais Abdur Rasheed [قیس عبدالشید]. Then, Qias Bin Hissain Zoalqisa [قیس بن حصین ذوالقصہ] even otherwise was not the chief of his tribe and was just a regular tribal member. He was a Christian and he was from the Bakhran [بخران] area. The same was in northern Yemen close to the Arab land in the direction of the Red Sea [بحرہ قلزم] which was away from central Yemen. He had embraced Islam on the invitation of Khalid Bin Waleed [حضرت خالد بن ولیدؓ] (*Khaldoon* [خلدون] *part I Page 410*). The Qais Abdur Rasheed [قیس عبدالشید] saga was a concoction seemingly, which had emanated probably from the statements of the Arab writers, Albrooni [البرونی] and Alaqbi [العقبی] respectively. Islam as a religion had not reached Kabul and in its vicinity, till many years later from the period of the alleged Qais [قیس]. The historical currents have tarnished probably the reference of Kaish [کیش]

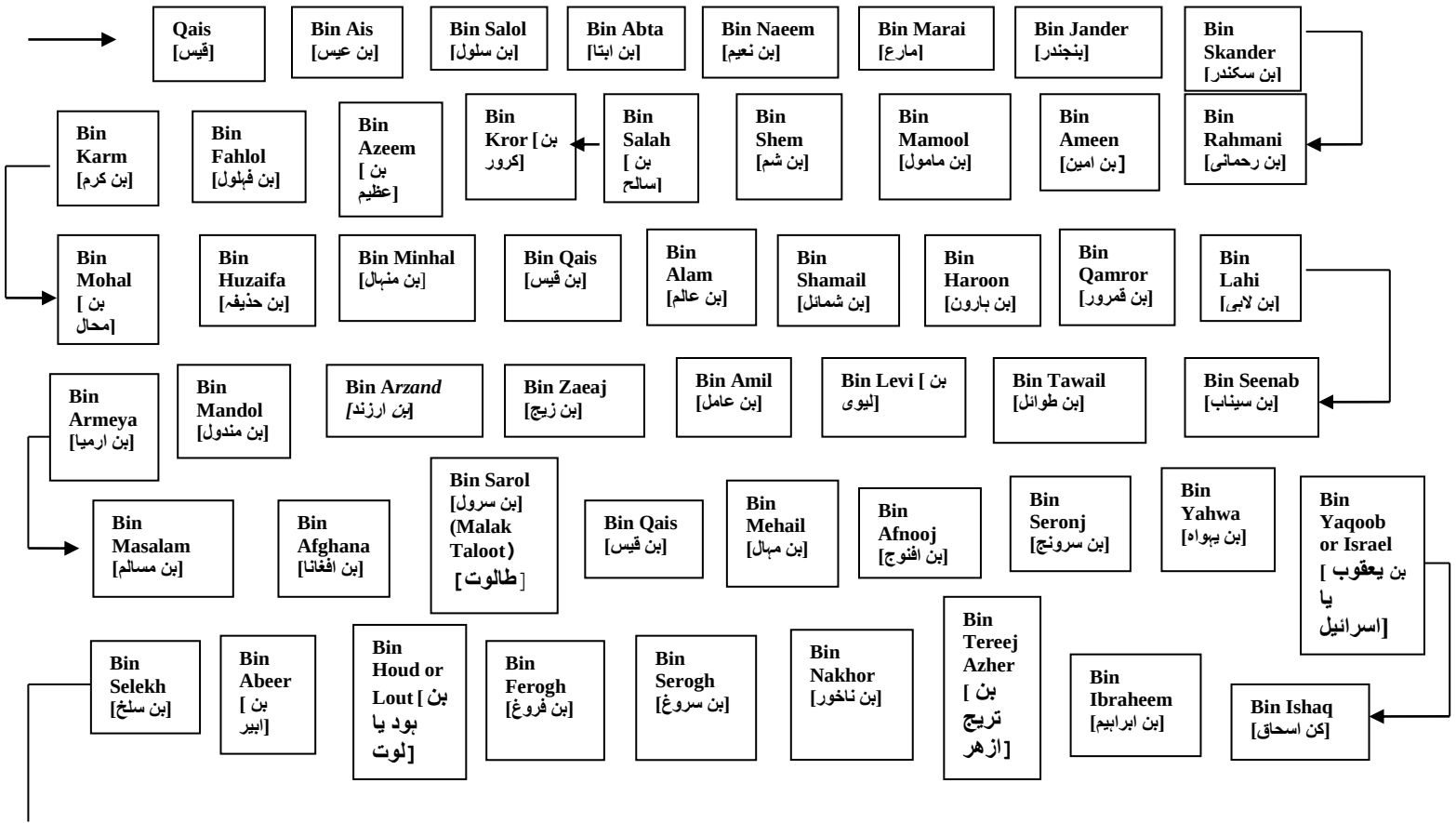
which was in the context of Kashmir and was available in the Hindu mythologies as well. The reference as Kaish [کیش] was substituted most probably as Qais [قیس].

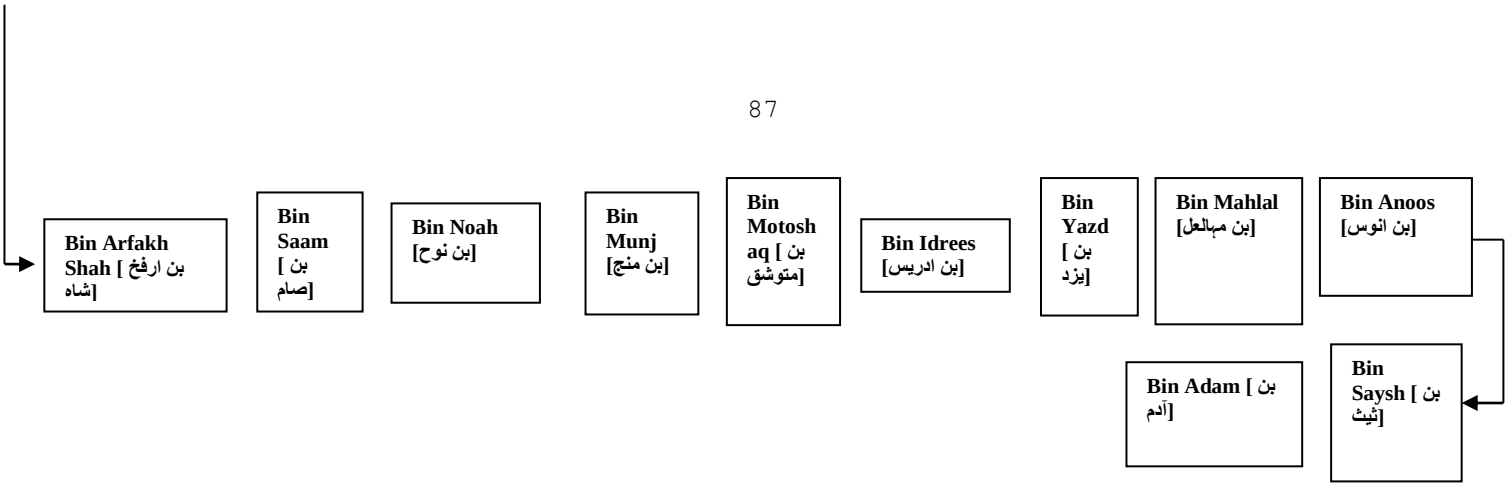
Reality of the alleged genealogical tree of Qais [قیس کے مبینہ شجرے کی حقیقت]:

The Pathans have made a ridiculous genealogical tree. The name of Qais [قیس] was placed in the beginning of the genealogical tree and they had proclaimed him as the sole agnate of the Pathan people. They had connected him back to Adam [حضرت آدم] with 62 links. The first question was that, who had preserved said tree right from its inception and how? Who had updated the genealogical tree, regularly? There was an undeniable historical fact that, the entire world history had to experience a protracted comatose period, intellectually. Then, said genealogical tree even otherwise was devoid of any systematic heraldic method.

The existence of Adam [حضرت آدم] was established at about one quarter to four millenniums ago, according to said genealogical tree. The paleographic studies and paleontology had brought forth the contrary historical proofs in the form of relics and other remains which were scientifically even older than many a millennium.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF QAIS ABDUR RASHEED [قیس عبدالشید]:


Qais [قیس]
Bin Ais [بن عیس]
Bin Salol [بن سلول]
Bin Abta [بن ابتا]
Bin Naeem [بن نعیم]
Bin Marai [مارع]
Bin Jander [بنجندر]
Bin Skander [بن سکندر]
Bin Karm [بن کرم]
Bin Fahlol [بن فہلول]
Bin Azeem [بن عظیم]
Bin Kror [بن کرور]
Bin Salah [بن سالح]
Bin Shem [بن شم]
Bin Mamool [بن مامول]
Bin Ameen [بن امین]
Bin Rahmani [بن رحمانی]
Bin Mohal [بن محال]
Bin Huzaifa [بن حذیفہ]
Bin Minhal [بن منہال]
Bin Qais [بن قیس]
Bin Alam [بن عالم]
Bin Shamail [بن شمائل]
Bin Haroon [بن ہارون]
Bin Qamror [بن قمرور]
Bin Lahi [بن لابی]
Bin Armeya [بن ارمیا]
Bin Mandol [بن مندول]
Bin Arzand [بن ارزند]
Bin Zaeaj [بن زیج]
Bin Amil [بن عامل]
Bin Levi [بن لیوی]
Bin Tawail [بن طوائل]
Bin Seenab [بن سیناب]
Bin Masalam [بن مسالم]
Bin Afghana [بن افغانا]
Bin Sarol [بن سرول] (Malak Taloot) [طالوت]
Bin Qais [بن قیس]
Bin Mehail [بن مہال]
Bin Afnooj [بن افنوج]
Bin Seronj [بن سرونج]
Bin Yahwa [بن یہواہ]
Bin Yaqoob or Israel [بن یعقوب یا اسرائیل]
Bin Selekh [بن سلخ]
Bin Abeer [بن ابیر]
Bin Houd or Lout [بن ہود یا لوت]
Bin Ferogh [بن فروغ]
Bin Serogh [بن سروغ]
Bin Nakhor [بن ناخور]
Bin Tereej Azher [بن تریج ازہر]
Bin Ibraheem [بن ابراہیم]
Bin Ishaq [کن اسحاق]


Bin Arfakh Shah [بن ارفخ شاہ]
Bin Saam [بن صام]
Bin Noah [بن نوح]
Bin Munj [بن منج]
Bin Motoshaq [بن متوشق]
Bin Idrees [بن ادریس]
Bin Yazd [بن یزد]
Bin Mahlal [بن مہلعل]
Bin Anoos [بن انوس]
Bin Adam [بن آدم]
Bin Saysh [بن ثیث]

What was required to be remembered here that during the natural course of the time line, three generations of a family occupy the space of one hundred years approximately, according to the experts.

Myth of preaching Islam and Qais [قیس اور تبلیغ اسلام کا مفروضہ]:

The Pathans have also maintained a common perception that Qais [قیس] had embarked upon the mission of preaching Islam in the mountainous areas, after when he had embraced Islam. The said postulate was also unfounded. We have to see that how the history had unfolded the advent of Islam, in the present Afghanistan as well as, in central Asia and in its north as well as, in the Gandharah [گندھارہ] region. The Islamic history had revealed that, Syria [شام], Iraq [عراق], Khuzestan [خوزستان], Ajam [عجم], Azerbaijan [آزربائیجان], Farus [فارس], Karman [کرمان], Kherson [خراسان], Makran [مکران] (which had included a portion of Baluchistan), Asia-e-Kochak [ایشیائے کوچک] (which was called as Rome by the Arabs), Taberistan [طبرستان], Takharistan [طخارستان], Sijistan [سجستان] and Ghazna [غزنہ] i.e. Zablistan [زابلستان] were conquered during the caliphate of Umer [حضرت عمرؓ] and Usman [حضرت عثمانؓ] in 24th Hegira 645 AC to 35 Hegira 655 AC respectively. When, Abdur Rahman Muhammad [عبدالرحمان محمد], one of the generals of Hajaj Bin Yousaf [حجاج بن یوسف], was made the governor of Sijistan [سجستان] or Sistan [سیستان], many years later i.e. in 80 Hegira 699 AC, he had forayed against Ratbeel [رتبیل] i.e. the Turk ruler of Kabul who had refused to pay the poll-tax. The subjects of the central Asian states except Ratbeel [رتبیل] were mostly from the Iranian origin in those days but, their rulers used to be from the Turk origin. Hajaj had appointed Qutaiba [قتیبہ] as governor for Kherson [خراسان] in 85th Hegira (706 AC). Then, Qutaiba [قتیبہ] had declared Merv [مرو] as his state capital. He had conquered the lower part of Takharistan [طخارستان] and Balkh [بلخ] in 87 Hegira 706 AC. Then, he had declared the same as his state capital. The Balkh [بلخ] area was away in the northeast,

from Kabul and the same was close to the river Oxus [دریائے جیحوں] near the Russian border exactly in the opposite direction of Merv [مرو] towards the east. The said area had also the population of the Panni Parthi [پنّی پارتھی] nation. They were known as the Greek Bactrians [یونانی باختر]. Qutaiba [قتیبہ] had conquered Bukhara [بخارا] Samarqand [سمرقند], Khewa [خیوا] etc. subsequently in 95 Hegira 713 AC. He was able to annex Fraghana [فرغانہ] thereafter with the Islamic reign of power. The message of Islam was disseminated in the process, in the Mongol [منگول] and in the Buddhist [بدھ مت] dominant areas. The aforementioned cities were considered as the biggest centers of Buddhism. The Muslim had destroyed the fire temples or the places of worship in Bukhara [بخارا] and besides the idolatries in Samarqand [سمرقند]. The Chinese had captured Tashkent [تاشقند] in 134 Hegira (758 AC) which was in the northeast of Samarqand [سمرقند]. What was needed to be acknowledged here is that, the Islamic impact had not penetrated much into the Pathan areas even till that period. The aforementioned events were from the period when the Muslims were on their onward march in the direction of northeast. (*Haiti Page 208 to Page 210 Reference Tabri au Blazari* [طبری وبلازری]). The myth of preaching Islam in the Pathan areas by Qais [قیس] was therefore unsubstantiated by the historical events in the light of aforementioned historical facts.

Arrival of Muhammad Bin Qasim [محمد بن قاسم کی آمد]:

Muhammad Bin Qasim [محمد بن قاسم کی آمد] had launched the attack against Sindh [سندھ] in the southeast in 92 Hegira (710 AC). The process of unprecedented amalgamation of different tribes and nations with the Pathan population was already in progress by that time. The people who had accompanied the Muslims were also integrated well in the same process. The said situation had remained in progress till the 10th century AC. The people of southern Afghanistan used to speak different languages at the arrival of the Arabs. The Arab writers were resultantly not resolute in their approach to acquaint themselves with the general pattern and social norms of different nations and tribes. Those nations were Sathi [ستھی], Panni Parthi [پنّی پارتھی] other than the people of the Iranian nation (*Races, 17-18 Kero, Page 18*). The same was in fact the period when the Pashto language had embarked upon its evolutionary journey as a consequence of interaction of different nations. Then, if anyone by the name of Qais [قیس] had embraced Islam and he had preached the same then the Muslims were expected to have been in great numbers in the area. The Arab historians would have applauded his Adam like *ad captandum* contribution certainly in

some form or the other, in said backdrop of history. The upshot of the entire discussion was that the Pathan or the Afghan nation had attained their present collective identity and countenance steadily and was the consequence of intermingling of various nations. They had become a new nation when they had embraced Islam in large numbers. The foundation of a new language was also laid in the similar unrealizable manner which is known at present, as the Pashto language.

Pseudonymity of Ghurghest and his posterity [غرغشت اور اسکی اولاد بھی خیالی کردار ہیں]:

We feel that it shall be essential to be familiarized with the status of the alleged offshoots of Qais [قیس] after when we know the reality of Qais [قیس], as a personified character. The name Ghurghesht [غرغشت] was a pseudonym seemingly. The word [غڑ] means in the Pashto language as mountain and the word Ghesht [غشت] means, to ambulate or to roam about. Thus, the word, Ghurghesht [غرغشت] means, "someone ambulant in the mountain". The people of said mountainous area travel in the winter seasons frequently, in search of green pastures for their herds and cattle. They look for shelters also and then they procure their eatables just like the Pandoways [پاندوئے], during the summer seasons. They opt to settle down in the process in the plain areas. Those people somehow or the other not only, embark upon the activity of ambulating because the same was initiated by some legendary chieftain rather they had proclaimed him as Ghurghesht [غرغشت] just because of his supposed ambulation, in the mountainous areas. They have also acclaimed him to be their tribal agnate. The genealogical tree of Qias [قیس] was in fact, nothing more than a collection of some factious names of ancient chiefs, who used to exist allegedly, in ancient times. The purpose of the same was to prove seemingly, their euphoric linkage so as to extol the present status of their respective offshoots. The factual position was proved in the light of logical and analytically historical parameters in the manner that, neither Qais [قیس] had existed as a persona nor, the personage of any Ghurghesht [غرغشت] was proved. Thus, the existence of their lineal posterity was also unconfirmed even in all respects and manners whatsoever.

There was one person allegedly, by the name of Panni in the posterity of Ghurghesht [غرغشت]. The modern research had proved that the Panni was a nation, which had existed at some point of time, in central Asia as well as, in the plains of the southeast of the Caspian Sea and the Ural Sea [بحیرۂ اررال]. The existence of the Panni nation was proved even prior to the start of the Jesus

Christ era. The said nation had drifted down for integration, in the present Afghanistan, Gandharah as well as, in Baluchistan during some subsequent period. There were some researchers who had even claimed that, the Parthi [پارتھی] nation was the offshoot of the Panni nation (***Kero Page 64***). Kakar [کاکڑ], Nagher [ناغڑ] and Dawie [داوئ] were declared to have the cousin consanguinity with them. The Kakar [کاکڑ] nation was an offshoot of the ancient Sathi [ستھی] nation, according to the research of contemporary historians. Those people were akin to the Ghakherr [گھکڑ] people (***Races Page 91***). The people of said nation exist in great numbers, even today in Baluchistan (*Fahrist Aqwam Baluchistan* [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان]). The same is known as Kashmiri Kakrro [ککڑو]. The Ghakherr [گھکڑ] exist also at many other places. The word Ghakher [گھکڑ] was the distorted form of the word Kakar [کاکڑ]. They were based in Baluchistan, according to our (*writer*) viewpoint. The Kakar [کاکڑ] nation, like the Panni nation, was also broken up in various offshoots. The historians have maintained the unanimous view about the Nagher [ناغڑ] nation i.e. the alleged brethren of the Panni nation that, they were the Rajpoot [راجپوت] and they had dissipated in the eastern areas. The Afghans used to address them as Bardah [بارده] usually (*Races 91-92*) i.e. Bardah [بارده] has no further offshoots.

The ancient nation Davidic [ڈایودیکا] was amongst the four anciently nations of Hindustan, according to the historian, Herodotus. They used to live at the extreme end of the dominion of the Iranian ruler namely, Dara [دارا] (***Races Page 90***). The reference of those four nations was perhaps for the Kakar [کاکڑ], Nagher [ناغڑ] and the Panni nations whereas the fourth one was their alleged brother whose name was Dawie [داوئ]. The Muslims had landed many years thereafter, in the north and in the south of the Subcontinent. The scholars who used to venture out with a general concern of describing the history, they used to gather the information randomly. Then, they used to compile the history even without any effort of sifting out the elements of concoction and conjecturing from the factual history. The so-called historiographers of Café Taverns [قہوہ خانہ] of Qaisa Khawani Bazaar [قصہ خوانی بازار] of Peshawar used to indulge perhaps in the opulence in said process and they used to fabricate the history of the Pathan people. Those hackneyed make-believers and story tellers used to epitomize one nation as the brethrens of another. Then, they used to declare the other one as the descendants of some other nation. They used to characterize at will as one to be the agnate of some other nation as well. Thus, they used to make the conjectural additions and deletions, in the genealogical tree of the Pathans. The name of Qisa Khawani Bazaar [قصہ خوانی بازار] of Peshawar also seems to have

perpetuated just in commemoration of those pseudo story tellers. The ancient relics and the monuments were not unearthed till that time therefore, those hackneyed story tellers used to tag the names, in the genealogical tree, with impunity. Then, those names had traveled from mouth to mouth to the successive generations. The scholars of the subsequent period(s) had also treated said genealogical tree as the ultimate compilation of the names, without any effort of conducting the scientific probe. Those scholars had incorporated in the history books even said genealogical tree. The modern scientific research had eliminated however, the hoax elements from the cyclic yield of history.

We should be thankful to those hackneyed and make-believe story tellers because one way or the other, they had kept alive the names of those ancient nations. We feel that, there was still so much, which was yearning for more research and to discover more historical realities. We were in a position notwithstanding the same to prepare the history of the "Panni Nation" after dabbling through the historical vicissitudes of centuries and after gathering the data from the stockpiles of books of history of many other ancient nations. The same is likely to be a treatise of its own kind. We have not been able to discover any further, with regard to the other nations except what we have already mentioned above. The research scholars and the volumes of history had proved that the Pathans *locus citato* were the serial assemblage of various nations.

Migration from Gorjestân and Armenia [گورجیا اور ارمینیا سے نقل مکانی]:

Shah Tahmasap [شاہ طہماسپ] of Iran (1564 AC to 1576 AC) and Shah Abbas [شاہ عباس] (1584 AC to 1629 AC) had launched the attacks against Gorjestân and Armenia. They had blighted the same, according to a general perception. Then, they had compelled a large number of Armenians to live in Asphan [اصفہان], Afghanistan [افغانستان] and Makran [مکران] which were the parts of the Iranian provinces at that time. There were epigraphs [کتبے] with regard to the same in the Baluchistan area which were regarding an Armenian colony. The epigraphs [کتبے] were in the Armenian language and were engraved on a rock-tablet. The discovery of those epigraphs [کتبے] was made in 1901. (***Imperial Sibi Volume No.3 Page 34***). The Sapero [سپرو] is a caste of people. They live in Kashmir. The said word was considered to be an Armenian word which means "the well educated person". There was a possibility that the Sapero [سپرو] had migrated from

Armenia. Then, they had opted to settle in Kashmir during the reigning period of Shah Tahmasap [شاہ طہماسپ] and Shah Abbas [شاہ عباس].

Conclusion [حاصل کلام]:

The historical facts with regard to the rise and fall of the nations of the area as well as, the paleography of the discovered relics and the monuments had brought forth a wholesome historical material for study. The Pathan area used to thrive with civic activity since ages according to the same which was also the playhouse of many nations who had executed their reigning preferences at will, at different times in history.

PANNI PATHAN

Chapter-III

FROM MOUNTAINS TO THE REIGNING OF HINDUSTAN [پہاڑوں سے ہندوستان کی حکومت تک]**:**

Sheikh Hameed Lodhi, the first Pathan ruler [پہلا پٹھان حکمران شیخ حمید لودھی]:

When the Pathan populace had embraced Islam in large numbers around 304 Hegira (926 AC) then, they had become a formidable force gradually in the Ghandaharah [گندھارا] region as well as in the surrounding areas including present Afghanistan. They used to challenge Raja Jaypal [راجہ جیپال] from time to time and they were also able to capture some of the areas which were under his dominion during said period. The same was the time when the Samanid [سامانی] Muslim troops used to make incessant attempts to enter Hindustan through Sindh [سندھ] and had disparaged the areas of Multan and Bathyana [بٹھیانہ] during said period. Raja Jaypal [راجہ جیپال] had made a political move in consultation with Bhatnieez [بھٹنیز] in the wake of said state of affairs. He was ruler of the Mardan district and Tehsil Swabi. He had summoned the Pathan Sardar namely, Sheikh Hameed Lodhi [شیخ حمید لودھی] and had assigned him the post of Emarat [امارت] and he had handed over to him control of Walayat Nouman [ولایت نعمان] along-with the Multan [ملتان] area and thus the Pathans were posted to guard the borders of Multan and Punjab (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.66***) which was in fact the tactical move by Raja Jaypal [راجہ جیپال]. The influence of the Arabs had already diminished in Sindh and Baluchistan areas, by that time. The local landlords were generally able to consolidate their hold. Thus, Sheikh Hameed Lodhi [شیخ حمید لودھی] was able to lay the foundation of his independent state in the 4th century Hegira, by virtue of his appointment as controller of Multan. The peripheral limits of his state were up-to the northern mountains. Since, Sheikh Hameed Lodhi [شیخ حمید لودھی] was the appointee of some non-Muslim oligarchs therefore he was randomly under the Ghazanawi [غزنوی] attacks. He was able to earn a big name resultantly by defending his state successfully, against those attacks. Then pursuant to the same, he was able to amass further strength and had even disregarded the pact which he had signed with those attackers. Thus, Sheikh Hameed-ud-

Din Lodhi [شیخ حمید لودھی] had become the first popularly known Afghan ruler in Hindustan. (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.66, Muraqa Afghan*** [مرقع افغان] ***Page No.4***)

Islam Khan Lodhi [اسلام خان لودھی]:

When, the Turk ruler of Ghazni namely, Alaptigeen [الپتگین] had died, his son had succeeded him for a brief period in 975 Hegira. Then, his son-in-law namely, Subuktigeen [سبکتگین] had succeeded his son in 977 Hegira. Subuktigeen [سبکتگین] had become the founder of the Ghaznavid Empire [غزنی] thereafter. He had invited the Pathans openly to join hands with him and had integrated them in his army to conquer (Punjab) Lahore, in 367 Hegira, 989 AC. The Pathans had demonstrated tremendous gallantry, in said venture. He had appointed two thousand Pathans therefore at some key posts in Peshawar while he was returning home (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.67, Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.29, and Races Volume No.3Page No.282***). Raja Jaypal [راجہ جیپال] had marched towards Ghazni [غزنی] in 369 Hegira (981 AC) and had launched an attack against Ameer Naseer-ud-Din Subuktigeen [نصیرالدین سبکتگین]. The Pathans had yet to have access to the northern limits of river Karakaram [دریائے کراکرم] at that time (***Minhaj*** [منہاج] ***Volume No.1 Footnote Page No.74***) The peripheral governance limits of Raja Jaypal [راجہ جیپال] were up-to the borders of Multan [ملتان], Serblund [سربلند], Nouman [نعمان] and Kashmir [کشمیر] whereas, Lahore [لاہور] was the state capital in those days (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.66***). The Pathans were able to improve their control gradually and when they were able to realize that the time was opportune, they had appointed Islam Khan Lodhi [اسلام خان لودھی] as ruler for Serblund [سربلند] and Doaba [دوابہ]. They were able to capture some more areas thereafter and Malik Bahlol [ملک بہلول], son of Malik Kala [ملک کالا], son of Malik Bahram [ملک بہرام], the real brother of Islam Khan Lodhi [اسلام خان لودھی], had become the independent inland ruler in Hindustan (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.73***). If the aforementioned entire historical version was correct then we have the reason to presume that the Pashto language had always accompanied those rulers!

Pathans along-with Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [پٹھان سلطان محمود غزنوی کے سا تھ]:

The Ghazni [غزنی] area had sparkled under the mighty rule of Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی], in 387 Hegira (1009 AC). He was very keen to make the advancement into the

remote areas of Hindustan which were a part of the Rajdhani [راجدھانی] of Raja Nanda [راجہ نندا] at that time. Raja Nanda [راجہ نندا] had offered 150 elephants however, to Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] in the following year and after receiving the same, had returned to Ghazni [غزنی]. He had launched the attacks in those mountains during the same year which were the habitat of the Pathan people. He had plundered them and thus he was able to take away massive wealth. (*Those mountains had included Koh-Suleiman* [کوہ سلیمان] *where many people of the Panni nation live, even today. Writer*) Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] had launched the attack at night in the same mountains via Balkh [بلخ], in 416 Hegira. (*The majority of the Pathans were not Muslim probably at that time therefore they were involved in looting and plundering. We will discuss the same later, Writer*). He had disparaged the temple of Somnat [سومنات] in 417 Hegira and was also able to bring a portion of Hindustan under his control simultaneously (***The Pathan*** [پٹھان] ***Page No.113, Minhaj*** [منہاج] ***Volume No.1 Page No.86***). Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] had organized seventeen attacks, in accordance with the general perception as well as, in accordance with the historical events. The same was the total number of attacks during his reign which had included the attacks on the non-Muslim Pathan areas as well (*Writer*). Sheikh Hameed Lodhi [شیخ حمید لودھی] had died at that time and his grandson (*According to some, his nephew*) Abu Alfath Dawood [ابو الفتح داؤد] had replaced him as the ruler of Multan. Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] was able to quell the anarchy in the mountainous region at that time which is known as Afghanistan at present. He had assassinated Abu Alfath Dawood [ابو الفتح داود] while he was marching towards the south. Thus, he had brought the Multan area under his domain (***Muraqa Afghan*** [مرقع افغان] ***Page No.2***). Abu Alfath Dawood [ابو الفتح داؤد] was believed to be guilty of violating some kind of pact. Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] along-with his thirty thousand troops and in accordance with some historians, the same had also included ten thousand Pathans, had marched towards Somnat [سومنات] on 10th Shaban [شعبان] 413 Hegira and returned to Ghazni, in 417 Hegira. We will discuss *in extenso* later that, those Pathans were the subjects of the former Panni ruler nation in Iran. They were condemned into exile *émigré* by the Sassanid rulers. The Pathans had demonstrated the gallantry during those attacks just like many other attacks and Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] had resultantly appointed them on high ranks in those captured areas. They were also given the recognition to be the part of "Dolat Mahmoodia [دولۃ محمودیہ]" i.e. the State of Mahmoodia (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.68, 79 A Journal of Political Mission to Afghanistan Page No.76***). The same was exactly the period

when Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] had assigned the title of "Khan" to the Pathans. He had declared that "the Pathans were the only ones who were eligible to use said coveted title because only the Turks had the privilege till that time to use it. The Pathans had flourished slowly and gradually in this way and Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] had given them the respectable positions in Hindustan and Dairrahjat [ڈیرہ جات] which was a part of Afghanistan at that time. (***Hayat Lodhi*** [حیات لودھی] ***Page No.38***). Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] died in 421 Hegira (1043 AC). The historian Abu Rehan Albrooni [ابوریحان البیرونی] had travelled through Hindustan in 422 Hegira. The Afghans base was stretched from the northwestern mountainous frontier to the valley of river Sindh, according to him (***Gazetteer District Zob Volume No.1, Page No.28***). The same can also be interpreted in terms of history that the Muslims were able to consolidate themselves by that time, as a communal band or as a significant reckonable majority, in the northwestern areas of Afghanistan as well as, in the Baluchistan region. The people who have been referred to as Pathans, in the aforementioned narrative, they were in fact the people from the Panni nation. The name "Pathan" was their carved out general identification. Alqabi [القبی], the secretary or the minister of Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی], has also given the reference of the Pathans in his book which was captioned as "Yamini" [یمنی] (***Abstan Volume No.3 Page No.221***). There was no historical reference available to the effect that all of them were practicing Muslims.

Genghis Khan and Shahab-ud-Din Ghori in the company of Al-Nogh Khan [چنگیزخان اور شہاب الدین غوری، النوع خان کے ہمراہ]:

The same Pathan warmongers had accompanied Genghis Khan [چنگیزخان] in 540 Hegira (1162 AC) (***Imperial Volume No.5 Page No.124***). When, Shahab-ud-Din Ghori [شہاب الین غوری] had conquered the Utch [اوچ] and Multan [ملتان] areas, in 603 Hegira (1225 AC) after Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] then, he had appointed his slave namely, Qutab-ud-Din Aibak [قطب الدین ایبک] as governor of Punjab. He had also left the Afghan troops at his disposal which was exactly the way the Afghans had become the actual stalwarts in the Aibak [ایبک] era. They had promoted themselves gradually and thus they were able to become members of his elite group. Ameer Timor [امیر تیمور] was able to assume power, thereafter. The Afghans were able to acquire also by that time, some societal eminence. They were able to enjoy the role of courtiers for the kings (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.71)***. Shahab-ud-Din Ghori

[شہاب الین غوری] had rehabilitated the Pathans along-with their livestock at Kabul [کابل], Bajorr [بجوڑ], Sohna [سوہنہ], Hashtnagar [ہشت نگر] and Koh Suleiman [کوہِ سلیمان] **(*Praaspa*)** (***Hayat Lodhi*** [حیات لودھی] ***Page No.36***). Qutab-ud-Din Aibak [قطب الدین ایبک] (603 to 607 Hegira) had also relied on the support of the Pathan people to conquer some of the areas in Hindustan (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.29***, ***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.70, 71)***. Al-Nogh Khan Azam [النوع خان اعظم] had raided the valleys of the Maiwat [میوات] mountains in the month of Safer [صفر] 659 Hegira. There was a gang of local dacoits which had looted and plundered the Muslims and were able to maintain a sanctuary in the area. Those gangs of dacoits had also ravaged district Heryana [ہریانہ], which was at the foot of Shawalik [شوالک]. The Afghans had also participated in said raid which turned out to be a comprehensive success (***Minhaj*** [منہاج] ***Volume No.2 Page No.852, 320 Footnote***) Al-Nogh Khan Azam [النوع خان اعظم] was the Ameer of Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Mohammed [سلطان ناصرالدین محمد]. Those three thousand Afghans had extended their help to him (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.30, reference Tabaqat-e-Naseri*** [طبقات ناصری] ***Page No.381***). We have already mentioned in the preceding chapter that Shahab-ud-Din Ghori [شہاب الین غوری] and his brother had initially followed the Karami [کرامی] sect. They had acquired the recognition as real Muslims, very late.

Sultan Balban [سلطان بلبن]:

Sultan Balban [سلطان بلبن] (683 Hegira 1305 AC) had also exploited the bravery of the Pathan people. He had integrated them in his army when he had planned to conquer Delhi [دہلی] and had pitched them against the Mawatis [مواتی]. He had helped the Pathans establish themselves in the Bhojpuri [بھوج پور], Kampal [کمپل] and Bhatyana [بھٹیانہ] areas. The Afghans were able to establish a colony in the south of Delhi [دہلی] under the name as Afghanpur [افغان پور] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.30, Reference, Berni*** [برنی] ***Page No.57***). The level of their religious belief notwithstanding the aforementioned historical facts was at such an abject level that Sultan Balban [سلطان بلبن] had made very enthusiastic attempts to fabricate a new religion which was with the intention to eternalize his name (***Tabaqat-e-Naseri*** [طبقات ناصری] ***Page No.77***).

Pathans in support of Sultan Alla-ud-Din Khilji [علاوالدین خلیی کی معاونت]:

Alla-ud-Din Khilji [علاوالدین خلیی] (689 Hegira 1311 AC) was not in a position to turn down the help and assistance of the Pathan people during the Khilji [خلیی] era. There were even some Afghans who were his Ameers (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.3 Reference Berni*** [برنی]).

In the Tughlaq Durbar [تغلق دربار میں]:

The Afghans were able to reach Hindustan in large numbers at the end of the Khilji [خلجی] era as well as, during the Tughlaq [تغلق] era i.e. till the period of Mohammed Tughlaq [تغلق] (726 Hegira) (1348 to 1374 AC). Gujarat [گجرات] and Dolatabad [دولت آباد] was their stronghold at that time (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.30 Reference Berni*** [برنی]). The Afghans had enjoyed a very prestigious status even during the reign of Froze Tughlaq [فروز تغلق] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.31, Mukhtotat Timori*** [مخطوطات تیموری] ***Page No.460, Makhzan Afghani Page No.41-A***).

Support of Ameer Timor [امیر تیمور کی معاونت]:

There was a four member team which had approached Ameer Timor [امیر تیمور] when he had planned to conquer Hindustan which consisted of Malik Khizer Khan Serbani [ملک خضر خان سربنی], Malik Bha-ud-Din Niazi [ملک بہاؤالدین نیازی], Malik Yusuf Serwani [ملک یوسف سروانی] and Malik Habib Serbani [ملک حبیب سربنی]. They had the agenda of participation in the attack, with their respective nations. Ameer Timor [امیر تیمور] had assigned the role of a frontline corpus to the Pathans, during said attack. He had awarded the royal ropes [خلعت], swords [شمشیر] and waist-belts [کمربند] to all the chiefs. Ameer Timor [امیر تیمور] had returned to Kandahar [قندھار] after when he was able to conquer the entire area with the assistance of the Pathans i.e. from Multan up-to Delhi. Then he had handed over the reins of power to Malik Khizer Khan Serbani [ملک خضر خان سربنی] (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.73).***

Lodhi Pathan ruler [لودھی پٹھان حکمران]:

The Pathans were able to acquire the status of a supple brave nation in the northern Hindustan region by that time and their strength and general ability to manage the state affairs had gradually

improved manifolds (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.32).*** Bhalol Lodhi [بہلول لودھی] (855 to 894 Hegira 1477 to 1514 AC) had laid the foundation of the third reign of the Pathans in the Subcontinent. He had invited the Pathan tribes in 856 Hegira 1478 AC through a public declaration to migrate into Hindustan. The said offer had remained available officially for a very long time for all the Pathan tribes despite the fact that most of the Pathans of the mountainous areas used to travel habitually towards the plain areas of the Subcontinent. The Pathans were allured to avail the proclaimed invitation. Then they had moved to central Hindh [ہندھ] like flood waves. They had landed in great numbers in the semi-mountainous areas of Peshawar. Then, they had also moved multitudinously towards the south by the fifteenth century (900 Hegira) (***Imperial Volume No.5 Page No.24***). The same was exactly the process which had integrated them effectively and perpetually to determine the future course of Hindustan. Bhalol Lodhi [بہلول لودھی] had granted the large estates to the Pathan debutant entrants. He had helped every tribe to emerge as a consolidated unit. The people of the Panni tribe had opted to settle down mostly in Jaypur [جے پور], Jodhpur [جودھپور] Aaheer [اہیر] and Rajisthan [راجستھان] areas. The bases of the Pathan people in the area of Shahjahanpur [شاہجہان پور] were virtually after their respective tribal names. They were allocated the separate sections of land which had become their branded community streets, subsequently. Mohallah BaroZai (Panni) [محلہ باروزئی] which exists even at present was also one of the sanctioned places of said allocation process.

Suri Pathan rulers [سوری پٹھان حکمران]:

The Pathan people had almost settled down everywhere in the Subcontinent by the time the Emperor Baber [بابر] had landed in the area. They were also given, besides the grand military and non-military posts, the appropriate respect by all the popular and unpopular rulers. They had acquired besides the large estates, the key positions in the state affairs which had generally made them resourceful and powerful in the society. Then General Sher Khan [جنرل شیر خان] of the Suri tribe [سوری قبیلہ] had also laid the foundation of his reign in 1537 AC. Thus, there was yet another dynastic Pathan ruler who was able to join the club of the other ruling Pathan dynasties. General Sher Khan [جنرل شیر خان] was the factual founder of the fourth reigning dynasty however, Lodhi [لودھی] was the first and Suri [سوری] was the second Afghan dynastic ruler, according to some historians.

Panni Pathan rulers [پنّی پٹھان حکمران]:

The Panni Pathans in great numbers had announced publicly, their allegiance with Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری]. Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] besides bestowing the large estates upon them had also decorated them with the ranks and titles for their military services. When, the disintegration of said dynasty had taken place due to the sudden death of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری], the allegiance of the Pathans had also become questionable by the ruler Adli [عدلی], who was the successor of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری]. The Pathans were highly offended due to his inappropriate bestowals on others and had initiated the unjust practices against the Pathans. He had appointed Hemobaqqal [ہیموبقال] as his ViZair against the aspirations of the dejected Pathans. Then, in the wake of said state of affairs, one of the Generals of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] namely, General Taj Khan Panni [جنرل تاج خان پنّی] had taken over the control of Bengal [بنگال] and Behar [بہار] through a revolt. He had acclaimed those areas as his independent state. He had also occupied Orissa [اڑیسہ] subsequently and then said dynasty had appointed three rulers, one after the other. The historians had not given General Taj Khan Panni [جنرل تاج خان پنّی] and other rulers, their due recognition in the history despite the fact that their contribution was tremendous. Their names have appeared in the sub-references only as the Kirani [کرانی] etc. whereas, their powerful reign had never lacked the historical significance from various angles.

Who were the Pathan collaborators, who had joined the attackers [حملہ آوروں کے پٹھان معاون کون تھے]?

The Pathans as mentioned above, who used to launch the attacks against Hindustan from the northern side, used to accompany the other lashkers even after Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی]. There was a question that, were the Pathans there only in those days as the general community of Ghandaharah [گندھارا]? Then were they cultured enough socially, linguistically and they had such organizational abilities that they were in a position to join hands with the well organized lashkers of the invaders? The answer to the same was in the negative certainly, if the overall conditions of the people of said area were kept in mind, in the light of aforementioned realities. Then, let alone the organizational part even the semblance of *en bloc* physical existence of such a class of people was untraceable in the history anywhere, prior to Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی]. There was neither, the proof of their Pashto

language nor, even the trace of their written script was available, generally. Then, from where those people had emerged who were known as Pathans and they were able to make the great rulers feel obliged to integrate them in their regular army. Those rulers had also reposed the trust and confidence in their ability and Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] and Ameer Timor [امیر تیمور] had assigned them the high ranks because of their loyalty. They had also given them the status of frontline troops because they had the ability to demonstrate the bravery during the attacks. Then they had bestowed the title of "Khan" on them which was in fact, the title of the Turks. They had also declared that "they were in fact, the worthy people to assume the title of Khan" [خان]. The historical facts had proved that the people, who had volunteered at the initial invasions in particular and had accompanied the lashkers of subsequent attackers generally, were in fact the people of the Panni nation. The following historical facts were proof of the same;

> The word Pathan or Afghan as it was established in the first chapter was specifically used at the initial stages for the Panni nation. The word Pathan notwithstanding the fact that the same was the distorted form of the word Parthian (Panni nation) or was a composite word of two parts "Path" (پٹھ) i.e. girl and "Aan" (آن) i.e. kidnapper i.e. (Girl kidnapper) (***Muhammad Maki Abbasi*** [محمد نقی عباسی] ***page No.5***) or the word Afghan [افغان] was used as an Armenian word which had given the meaning as "the people from across the mountain" (***Dani*** [دانی] ***Page 111***), the Armenian Panni rulers had used said word for their consanguine nation in Parthia or Khurasan [خراسان] or it was used according to our viewpoint, for those who used to belong to the areas which were away from said place. Those Pathans were known for prowling on the locals and used to live in their ancient abodes. They had acquired a popular significance historically, just because of their peculiar way of fighting and were known as the warmongers. They had also fought the world famous battles, for about six hundred years in Iran as well as, in Armenia, during the course of their continuous reign. They were also adept at administrative skills and they used to enjoy the civic life, which was enriched culturally and socially. They were well conversant with the knowledge in the fields of science, art and linguistics. They had the general knowhow besides that, in the field of other social studies which was due to the fact that some of their rulers had already ruled the Ghandaharah areas. The Sassanid rulers had usurped the power from them in 226 AC and had expunged their name from the history. Then, they had

condemned them into the exile very successfully. Those exiled people *émigré* had dissipated resultantly, into the vast areas of the Ghandaharah region, in search of shelters and grazing areas. They still exist there in millions even today. Those migrants were the civilized, cultured and forward-looking people and were very well organized. They were gifted with numerous qualities and had also their brotherly nations in the area. They used to overwhelm the others very quickly. The religion Islam was quite away at that point of time, to shape up their lives. They had their own particular language and were able to lend most of the words of their language to the Pashto language by virtue of their general interaction. Thus, they had helped the Pashto language to flourish. They used to enjoy the administrative dexterity as well as, the ability to rule.

The very historical statement with regard to the attacks of Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] on the Pathans of the mountainous area was also about those people who were non-Muslim, at that time. The Kafir [کافر] nation of today was the living example, in this regard. The Kafir [کافر] nation was the remnant of the Panni nation of yester years, according to the historians. They were the ones in fact who were called as the Afghans or the Pathans, in those bygone eras. The ancient references, with regard to the existence of the Pathan nation which were given by Brahtah Mehr [براہتہ مہر] and Alqabi [القبی] were also about the same Panni nation of the bygone eras. The historical references had also proved that, Shahab-ud-Din Ghori [شہاب الین غوری] had helped the Pathans establish themselves at Kabul [کابل], Bajorr [بجوڑ], Sohna [سوہنہ], Hashtnagar [ہشت نگر] and Koh Suleiman [کوہِ سلیمان] **(*Praaspa*)** along-with their livestock (***Hayat Lodhi*** [حیات لودھی] ***Page No.36***). The aforementioned Pathan populace used to also include various other people from the Panni nation. The Koh Suleiman [کوہِ سلیمان] **(*Praaspa*)** is the cradle of said nation even today.

The detail history of the Panni nation of Iran and Armenia shall be examined in the next chapter which will prove that, they were the same accomplished people who used to accompany the rulers of Ghandaharah. They used to launch the organized attacks into Hindustan. The historical references which were regarding the Pathans of the northern areas were in fact made for the people of the Panni nation of yester years. Those chieftains, who were assigned the leadership roles in those areas used to include the trained soldiers mostly from the same nation. The factual

position was that, those rulers whose names were studded with the prefix as “Malik” [ملک] were also the individuals from the Panni nation. We will examine in the next chapter that, “Malik” [ملک] means, the king. The same was used as a title among the Panni nation of Iran. The word “Malik” [ملک], which is used amongst the Pathans even today, was a buoyant souvenir from the Panni nation of Ghandaharah. The aforementioned events had constituted a strange historical and incomprehensible perception that those Pathans of Ghandaharah were fully conversant with the organizational and decision making abilities even centuries ago as well as, during the reign of Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] (387 Hegira 1009 AC). They were indispensable for the formation of organized lashkers and for establishing and strengthening the practical control for the rulers. What we have discussed above, whether the same was evident from the present facade of the Pathans or they were different in the ancient times, demands a comprehensive research.

There may be a correct perception that when the Panni Pathans used to accompany the invaders, the people from other vibrant nations and the versatile individuals also used to participate to boost up their general crescendo. Then, the local adventurers *chevalieŕ d’ industrie* also used to collaborate with the ostensible plans to carry out looting and plundering. The other locals used to promote the same mindset presumably during the subsequent attacks. We have already explained repeatedly that the Hindus used to address the Panni Parthian nation by the name of Pathans. They had coined out and used the same term “Pathans” perhaps for those attackers also who used to come from the north. Thus, the majority of the people of Ghandaharah and from its vicinity had become known eventually as the Afghan [افغان] or the Pathan [پٹھان] people. Then, said factor had assumed the customary status ultimately, amongst the present Pathan populace. The historical facts had unveiled the reality that, those attackers who used to accompany Sultan Mehmood Ghaznawi [سلطان محمود غزنوی] and were known as Pathans, and those who were involved during the subsequent attacks, they were in fact the individuals from the Panni nation of ancient times.

Weaknesses of the Pathans and Mughal rivalry [پٹھانوں کی کمزوریاں اور مغلوں کی پٹھان دشمنی]:

The Pathans had embraced Islam yet they were drenched very badly in ancient un-Islamic traditions and cultural practices. The ethnocentricity was rooted innately in their ethos ever-since

they had branched themselves out from the Panni nation. Their Iranian sultanate used to consist of seven different tribes or dynasties. The said sultanate was their historical native podium. The principal weakness always used to be their aforementioned ethnocentricity. They had assumed although the effective administrative role in Hindustan yet, said inherent weakness had constantly eroded them. The present day latitudinous Pathans [آزاد پٹھان] are still not out of said quick-sand, as a matter of tradition. There may well be a Pathan who may not be loyal to his own self but, he is supposed to be loyal to his tribe or its chief. The past history had reflected that a Pathan tends to pivot around the tribal affiliation very ardently. The latitudinous Pathans [پٹھان] as a consequence, used to remain engaged in their inter-tribal feuds in ancient times. When, the situation with regard to their *inter se* tribal relations was such then, it was not possible for them to hold onto the concept of equivalence and brotherhood, as it was envisaged in the Holy Quran, even during the peacetime. The non-Pathan nations used to resultantly shy away from them as a matter of general caution. The sense of ethnocentricity of the Pathans has deepened even more, with the passage of time and has taken the shape of their second nature. The Mughals used to consider them as unreliable and untrustworthy people just because of their said peculiar ethnocentric approach. Sher Shah Suri [سوری] was although, all out to help them lead a well settled collective life yet, the Pathans used to prefer to segregate their abodes on the basis of their tribal affinity.

The Suri [سوری] ruling tribe use to dwell mostly in those days in Delhi [دہلی], Gwalyar [گوالیار], Cañar [چنار], Saran [سروانی] (*Known as such due to the place called Saran* [سروان] *which was at the bank of River Helmand*), Lakhnao [لکھنؤ], Kand Gola [کنت گولا] and Hiler [ہلر]. The Fermili [فرملی] Pathan were based mostly in Awadh [اودھ], Qanoj [قنوج] and Behar [بہار]. The people of the Panni tribe used to live in great numbers around Aagrah [آگرہ], Beyana [بیانہ], Lakhnao [لکھنؤ], Fathehpur Haswa [فتح پور ہسوہ], Gonti [گونتی], Jaypur [جے پور], Jodhpur [جودھپور] and Marwarr [مارواڑ] as well as in other areas like Khawaspur Tanda [خواص پور ٹانڈہ] and in the southern area of Behar [بہار], at the banks of river Ganges [گنگا]. The Kakar [کاکڑ] tribe had found the abode in Malot [ملوٹ], Nagar Kot [نگرکوٹ], Jowala [جوالہ] and Dharwal [دھروال] close to the mountains of Jammu. There used to be about 52 Pathan Mohallahs [*streets*] in Shahjahanpur [شاہجہان پور]. The inhabitants of each Mohallah [محلہ] used to represent their respective tribes. There was one Mohallah [محلہ] which was allocated to the BaroZai Panni [باروزئی] tribe which still exists there. The people of the Niazi [نیازی] tribe were in great number in the Doaba [دوآبہ] area of Punjab.

There was a town by the name of Arrmaz [اڑمز] which is still in existence. There was another town of Pathans by the same name, in the district Hoshyarpur [ہوشیارپور] (Doaba [دوآبہ]) (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.42-43, Jammat Mujahideen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No.214).*** The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had dispersed them regularly, after the demise of the Suri [سوری] dynasty in order to break the concentration of the Pathans at one place. He had made them settle down in Punjab. The migrant Pathans used to reconsolidate their position with the help of the local Pathans, in the wake of said exodus policy. They used to unsettle the locals of other areas, to settle down as migrants. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had thinned out their concentration further, through his Governor Saeed Khan [سعید خان]. He had segregated them even into smaller groups. The Governor of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had pushed the Pathans out into the areas of Sialkot [سیالکوٹ], Sahiwal [ساہیوال], Multan [ملتان], Shekhopura [شیخوپورہ], Mianwali [میانوالی] etc. in compliance with the royal decree. The present Pathan dwellings in those areas were probably the resultant abodes which had emerged because of the erstwhile strategy of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. *The same will be examined later*. We will conclude the discussion on the ethnocentricity of the Pathans with the note that the ethnocentricity of the Pathans of the frontier area is still intact quite vociferously even in this modern age. They follow their tribal constitution just like the dictates of the Shari-at [شریعت]. They are not ready resultantly, to cast aside the yokes of their traditional and orthodox way of life. They believe firmly in Kalima-e-Toheed [کلمہ توحید] and they have love for Islam even to the extent that they treat the Pathan-hood and Islam as synonymous. They have never learnt the latent secrets of Islamic unity however for making their Islamic brotherhood run coextensive with their ethnocentricity.

We (*writer*) feel that, there was no need to explore further the inherent vices of long-gone eras but, it seems essential to point out some reprehensible acts with which the Pathans [پٹھان] were besotted completely, at the time of the Jihad [جہاد] of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سیداحمد شہید]. The same were in the manner, as below:

1. The Pathans at the time of the Jihad [جہاد] of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سیداحمد شہید] were very complacent, with regard to the enforcement of the Shari-at [شریعت] decrees. The general state of affairs of the Pathan community was handled by the Mullas [ملاء] who used to acclaim to have their one foot in this world and the other one in the world hereafter. The overall faith of the Mullas [ملاں] *in petto* was so dogmatic that the

common Mullah [ملاء] was not ready to entertain even, the viewpoints of any other leading Mullas [ملاں] of his time. The personal discretion of the Mullas was believed to be the dictates of the Shariat [شریعت].

2. The Mullas [ملاء] used to play the priestly act to expiate the deceased in those days from the sins. They used to move around a volume of the Holy Quran, from hand to hand along-with a handful of money. Thus, they used to circulate the volume of the Holy Quran among the group members. The last group member used to retain the same for the Mullah [ملاء] in the end. The said act was called Isqat "اسقاط" in the general parlance, among the people of the frontier area. The objective of the same used to be to exercise the atonement act for the sins of the deceased. When, the grandfather of the writer had passed away, the writer had the privilege to witness the performance of said atonement exercise at his funeral.

3. The practice was in vogue to charge the huge sums, for solemnizing the Nikah [نکاح] of girls (*which is still in practice*). There used to be many a male who used to fail to solemnize the Nikah [نکاح] generally, just due to said evil practice and due to the insufficient means. The young girls used to go past their marriageable age, in the process. The only way to overcome said evil practice for some was to kidnap the girls. The said repulsive act is still in practice even today but, in somewhat more secret and clandestine form.

4. There was yet another tradition which was *mirabile dictu* worthy enough to mention. The Mullah [ملاء] used to defer the departure ceremony for the bride, if any partial payment for solemnizing the Nikah [نکاح] used to remain outstanding against the groom. The delay used to continue till the settlement of his account and resultantly, many a male used to spend years to earn the requisite amount and the girls, while waiting at the house of their parents and with the hope to see the spring days of their life, used to cross their marriageable age.

5. The religious fractionalization and Prah Jannbah [پرہ جنبہ] had rendered indistinguishable, the equitable act from an inequitable one. The factionists used to support their own faction religiously, even without any regard for its iniquitous nature.

6. The wives of the deceased person were distributed, as the heritable assets amongst the male kith and kin of the deceased.

7. The people had no regard to honor their words as a matter of general practice and to fulfill their promises. They used to make the promises with the intention to break the same.

8. The preference of the trivial temporal gains over the national and religious achievements was a common feature.

9. The polygamy had all the allurement despite, the practice of four marriages.

10. The girls were debarred to inherit from the estate of the deceased relative.

11. The people used to pander into the licentiousness and unthrifty dresses without any regret or remorse for their irreligious acts.

12. The people used to fail to make the distinction between the banditry and booty. What all that used to attract them the most was to wage Jihad [جہاد] with the intention to amass the booty (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.459***).

They had meted out the same kind of treatment to the people of Kashmir after the independence of Pakistan when they had opted to wage Jihad [جہاد] in Kashmir. They had carried out looting and plundering despite the fact that they had penetrated very deep up-to Siri Nagar [سری نگر] but they had failed to liberate the occupied Kashmir.

Pathan and Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]:

Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had selected the frontier area after the downfall of the Muslims, as his base to launch the Jihad [جہاد] in the Subcontinent and had promoted the Islamic renaissance movement from said base. The said movement was coupled with the agenda to bring the checkmate against the Sikh assaults and to reestablish the Muslim rule as against the British colonialism. The religious Pathans on the one hand had embraced the Shahadat [شہادت] in large numbers in said Jihad [جہاد] whereas there were many Roasa (nobles) and high-ups *corps d' elite* who had not only opposed the movement rather, they had betrayed Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. They had made the attempts even to poison him, in collaboration with the Sikhs and British troops. They had also encouraged the encounters against Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. Those Pathan associates of the Hindus used to oppose very pungently even the creation of Pakistan for the sake of their vested interests. The same was the intensity of the situation therefore it was incumbent upon the historians to interpret the historical events to draw the correct inference from the history. The intention of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] was not to fight against the Afghans but he was constrained to fight against those Afghans who used to support the Sikhs against the Muslims. They had failed to mend their iniquitous ways however, despite repeated warnings. The study of history had revealed that, had the pseudo *corps d' elite* Roasa (nobles) from the frontier area abstained from siding with the Sikhs as well as the then, British colonists, the history of Afghanistan as well as, the northern Hindh [ہندھ] would have taken a different turn most certainly.

Some instances of the oppositions [مخالفت کی چند مثالیں]:

There was one Raees [رئیس] (noble) *corps d' elite* namely, Khaday Khan [خادے خان] who used to oppose Syed Sahib [سید صاحب] despite the fact, he had got along well with him initially, he had backed out from his declared promises just for the sake of his vested interest. He had entered into a secret pact with the Sikhs. When, Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had planned to launch an attack at Attock, he had disclosed said plan to the Sikhs, clandestinely. He had offered one horse, an eagle and a hunt-dog to the Sikhs as a present to show his solidarity with them. Then, he had burnt down the houses of the Muslims at Tatali [تتالی] because they had vocalized their support for the Jihad [جہاد] of Syed Sahib [سید صاحب]. The said act of vandalizing was committed as a

proof of his loyalty to the effect that he was against Syed Sahib [سید صاحب] actually (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.361, 470***). Sultan Mohammad Khan [سلطان محمد خان], Pir Mohammad Khan [پیر محمد خان] and Yar Mohammad Khan [یار محمد خان] had fought ostentatiously in support of Syed Sahib [سید صاحب] and against the Sikhs. They had staged a drama at a very crucial juncture and had fled from the battlefield, at Shaido [شیدو]. The said desertion was made with the objective to demoralize the other Mujahedeen [مجاھدین]. Yar Mohammad Khan [یار محمد خان] was believed to have disappeared after poisoning Syed Sahib [سید صاحب], according to the Muntikhib-al-Twareekh [منتخب التواریخ]. The same was quoted in the daily diary (chronicle) of the Sikh era, which consisted of the events of the Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] period. When Syed Sahib [سید صاحب] was pitched against the Durranis [درانی] then, the same Yar Mohammad Khan [یار محمد خان] and Said Mohammed Khan [سید محمد خان] the brother of Sultan Mohammad Khan [سلطان محمد خان] were engaged in providing regular reinforcement to the Durranis (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.375, 455***). There were some Mullas [ملاں] who were also deadly against Syed Sahib [سید صاحب] (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No. 559***). When Kunwar Sher Sing [کنورشیر سنگھ] and his maternal grandmother namely, Mie Sada Kor [مائی سدا کور] had reached Hazzara [ہزارہ] to participate in the battle against the Mujahedeen [مجاھدین] and they had joined hands with Sardar Mohammad Khan Tareen [سردار محمد خان ترین] then, Mie Sada Kor [مائی سدا کور] had declared that, Mohammad Khan Tareen [سردار محمد خان ترین] was her adopted son. She had laid the foundation of a Gharhi [گڑھی] at Terbaila [تربیلہ] thereafter with the objective to consolidate the position of the Sikhs, against the Mujahedeen [مجاھدین]. Sultan Mohammad Khan [سلطان محمد خان] was also all-out with his support in this regard but, very treacherously and with all the latent hostile ill-will which was in sheer disregard of the Islamic teachings ***(Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.413, 700, 694 and 696***). When, they were able to reach the area of Ghazi Sadem [غازی سدم] then, Mobeen Khan [مبین خان] was able to use his charm to disarm the Mujahedeen [مجاھدین]. When, all of them were beguiled properly, he had massacred them all in a sudden attack with knives and swords. There were some who were even slaughtered on the ground just like a goat. Mobeen Khan Raees Slam [مبین خان رئیس سلام] was able to get hold of Haji Bahadar Shah Khan [حاجی بہادر شاہ خان] and he had murdered him at Ismaeelia [اسماعیلہ]. He was able to entrap Haji Mahmood Khan [حاجی محمود خان] very cunningly and then, he had made him wait during the day with the promise to help him reach Phanjtar [پنجتار] at night. Haji Mahmood Khan [حاجی محمود خان] had fallen prey to his cunningness and when they were able to reach the Ghazi [غازی] area, Mobeen Khan [مبین خان]

had killed him in the manner as mentioned above ***(Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.693***). There was yet another Sardar namely, Zaberdast Khan [زبردست خان] who used to be in correspondence with the Sikh leaders, during the period of his rivalry against Syed Sahib [سید صاحب]. He used to secretly provide them all the requisite information. The Pathans had coined out a manhunt secret code during the period of Jihad [جہاد] which was called as "Khandroos" [خندروس]. The objective of said code word was to massacre those Mujahedeen [مجاھدین] and Khawaneen [خوانین] who were helpful to the Sikhs and those who had taken Syed Ahmed [سیداحمد] and Syed Ismaeel [سیداسماعیل] to Balakot [بالاکوٹ] under the pretext to extend their support. The said deadly ploy had actually resulted in the Shahadat of Syed Ahmed [سیداحمد] and Syed Ismaeel [سیداسماعیل] along-with their allies ***(Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.699, 730 and 755***). Sardars of Peshawar had also betrayed those who had returned from the battlefield as victorious or Ghazi [غازی]. They had also massacred Molvi Mazher Ali Sahib [مولوی مظہرعلی صاحب] and his ally namely, Ghazi Arbab Faiz Ullah Khan [غازی ارباب فیض اللہ خان]. There was a Pathan namely, Paianda Khan [پایندہ خان] who had showed loyalty earlier but he had changed his mind later on and had opted to join the Sikhs. He had sought the help and reinforcement from the notorious enemy of Islam i.e. General Heri Sing [ہری سنگھ] which was duly provided to him ***(Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.548***).

Oppressive measures of the Durranis [درانیوں کی چیرہ دستیاں]:

The Durranis are from the Panni nation (***Fehrist Aqwam*** [فہرست اقوام] ***Page No.56***). Hatturam [ہتورام] had also endorsed said fact in his book which was captioned as Tareekh Baluchistan [تاریخ بلوچستان]. The history book on Nawab Bahadar Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگ] had revealed the fact that the Muslims from the Durrani origin [درانی نسل] were generally known as the Panni Pathans. They had remained popular in every age just by virtue of their bravery and gallantry. There were many Mujahedeen [مجاھدین] from the same nation, in the frontier province of Pakistan. The Panni Pathans had migrated from Afghanistan into Hindustan, during the Lodhi [لودھی] and Suri [سوری] era (***Kitabcha*** [کتابچہ] ***Page No.6***). The present Afghanistan had gone under the control of the Durranis after the murder of Nadir Shah Afshar [ندر شاہ افشار]. There were some people in fact who were under the GhalZai Khawaneen [غلزئی خوانین]. They had helped present Afghanistan break away from Iran and then they had established the same as a separate identity. Then, Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] had usurped the control of the same, from the GhalZai [غلزئی]

leaders. The Durranis had come down upon the Muslims of the frontier area and Hazzara [ہزارہ] with the same ferocity with which the Sikhs had thwarted the Jihad [جہاد] of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. The Durranis had not even bothered to consider the fact that most of the inhabitants of those areas were Muslims and they were their Muslim brothers. There are about fourteen or fifteen villages in Hazzara [ہزارہ] alone where the people of the Panni nation live in great numbers even today. The name of one of the villages is Pannian [پنّیاں].

The Durrani [درانی] chief had become a tool in the hands of the Sikhs, in the battle of Shaido [شیدو] and resultantly; the victory of Syed Sahib [سید صاحب] which was definitely in the offing, was converted into a defeat just due to their dreadful contrivance. The depravity has three stages, (a) to indulge in vices, despite the knowledge that the same is an atrocious act (b) to approve vices without the realization about the implications (c) to adopt the depravity in such a manner, as if the same was not immoral rather it was a permissible act. The Duranni chieftains had crossed all those three stages in the battle of Aotman Zai [اوتمان زئی] which they had fought against Syed Sahib [سید صاحب]. The Durranis had already four thousand troops approximately in the battle of Aotman Zai [اوتمان زئی] whereas, the brother of Yar Mohammad Khan and Sultan Mohammad Khan [سلطان محمد خان] had supplemented the same with reinforcements (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.455 and 453***). The battle of Ziada [زیدہ] was also fought against the Durranis and Mohammad Khan Durrani [محمد خان درانی] was killed in said battle. Then, the same Durranis had fought against Syed Sahib, even at Maya [مایہ]. The Durrani troops were about twelve thousand in number. When, the Durranis had vacated Hotti [ہوتی], they had pitched two spears in the ground and then, they had hanged two copies of the Holy Quran on the left and right side of the passage which was created in between those two spears. Then, the cavalry and the infantry troops were made to pass through said passage right under the Holy Quran and thus a solemn pledge was taken from them to fight against Syed Sahib (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.621***). The Durranis had suffered the defeat however, during the first and second attack and had left behind eighty dead bodies (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.624***).

Solidarity of Barrakzais with the Sikhs [بارکزئیوں کی سکھ دوستی]:

The family feuds were set ablaze in the BarrakZai [بارک زئی] dynasty of Afghanistan. The BarrakZai [بارک زئی] has also the roots in the Panni nation (***Fehrist Aqwam*** [فہرست اقوام] ***Page No.54***). They were unmindful of the fact that the Sikhs had harbored all the ill-will and ill-designs against Islam, as a religion. The Sikhs were able to benefit from those family feuds and were able to capture the Kashmir area which was under the control of the BarrakZai [بارک زئی] people. Jahandad Khan [جہانداد خان] was also in league with Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] because he was awarded a Jagir [جاگیر] in the Punjab area after striking a bargain. He had surrendered voluntarily the Attock fort in favor of the Sikhs as a result of the same. When, ViZair Fateh Khan [فتح خان] was killed after sometime, which was exactly the period when Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] was able to invade Kashmir. Azeem Khan [عظیم خان] had become the Sardar of the BarrakZai [بارک زئی] tribe after Fateh Khan [فتح خان]. He was based at Peshawar at that time along-with his brothers i.e. Yar Mohammad Khan, Sultan Mohammad Khan, Mir Mohammad Khan and Said Mohammad Khan. When, the troops of Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] had launched their march across Attock, Yar Mohammad Khan was petrified and he had decided to pay him the tribute money, under pressure. The same had proved to be a criminal encouragement for the Sikhs and then they had played havoc in the frontier area (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.320***).The stance of the SadoZai (Panni) [سدوزئی] and BarrakZai [بارک زئی] had already weakened due to their *inter se* feuds. If the state of affairs of the Pathans were so abject about hundred and fifty odd years ago then, one can imagine very easily that what kind of trite condition they were in during the Mughal [مغل] era or at the arrival of the Emperor Babar [شہنشاہ بابر], in 1526 AC. There was one fact which was always very saddening that the Pathans, even in the modern age, have failed to conceive any role at the pan-Islamic level. Then, whatever character they had played in the past, the same had also pivoted around their trivial vested interest. Their individual resolve had always revolved around the fact that, how to create entanglements for others. They had sided even with the non-Muslims and they had opposed the unanimous decision of the Muslims for the creation of Pakistan. The political bankruptcy of those Pathans in terms of negating the true Islamic message and the religious values had always been no secret in the past. The ethnocentricity has no limits among them even in this modern age. The way the Pathans of Baluchistan were against their Bloch [بلوچ] brethrens ages ago, they are the same even today. The Blochs [بلوچی] on the other hand, had also cultivated the identical

fanatic and evil spirit. The same dichotomy had persisted even with those Pathans who on the one hand, had presented the picture as narrated above and on the other hand, some of them had promoted the traditional perception that they were the descendants of Jacob [حضرت یعقوب علیہ سلام] and/or they were the grandchildren of Khalid Bin Waleed [حضرت خالد بن ولیدؓ]. The aforementioned both claims were as a matter of fact devoid of any historical credence.

We (writer) have narrated the aforementioned historical facts intentionally so that a scientific study may well be carried out with the objective to find a solution to ameliorate the prevalent conditions of Pathanism in accordance with the Islamic principles i.e. the brotherhood and equality.

Mughal and Pathan rivalry [مغل پٹھان دشمنی]:

We cannot cast aside the fact that the Mughal [مغل] rulers had subjected the entire Subcontinent to pass through an unstated *étatisme* state policy, subsequent to dealing with the Pathans. There was also one fact which cannot be denied that whatever history of the Pathans was recorded or the sub-references of the Pathans which had emerged in the history books were always in the context of the history of the Mughal [مغل] rulers only. The historians who had recorded the history, they were either the Mughals [مغل] or they were the official chroniclers of the Mughal [مغل] rulers therefore, they had looked at the history of the Pathans with jaundiced eyes. Their pens had failed to use the right ink to write anything other than the Mughal [مغل] eulogy. Then, if anyone had tried to pen something even other than the official versions, he was also influenced by the hypnotic, intellectual trends of his time. Thus, he was also obliged to praise and please only the contemporaneous rulers of his time. Those historians had naturally recorded the history with the intent to make their rulers look taller than their actual height. The historical references which had pertained to the Pathans were therefore unacceptable as hundred percent genuine or the same were not such objet d'art which was to be treated as the product of free natural expression. The history of the Pathans was never deemed to be above suspicion and doubt and perhaps due to the same reason, there was no well documented version of the history of the Pathans. We had also examined sadly, the acrimonious and rancorous words which were used repeatedly for the Pathans which were an overt proof of the covert Mughal [مغل] rivalry against the Pathans. There were some exceptions however in this regard. Mollana Abdul Qadir Badayoni

[مولانا عبدالقادر بدایونی] as an impartial historian had criticized in "Muntkhib Al-Twareekh" [منتخب التواریخ] his contemporary patron namely, the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and his courtiers, Abu-al-Fazal [ابوالفضل] along-with Birbal [بیربل]. When, Yousuf Zais [یوسف زئی] had destroyed for instance, the army of Raja Birbal at Sorat [سورت] and he himself was killed, Badayoni [بدایونی] had referred to the same while using the expression as "Ba sakan jahnam piavast " بہ سکان جہنم پیوست" (that they were condemned to hell). He had covered a further step to explain the virtues of the Pathans when he had described very eloquently, the death of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] who was the ruler of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ]. He had expressed his views as "ba rahmat haq paivast" [بہ رحمت حق پیوست] (that blessings of God had embraced him). There was no need to mention that the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was an open enemy of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. He was scared of him just due to his military prowess which was perhaps the reason that the book "Muntkhib Al-Twareekh" [منتخب التواریخ] *editio princeps* was made public ten to twelve years subsequent to the death of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر].

We always examine the historical events of two nations only in the context of the history of the rulers, in the Subcontinent. The one nation was Pathans whereas the other was Mughals. We take pride in examining our past in the light of their achievements only and in the process we amass some euphoria on the strength of their accomplishments. The Mughals were always given an exaggerated and additional spotlight in this regard, in the books of history. We feel elevated when we narrate all what appeals the mind or which tends to allure us ostensibly to promote our pseudo intellectualism. We cast aside in the process, all that which was some crucial event in the history whereas, most of those ugly and abominable events had formed and constituted as an educative chapter of our history. The efforts which we had made even in this regard had proved to be at naught even so far because we had failed to benefit from what was generally appealable to the mind. There were also generally some deceptive trends which had overwhelmed our perception in the literal sense and we had remained disinclined in the process, to conduct the objective study of history. The general impression of a reader about the Mughal period had always been that the Mughals were never inclined to assign any powerful role to the Pathans yet, there were quite a few Pathans who were the leading landlords, during the Mughal era. They were hand and glove with each other on the currents of time but, what we had failed to understand in this context was that both nations had interacted with each other during the course

of history despite the fact that the brinkmanship in their *inter se* relationship had never decreased at any stage. The same had eventually given an awful and horrific turn to the history and as a result, there was a latent eruption of flames of animosity and antagonism which had continued to simmer for centuries and both the rival nations had never breathed freely. The said rivalry had corroded them internally and the beneficiary of their schism had ultimately turned out to be a third party.

The Mughal rulers were able to draw out the time for their regime over centuries with their successful administrative strategy. They had exploited the bravery and the gallantry of the Afghans yet, neither had they allowed the Afghans to flourish nor, they had permitted them to come even at par with the non-Pathan lords. The Pathans were not unmindful of said biased mindset and distrustfulness. They had opted to rely therefore, on the extra efforts to attain their rights in order to maintain their position as a living nation *vis-viva* in the Subcontinent. The thorough study of the history had revealed that, where the Pathans were constantly and clandestinely at war against the Mughals for the sake of self respect and to avail the other rights there, they were also able to attain successfully, the key positions at various important levels. Thus, they were able to avert their direct subservience to the Mughal rule. The historical facts had shaped up in such a manner that, the Afghans were the protectors of the Mughal rule and they were a simultaneous threat to their interests. They had held the key positions under the Mughal rule but they were their arch rivals as well. Then, they had taken as a matter of right, whatever the Mughals were able to bestow upon them. They had demonstrated their unflinching loyalty nonetheless, for the Mughal regime. They had spilled over their blood for them just like water. The Afghans were neither in a position to leave the Mughals nor, even the Mughals were in a position to do much without them. We may say that, the administrative structures of the Mughal reign was under the control of the Afghans at every stage. There was a plethora of different events in history which had endorsed those facts. The Afghans were a very strong segment of the Mughal army as well. When, the magnificent edifice of the Mughal Empire had imploded gradually, with the arrival of the British colonists then, there were many Pathan states which had surfaced from underneath the debris of the imploded Mughal Empire. Those states were the principal rafters in the literal sense, for the magnificent edifice of the Mughal Empire. The state of Bohpal [بھوپال], Manawader [وادرمانا], Rampur [رام پور], Tank [ٹانک], Jonagarh [جوناگڑھ], Patodi [پتودی], Maleer Kotala [ملیرکوٹلہ], Dojana [دوجانہ], Jaora [جاورا], Swanar [سوانر],

Blas Narloharo [بلاس نرلوہارو], Mohammad Garh [محمد گڑھ], Pathari [پتھاری], Palanpur [پالن پور], Karwi [کڑوی] and many other states were the vivid proof of said historical reality. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had tried his best to reduce the Afghans however in shape and size when he had given the countless incentives to the Hindu Rajpoot [راجپوت] people. He had implemented a written law to bring a societal check on their appointments. Thus, he had subjected them to a particular lower stratum socially on a permanent basis. He was not however unmindful of all those benefits of the chivalrous characteristics of the Afghan people. He was rather much obliged to establish friendly relationship with them even after eliminating the last factions of the Afghans, from the state of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ]. The Pathans on the other hand, the latitudinous Pathans [آزاد پٹھان] in particular, had remained steadfast in his era as well as, during the regimes of his successors till the era of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر].

Hazrat Bayazeed Ansari [حضرت بایزید انصاری] had propounded a new religious sect at the end of the sixteenth century in the latitudinous tribal [آزاد قبائیل] area in the frontier province. He was popular among his followers as, "Pir Roshan" [پیرروشن] just by virtue of his teachings. Bayazeed [بایزید] was an erudite Sufi and a saintly scholar. He had published the journals in the Arabic language like Serat-ul-Toheed [صراط التوحید], Maqsood-ul-Momeneen [مقصودالمومنین] and Halnama [حال نامہ] besides Khair-ul-Bayan [خیرالبیان]. Thus, there were many Pathans who had followed him just because of his enlightened vision. The Pathans also used to rally around "Pir Roshan" [پیرروشن] more importantly, due to their Mughal rivalry. The same had become thus, a regular movement. The said movement had become very popular within no time even in the area of Teera [تیرہ]. Then, same movement had created its impact on the Mohmand [مہمند], Bajorr [باجوڑ] and in the other tribal areas as well. Thus, the Pathans had started following Bayazeed [بایزید] *en masse* and they had initiated a regular campaign against the Mughal regime. The same had rendered the Mughal regime as nervy and panicky because there was a formidable opposition which had emerged. The Mughals had not spared any effort to malign the teachings of Pir Roshan" [پیرروشن] and they had leveled unfounded allegations against Bayazeed [بایزید]. Thus, there was a constant tussle with regard to said movement. The anti- Bayazeed [بایزید] campaign was set afloat by design, during the period of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The same had perpetuated till the Shah Jahan [شاہ جہان] era. The historians were of the view that, "Pir Roshan" [پیرروشن] movement was an anti-Mughal movement. The pen of Khushhal Khan Khatak

[خوشحال خان خٹک] had also oozed out numerous venomous verses against the Mughal reign. Those verses were sufficient to guage the then level of rage and fury of the Pathans, despite the tumble of time.

The crux of the matter was that the two brave and resolute Muslim nations had remained polarized against each other. They had remained pitched against each other for years. Whether, they were Pathans or Mughals, both of them had disregarded literally, the Islamic philosophy of equality and brotherhood. They had only remained engaged just for the temporal aggrandizement. Had they adopted the true course of the slamic way forward, the history of the Subcontinent certainly would have shaped itself up differently. Then, had both of them included the preaching of Islam in their agenda, the way the Christian world had executed its agenda clandestinely for the promotion of Christianity then, both nations not only would have been able to fulfill the grand objective of pan-Islamism rather, the whole Subcontinent would have been a great Islamic bloc. The tribal Pathans are busy even today, in settling their tribal feuds in the same traditional manner and they are bent upon shedding the blood of each other unnecessarily. The said reality had unveiled the fact that, they still represent the Arab culture of pre-Islamic era even in this modern age. We will examine in the pages to follow, the historical constituents of the Mughal animosity against the Pathans. The same will not only be an eye opener but will also be a source of enlightenment. We may well have to devise a strategy, in the case of the Pathans, and we may well have to repose the trust and confidence in all the groups with the humility of the heart to introduce the reforms in their social life. The same has always been the only way to put our country on the road to progress and to make it stronger than ever before.

Ameer Timor, founder of the Pathan animosity [پٹھان دشمنی کا بانی، امیر تیمور]:

The history had brought forth the proofs that it was Ameer Timor [امیر تیمور] who had sowed the seeds of animosity against the Pathan nation upon which the Mughals had showered their favors. Ameer Timor [امیر تیمور] had planned to conquer Hindustan, in 801 Hegira 1423 AC. There were some mountainous nations which had also accompanied him when he was on his way back to Samarqand [سمرقند]. He had subjected the Pathans to indiscriminate massacring whereas Malik Khizer Serbani [ملک خضر سربنی], Malik Baha-ud-Din Niazi [ملک بہاؤالدین نیازی] and others were his stalwarts at the time of his attack against Hindustan. Ameer Timor [امیر تیمور] had also carried

out the genocide of the Pathans when he was on his way to Hindustan ***(Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***page 73)***. We can draw the inference from the aforementioned reference that the life of the Pathans was unstable even in those ancient times and Ameer Timor [امیر تیمور] was not unmindful of the same fact. There was another reality however which had also unfolded itself manifestly, at various stages of history that Ameer Timor [امیر تیمور] was the first Mughal who had looked down upon the Pathans as a nation. He was able to sow the seeds of animosity between the two nations very skeptically. The same had flourished as a paralogism even during the successive course of history.

Babar and Pathan [بابراورپٹھان]:

The Emperor Babar [شہنشاہ بابر] had attacked Hindustan more or less, one hundred years after the arrival of Ameer Timor [امیر تیمور]. Sultan Ibraheem Lodhi [سلطان ابراھیم لودھی] was the ruler of Hindustan at that time. The Emperor Babar [بابر] would not have dared attack Hindustan perhaps, had Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی چان], Dilawar Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان], Mahmood Khan [محمود خان] and Ismaeel Khan Jalwani [اسماعیل جلوانی] not invited him. They were the Pathan lords of Ibraheem Lodhi [ابراھیم لودھی] era. Those warlords along-with their troops had joined hands with the Emperor Babar [شہنشاہ بابر] right in the middle of the battlefield. Sultan Ibraheem Lodhi [ابراھیم لودھی] had faced a humiliating defeat in the battle of Pani Pat [پانی پت]. The Emperor Babar [شہنشاہ بابر] had expressed his views in this regard in the manner that, he had showed kindness towards the Pathans after the defeat of Ibraheem Lodhi [ابراھیم لودھی]. He had honored the mother of Ibraheem Lodhi [ابراھیم لودھی] with a commune worth Rupees seven lac, approximately. He had granted the Jagirs [جاگیریں] besides that, to the Umara [امراء] of Ibraheem Lodhi [ابراھیم لودھی] and his other relatives. He had also allotted a house on the riverbank, for the accommodation of the mother of the Sultan [سلطان], which was just a few miles away from Agra [آگرہ] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Page No.98, 99, Muraqa Afghan*** [مرقع افغان] ***Page No.189***). The way the Emperor Babar [شہنشاہ بابر] had treated the Pathans, despite all the aforementioned benevolence, his conduct was noteworthy when he had expressed his views in his Tuzk [تزک] with regard to the events of 910 Hegira. The same were in the manner, as below:

> …….. We had moved out after midnight and we were able to cross Sheikh Mohammad [شیخ محمد] before dawn. We were able to hit Khat [کھت] around breakfast time and were

able to seize many cows and buffalos. We had arrested many Pathans. Those who had to be put in captivity, they were separated from the rest whereas, the others were released. They had stored a lot of ration (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.150***).

He had not mentioned in his Tuzk [تزک] specifically but, it was quite obvious that he must have plundered their stores of ration.

…….. The Pathans, by the will of God were able to reach the mountain during the fight with us. Then, some soldiers were ordered to arrest immediately, the group which was in the middle of the mountains. The other soldiers were ordered to attack them randomly and punish those Afghan miscreants. There were about one hundred and fifty Afghans who were arrested. The heads of some of them were chopped off. The others were subjected to captivity. Those who were arrested alive, the order was passed for their *en bloc* massacre and to raise a minaret at the spot with their chopped off heads (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.151***).

…….. No sooner, we had reached Sanker [سنکر], we had killed the Afghans. The heads of about one hundred to two hundred combatants were chopped off. Then, a minaret was raised even there with their chopped off heads (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.151***).

…….. Bungush [بنگش] had reached back from Hungoo [ہنگو] (present Hungoo [ہنگو] about twenty five miles from Kohat [کوہاٹ] *writer*) Bala Tanbal [بالا تنبل] was below said place. Our lashker was out there for looting and plundering those Afghans who had fled into the surrounding areas (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.151***).

…….. Jahangir Mirza [جہانگیر مرزا] was sent as an officer of a reconnoiter party. We had besieged those who had gone to Sanker Kivie [سنکر کیوی] at Turfa-tul-Aien [طرفۃ العین]. Then, we had carried out the genocide and we were able to chop off the heads of many. The soldiers were able to earn a lot of booty. Then, a minaret of the chopped off heads was raised at Banu [بنوں], Kala Minar [کلہ مینار] (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.152***).

…….. There was one reconnoiter party only, which was able to reach a desert village, at Zohar [ظہر] time. There were some troops which were there for plundering only. They had looted some goods, herds and horses of merchants and after that they had come back (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.153***).

…….. There was one contingent which had moved into the desert village and was able to shepherd back, many goats etc. They had killed the Afghan merchants. Then, they had looted a lot of cloth [کپڑا], medicines [دوایاں], loaf-sugar [قندا مصری] as well as some eatables. There was a famous merchant among the Afghan merchants and his name was Khawaja Khizer Nohani [خواجہ خضر نوحانی]. Saidi Mughal [سیدی مغل] had killed him. He had chopped off his head. Then, he had brought the same over. Sherum Tanaie [شیرم طنائی] had gone after the troops and an Afghan from the near edge had attacked him with his sword. He had cut off his index figure (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.153***).

…….. We had left behind river Kotal [دریائے کوتل]. Then, we had moved into the south, at the mountain foot. We had covered perhaps, about two koss [کوس] and there were a few Afghans on whose heads the death was hovering. They had emerged just then, from the back of the mountain valley whereas, the others had opted to flee.

….. There was one Afghan who had stood up at the tip of the mountain which had given the impression, as if neither there was any level area on the other side nor, there was any other way out. Sultan Ali Channak [سلطان علی چناق] had rushed towards said side and then he was entangled with him. Then, he had arrested him. Qatlaq Qadam [قتلق قدم] had wrestled with him and while they both were entangled, Qatlaq [قتلق] was able to chop off his head, ultimately (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.153***).

…….. Kata Baig [کتہ بیگ] had confronted an Afghan at a small hill. They both had grappled with each other. Then, they had drifted down to half of the mountain area. Then, Kata Baig [کتہ بیگ] was able to chop off his head (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.154***).

…….. I had raided the area of the Afghans of Terklani [ترکلانی] in the winter season (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.158***).

Babar [بابر] had expressed his views with regard to the events of 913 Hegira in the manner, as below:

…….. We were able to make the Afghans run away and were able to reach the mountain. There was one Afghan individual who had come running down from my side. I had shot an arrow at his arm. Then, the one who had received the arrow, he was arrested along-with a number of other Afghans. Then, some of them were persecuted to death, by piercing their bodies with iron rods. The same was with the intention to quench the thirst of revenge (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.215***).

…….. Rustam Turkman [رستم ترکمان], who was sent as member of the reconnaissance team, had stated that the Afghans were able to assess the danger. They had dispersed whereas one of their groups was able to climb the mountain. We had decided to move out after receiving said news. Then, we had sent a contingent to the forefront which had surrounded the Afghans and some of them were killed. Then, their heads were chopped off whereas, the others were arrested and their livestock was also seized (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.222***).

…….. The Hindustanis as well as, the Pathans in particular are foolish. They are not familiar with the tactics of rivalry. They do not even know how to serve the friendship. They have neither, the capacity to withstand the challenge nor, do they know how to dodge and duck (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.227***).

…….. Husain [حسین] was able to ride his horse unskillfully. He had dashed into the Afghans all alone, well before my arrival. He was about to take out his sword from the sheath but, the Afghans had shot an arrow and they had brought his horse down. Then, he was reduced to the ground with a blow of the sword well before he could get up. Then, he was attacked with the daggers and swords from all four sides and he was chopped into pieces (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.240***).

…….. Momin Atakh [مومن آتکہ] had killed an Afghan firstly with the spear attack and then he had chopped his head off (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.240***).

…….. Abul Hassan Qochi [ابواحسن قوچی] had attacked an Afghan and he had chopped off his head with a blow of the sword. He had received three wounds whereas his horse had received one wound (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.240***).

…….. Pabeedah Mohammad Qeellan [پابیدہ محمد قیلان] had also reached Khasa [خاصا]. He had killed one Afghan and had chopped off his head. There were about forty to fifty Pathans who were put to the sword literally and all of them were blown into many pieces (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.240***).

The Emperor Babar was a man of scholarly taste and was a serious ruler. There cannot be a better proof of his intellectual honesty that, he had documented even the treatment which he had meted out to the Afghans. He had considered the same as a legitimate and permissible act and had penned all the events in black and white for future generations, so that they may learn from the same. The act of documenting the history by him cannot be the outcome of a provisional fidgetiness for the sake of satisfying his rage and fury. He was meticulously precise in his descriptions and this was the reason that when he had to deal with the Afghans of the border area once again, in 913 Hegira almost after a decade, he had meted out the similar treatment to them. What was needed to be investigated and questioned in this regard was that the ruler who was so kind to his Hindu Muslim public, why was he so cruel to the Afghan Muslims? We must dig up the answer for the same in the Pathan society as well as, in their very mental disposition, by casting aside all the political exemptions and exceptions granted to them. The glimpses of those mental dispositions are full of lessons even today, provided we keep in mind their role in the Jihad of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سیداحمد شہید]. They opt to remain at war against each other as a matter of their daily routine and they are at war outside the Afghan circle as well. The Emperor Babar had expressed his views about the events of 932 Hegira in the manner, as below:

…….. Ameen [امین] had also served at said place. Those Pathans were really very idiot and uncouth (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.262***).

…….. The lashker of Humayun [ہمایوں], in the meantime, was able to reach there. The enemy had lost its ground on his arrival. There were about one hundred to two hundred people who were besieged and half of them were beheaded and the other half was arrested (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.262***).

Babar had never given the reason in Tuzk Babari [تزک بابری] for the massacre of the Pathans.

The Pathans were integrated in the army of the Emperor Babar yet they had opted later on to live in Qasoor [قصور] near Lahore (***Races Page No.19***). We may cast aside all the aforementioned facts, because the Emperor Babar had not spared any effort even to malign the Pathans, politically. He had expressed his views that, one individual namely, Shah Mansoor bin Suleiman Shah [شاہ منصور بن سلیمان شاہ] from the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] Pathan tribe had appeared in the Durbar [دربار] to express his solidarity. Then, the proposal of his daughter namely, Bibi Mubarika [بی بی مبارکہ] was considered for marriage in order to maintain the relations with the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] people. Then Taoos Khan Yusuf Zai [طاؤس خان یوسفزئی], the brother of Shah Mansoor [شاہ منصور], had also brought his niece to said place (***Tuzk-Babari*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.379***).

Handling of Humayun [ہملیوں کا رویہ]:

The son of the Emperor Babar [شہنشاہ بابر] namely, the Emperor Humayun [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] had not antagonized the Pathans like his father yet, there was an irrefutable fact that, he had no other rival in the Subcontinent except the Pathans. The same was the reason that they had remained polarized against each other and they had fought the bloody battles, in order to overwhelm and attain the supremacy over each other. The Pathans had opted for the first time, to organize themselves under the leadership of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] consequently, during the first reigning period of the Emperor Humayun [شہنشاہ ہمایوں]. They had compelled the Emperor Humayun [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] to flee to Iran. Hajji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] was the General of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] who had chased the Emperor Humayun [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] and had made him runaway into Iran. The tussle for the inheritance had resurfaced however, among the Sardars of Suri [سوری] dynasty, after the death of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] and the Emperor Humayun

[شہنشاہ ہمایوں] was able to reassume his reign after a number of battles, which he had fought for many years. There was one fact which was quite obvious that the reason to suffer the defeat against the Emperor Humayun [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] was just because of the internal schism of the Pathan tribes i.e. their ethnocentric divisions and differences.

Admonitory canons of Akbar [اکبر کا مخالفانہ قانون]:

The Mughal rivalry against the Pathans had touched its extreme during the reign of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] as well as, even after the death of the Emperor Humayun [شہنشاہ ہمایوں]. He had launched a movement according to history and had introduced such canons which had curtailed the rights of the Pathan lords who had served him. He had also reduced the number of Pathan lords in the Durbar [دربار]. He had withdrawn also most of the concessions which he had awarded to them or to their family members by passing the law. He was very much familiar with the conduct of those Pathans who were associated with his father. The Mughal rulers and their non-Pathan lords of the Durbar [دربار] were able to characterize the Pathan nation negatively as whole, by that time. The leader of said movement was Abu-Alfazal [ابوالفضل] who was really injudicious in his approach. He had expressed his overt bias at some crucial times in history, with regard to the nature of the Pathans. He had kept the Pathans away from key plans under the pretext of ensuring the continuity of the Mughal regime. He had passed the formal law in pursuance of his said plan. The Pathans were awarded neither any key post as per said law nor, were they even entitled to be awarded any role of governorship during the reign of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and even after that, till the time of the last Mughal Emperor. They were also not entitled for the post which was coupled with the rank above four thousand [چارہزاری] troops. The Pathans were allowed to be enrolled as the soldiers only, in the army of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] (***Monchi*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.1 Page No.147, (Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.254***). The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was also uncomfortable with regard to the existence of the Pathans, just like his father and grandfather. He had also maintained the confrontational stance against them just like his ancestors. He had fought three battles against the Barozai [باوزئی] Panni Pathans of Sibi Baluchistan [سبی بلوچستان] area. The Pathan rulers of Gujarat [گجرات] were also a great threat for him. He was able to topple their sultanate ultimately after engaging them in many battles.

There were mainly two real competitors in the Subcontinent, during the aforementioned period i.e. the Mughals and the Pathans. The same was the reason that the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had granted the strategically important appointments to the Turks, Iranians as well as, to the Hindus under a diversification plan. The objective was to maintain the parity. Thus, the Afghans had failed to qualify to avail his benevolence ***(Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.254***). He was constrained further to award the title of "Malik" [ملک] and "Khan" [خان] to the Muslim Rajpoot [مسلم راجپوت] people. The objective of the same was to integrate them with elevation in his realm of power. Thus, he had brought them at par with the Pathans, whereas those titles were particularized for the Pathans, Turks and Tatars only and the newly Hindu appointees had no concern whatsoever with the same. He had propounded a new religion also under the name as, Din-e-Ilahi [دین الہی]. Thus, he had initiated the move of expanding the sphere of fraternity away from the Pathan folks and he was able to integrate more non-Muslims, in his regime. He had never tried, in a serious manner regrettably, to improve his relations with the Pathans. The Rajpoot people were able to enjoy the title of "Rajpoot Jalalat Paisha" [راجپوت جلالت پیشہ] as a result of said policy of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر].

The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had seven Vakeel [وکیل], ten ViZair Dewan [وزیر دیوان], fifteen Bakshis [بخشی] and eight Saddoor [صدور]. There was not even a single one of them however who was a Pathan. He had just nine Afghan Mansabdars [افغان منصبدار] out of four hundred. There was just one Afghan who was appointed at the rank of one Sadi [صدی] (Hundred). There were only one or two others who were appointed at the rank of three Sadi [صدی] (Hundred). There was just one Afghan who was appointed at the Mansab of four Sadi [صدی], whereas there was another one who was appointed at the Mansab of one Hazari [ایک ہزاری] rank. There were four others who were appointed on four Hazari [چار ہزاری] Mansab [منصب] ***(Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.254, 255 Aien-e-Akbari*** [آئین اکبری] ***232 & 233***). When, the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had received the death news of Dolat Khan Lodhi [دولت خان لودھی], who was a Sardar among the Panni rulers of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ], he had uttered the words instantaneously, according to the general perception that, "today Sher Khan [شیر خان] (a lion) had departed from this world". The said Sardar had even held ironically, the one Hazari Mansab only ***(Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.8, Maser-rul-Aumara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.6***). What needs to be examined notwithstanding the aforementioned facts was that, the causes and the effects which had emanated from said "Pathan animosity" [پٹھان دشمنی] of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and

why his attitude had reached the level of extreme detestation. Then, had the two big Muslim nations not used the Subcontinent for their *inter se* rivalries then, what the entire scenario certainly would have been for us? Then, was there any lesson for us from said despicable bellicosity which was squarely against the fundamental principles of Islam?

Balanced approach of Jahangir [جہانگیر کی مصالحانہ روش]:

The Emperor Jahangir had tried to bring more flexibility however in the policy of his father i.e. the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] yet, he was constrained to manage the Pathans during his reign with the rule of thumb. He had never accepted Sher Khan Suri [شیر خان سوری] as Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] and he had mentioned him at four places in his Tuzk [تزک], as Sher Khan [شیر خان]. The said approach had revealed his mindset and the same was definitely not praiseworthy in any manner whatsoever.

Imbalanced policy of Shah Jahan [شاہ جہان کی غیر معتدل پالیسی]:

The policy of Shah Jahan [شاہ جہان] was also very imbalanced towards the Pathans. He had also failed to repose much confidence in them and had only twenty two Pathans out of eight hundred Mansabdars [منصبدار] during his reign and some of them were appointed at some very low grade posts ***(Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.297 & 298).***

Shah Alamgir also maintained the canons of Akbar [شاہ عالمگیر نے بھی اکبری قانون بحال رکھا]:

The reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was the peak of the Mughal rule. He had unfettered climax of reigning power from Kabul [کابل] to Madras [مدراس]. There was also a fact that he was indebted to the gallantry of the Pathans for most of his victories. He was the first Mughal ruler who had used the Pathans in Deccan [دکن] (***Imperial Volume No.24 Page No.155***). The Pathans were always in the forefront during the conquests of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. He had also appointed them as Governors of his provinces and his vice ViZair Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was a Pathan yet, he had never disregarded the canons, which he had inherited from his great grandfather i.e. the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. He had never trusted the Pathans despite his flexible policy

(Raheem [رحیم] ***Page No.9).*** He had taken a very long time due to said reason, in developing the requisite confidence and for bestowing the title of Aitbar Khan [اعتبار خان] *hapax legomenon* upon his vice ViZair Jung namely, Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. Dr. Monchi of Italy had expressed his views with regard to the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] era in the manner that, according to the tradition of the Mughal rulers, the wives of the Durbar lords used to appear before the queen to express their gratitude on the birthday of any royal family member or for any other religious party. Thus, the ladies used to get their physical presence acknowledged from the queen or from the princesses. The wives of the Pathan Sardars were however, deprived of such privileges. The reason for said deprivation was termed as the "general exemption" to them. Since, the act to mark the physical presence was based on the privities and privileges therefore the Mughal rulers had not awarded the same to the wives of the Pathans, as a matter of policy (***Monchi*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.1 Page No.345***).

There was a French historian namely, Beraiz who had travelled through Hindustan, from 1658 to 1667. He was associated closely with the Mughal Durbar and had expressed his views in the context of skeptical sentiments towards the Pathans which the Mughals had harbored, in the manner as "the Mughal rulers were constrained to give the appointments to the Pathans just to fulfill their military requirements" ***(Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.301 reference Beraiz Page No.210 & 221).***

The famous General of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] and his ViZair namely, Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was just a four Hazari Mansabdar [منصبدار] despite his unprecedented chivalry and exceptional achievements. When, the Mansab of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was promoted from four Hazari Mansabdar to seven Hazari then, Dr. Monchi had expressed his view in the manner, as below:

> "The Mansab of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was elevated from four Hazari Mansabdar [جار ہزاری منصبدار] to seven Hazari, in clear deviation of the canons of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]" (***Monchi*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.1 Page No.345***).

We cannot hold the Pathans alone as responsible for all the cacophony. The history had not provided us any such precedent where the Mughals had the concordant approach or they had

demonstrated manifestly, any cordial and affable gesture to build some equivalence based mutual confidence. The said situation which had persisted for centuries and was an invitation for us, to ponder over the future course of action. The aforementioned aspect of the history was just a wakeup call to examine the reality from a different vantage point. The same has invited us to ponder over the fact that are we actually in a position to fulfill the duty of representing the real face of Islam in Pakistan?

OPINION OF VARIOUS LITERATES AND NATIONS ABOUT THE PATHANS

[پٹھانوں کے متعلق مختلف اہل قلم اور اقوام کی رائے]

There was a bitter but a noteworthy *mirabile dictu* reality which was acknowledged not only by the historians and the historiographers of the Mughal era rather, the British rulers as well as, even the Hindus living in the Subcontinent had acknowledged the same and the Pathans were not given the recognition in the history with some decent words. The Muslim population had always admired them and particularly the Muslims of Punjab were never tired of showering their appreciations on the Pathans. There was always some element of abhorrence however, with regard to the Pathans, in the writings by the critics which had made the frequent manifestation but we have never tried to read "in between the lines" of those writings of the critics. The same had explained nonetheless that there was a latent reality and said reality was more evident when we were constrained to carry out the comparison between the conduct of the Pathans of the present age with the Pathans of the Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سیداحمد شہید] era. We were constrained to give more weight to the writings of those intellectuals because of the historically treacherous character of some Pathan groups of yester years.

Abu-Alfazal [ابوالفضل]:

Abu-Alfazal [ابوالفضل] had expressed his views while he was discussing the Rohtas fort [قلعہ روہتاس], which were in the manner that "از زمانہ شیر خان در تصرف افغاناں بود" i.e. he had not acknowledged Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] as "Shah" [شاہ] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.4 Page No.185***). He had mentioned his name as "Sher Khan" [شیر خان].

The reference of Hussan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] had appeared in the first volume of Akbarnama [اکبرنامہ] in the context of the events of 981 Hegira. He was a famous General of Daoud Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی], (the ruler of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ]). Hussan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] was a deserter and he had joined the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and the said event was illustrated in the manner, as below:

"و شرح ایں سانحہ آنکہ حسن خان پنّی از **ابطال روزگار وشجاعان زمانہ** بود بتصمیم سعادتِ دوفتخواہی از مخالفانِ ادبار مند جدا شدہ بہ لشکر منصور پیوست"

(***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.4 Page No.82***)

When, Hussan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] had joined the camp of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] as a deserter of his previous liege lord, he was given the elevation. Then, he was acknowledged as one of the bravest and most chivalrous Sardars [سردار] of his times.

When, Daoud Shah [داؤدشاہ] had taken the entrenched position in a fort, at Patna [پٹنہ] and when all the efforts had failed despite the participation of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] to strengthen the siege then it was Hussan Khan [حسن خان], the enemy in the garb of a friend, who had floated the idea of rupturing the bank of the river Panpan [پن پن]. The said tactical move had proved to be pivotal in conquering the Patna [پٹنہ] fort. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had honored the same Pathan staunch ally in his Durbar, i.e. Hussan Khan [حسن خان] with the Mansab [منصب] of one Hazarie [ہزاری] only despite his aforementioned worthy tactical move (***Tabqat-e-Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.440***, ***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.255).***

Abu-Alfazal [ابوالفضل] had used the phrases for the Pathans in the manner, as below:

> Ill-fated [سیاہ قسمت], Repulsive Face [سیاہ رُو], Brainless [بےمغز], Troublemakers [شرانگیز], Vagabonds [آوارہ] and [عیار و مکار] Treacherous and deceitful (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.253, No.325, Volume No.3 Page No 4.***)

There was a Sardar in the area of Teera [تیرہ] by the name of Ahdad Khan [احداد خان]. He had propounded the Roshni sect [روشنی فرقہ] and his Roshni Pathan followers were deadly against the Mughals. Abu-Alfazal [ابوالفضل] had tried to malign Ahdad Khan [احداد خان] therefore he had used

the phrase with regard to his activities as [احداد بد نہاد] [Ahdad of bad origin] in the manner, as below:

"از عرائض صوبہ دارئ کابل ودگر متعدیان مہمات آنجا سر فِتنہ برا فروختن **احداد بد نہاد** در تیرہ وپیوستن الوس آفریدی و پنّی، واورکزئی درنگر کوٹ"

(***Aqamatdasht*** [اقامت داشت] ***Page No.814***)

When, the Emperor Jahangir [جہانگیر] had opted to move towards Kabul [قابل] in 1035 Hegira then, Iftakhar Khan [افتخار خان] had brought from Bungash [بنگش] the chopped off head of Ahdad Khan [احداد خان] and had presented it to the Emperor. Then, the catafalque carrying the "head" was moved to Lahore in order to hang it at the door of the Lahore fort. Ahdad Khan [احداد خان] was described in this regard as [بداصل] i.e. [bad origin] (***Karnama Jahangiri*** [کارنامہ جہانگیری] ***Page No.203 & 204***).

The compiler of Akbarnama [اکبرنامہ] had expressed his views, in volume No.2, in the manner, as below:

"و افغانان **تیرہ بخت** فرصت را غنیمت دانِستہ بالشکر گراں واستعدادے تمام بر سرجونپور آمدہ برکنارِ دریائے گومتی نزول گرفتند"

He had addressed the Afghans in the instant sentence as [تیرہ بخت] i.e. Ill-fated (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Page No.138***). He had expressed his views further in the manner, as below:

"و تاج خاں خاصہ خیل وصوفی را کہ **دردِ تہوردردماغ** داشتند، ہر اولی کرد"

He had used the phrase in this sentence that the Afghans tend to have the throe of dare devils in their heads [دردِ تہوردردماغ] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Page No.138***).

He had expressed his views further as:

" و افغانان **تیرہ رائے** آں را فتح شحرہ"

He had expressed his views in the same volume about Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] and Hussan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] who was able to get out from the Rohtas fort [قلعہ روہتاس]. Then, he had launched a sudden attack against the governorate of Burhanpur [برہانپور]. He had expressed his views in the manner, as below:

" و افغانان **تیرہ رائے**فوج آراستہ کردہ بافیلانِ مست بطرف قلعہ خان زمان متوجہ شدند" ---- **تہور نہادانِ بد شرست** مذکورہ، برسراورسیدند"

He had addressed the Afghans in this sentence as the people with the blurred vision [تیرہ رائے] i.e. disillusioned ***(Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Page No.139***).

Abu-Alfazal [ابوالفضل] had used the phrase of pangs of dare-devils and mean-natured [تہور نہادان بد شرست]. The same was a meaningful expression but, it was the abusive way of scolding and criticizing. He had also called them as people with blurred vision [تیرہ رائے].

He had expressed his views further as:

" و افغانان سیہ بخت چوں سلیمان کرانی وفتح خان پنّی وحسن خان برادراوکہ ریاست روہتاس داشتند، استظہار نمودند در ایں طبقہ سیاہ روز درمقام استمداد شدہ"

He had addressed the Afghans in this sentence as people with the shadowy opinion [تیرہ رائے]. He had called Hussan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] and his brother as [بد بخت] i.e. ill-fated. Hussan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] was the same person whom the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had decorated with the title of chivalry and bravery. He had expressed his views in the manner, as below:

"جمعے **از خودسران افغانان** کہ با ایں **طاغیان** دم یکجہتی زدند"

He had called the Afghans in this sentence as [خودسران افغانان] the stubborn as well as, [طاغیان] which means a group of headstrong people (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Page No.253***).

We will examine in the pages to follow that Hazrat Ali Suleiman Khan [حضرت علی سلیمان خان], the Panni ruler of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ], was militarily very strong. The

Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had not even dared cast an eye on his reign as long as, he was alive. Suleiman Khan [سلیمان خان] was from the family background of religious scholars. He was a scholar and he was a man of good taste. He had always followed the Islamic principles very scrupulously. Abdul Qadir Badyoni [عبدالقادر بدایونی], a courtier (Durbari [درباری]) of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر], had also talked very high about him and he had paid him the candid homage. He was always surrounded by the scholars. He used to remain in session for consultation with them till midnight or at times, till the Azan of Fajr [آذانِ فجر] (Dawn). He had never used the title of "Shah" [شاہ] for himself which was just due to the humility of his heart and was in compliance with the Islamic teachings. Abu-Alfazal [ابوالفضل] had not even spared him in his writings just out of sheer ill will. He had expressed his views in the manner that: ["افغانان بے سَر ہمہ گردِ او فراہم آمدند"]. He had called him as [ریا کار] (hypocrite) for not adopting the title of "Shah" [شاہ] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.****930 and 69 Reference* ***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.180***). He had used the phrase [بےمغز] "Brainless" for other Afghans as well which had also included Suleiman Khan [سلیمان خان]. (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***volume No.2 Page No.325***)

He had expressed his views further in the same volume about the Afghans, in the manner as [اما سائر افغانان کہ مدہوش بادۂ جہل اند] i.e. all the Afghans were spellbound with the liquor of ignorance (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Page No.****326*).

He had expressed his views at some other place as, [مرزا رابہ اورابطہ نظری بود، مرزا بدر رفتہ بود چندے **افغانان اوباش** مثل شیخ یوسف کرانی و ملک سنگی و چندے وگزبجنگ ایستادند و خاک رسوائی برسرروزگار خود کردہ راہ بگریز نہاد] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.****321*) i.e. some debauch Afghans had polluted their era by throwing the dust of squalor in the air.

Abu-Alfazal [ابوالفضل] had expressed his views further as, [افغانانِ تیرہ روزگار] i.e. the Afghans of somber era (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.****809*). When, he had expressed his views about Sher Shah [شیر شاہ], he had captioned the same as "خسراں حال شیر خان" i.e. miserable Sher Khan [شیر خان] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.****195*).

Bayazeed Beyyat [بایزید بیات]:

He had expressed his views further as "افغانانِ تیرہ روئے" (Repulsive Afghans) (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Dafter No.2 Page No.139***) and [افغانان **سیہ بخت** چو ں داؤد کرانی] i.e. Ill-fated Afghans like Daoud Kirani [داؤد کرانی] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.253***) and [درسرشت اصل ایں ناسپاسانِ بد نہاد (افغاناں)] i.e. thanklessness and being ill-nature was an inherent feature among the Afghans. He had given the reference of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] and he had cited the name "داؤد" only instead of Daoud Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی]. Daoud Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] was addressed as [سیہ بخت] i.e. Ill-fated and [ناسپاس بد نہاد] i.e. thankless and ill-natured (***Tabaqat-e-Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.293***). He was addressed as [داؤد مطرود] i.e. pervert Daoud. He had addressed the king Hanso [ہانسو] of the Panni dynasty of Bengal [بنگال] in the manner, as "ہانسو چوں خورد سال و بے عقل و افغان بود" i.e. to be an Afghan was the biggest evil in itself for him (***Beyyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.313***). He had expressed his extreme hatred in the very word "Afghan" which was quite obvious in the aforementioned sentence of the Persian language.

ViZair Lodi [لودی] of Valli-e-Bengalla [والیٔ بنگالہ] of Daoud Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] was able to conquer one of the forts which were held by the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and had destroyed a portion of the same. He had used the abusive phrases in said context, in the manner that, " لودی **حرامزادہ**" (***Beyyat*** [بیات] ***Maqqala Dom*** [مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.318***) and "بازآں شیطانِ افغاناں بہلول" (***Beyyat*** [بیات] ***Maqqala Dom*** [مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.321***) and "سکندر حرام خوار" (***Beyyat*** [بیات] ***Maqqala Dom*** [مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.286***).

Razamnama Sher Shahi [رزمنامۂ شیر شاہی]:

Razamnama Sher Shahi [رزمنامۂ شیر شاہی] was the Urdu translation of history which was written in the Persian language. Ibraheem [ابراھیم], the grandfather of Sher Khan [شیر خان], was a horse trader according to said book. He was quite popular amongst the merchants and had not addressed him as Sher Shah [شیر شاہ].

Sher Khan [شیر خان] was involved right from his youth, in banditry, theft and plundering, among other evils (***Razamnama Sher Shahi*** [رزمنامۂ شیر شاہی] ***Page No.77***). He had not addressed him with the title as Sher Shah [شیر شاہ].

Abdul Hameed Lahori [عبدالحمید لاہوری]:

[**مصداق ایں مقال احوال شقاوت مآل دریا** روھلہ است، اوازفرد **مائیگان وگم نامان گروہ** شورش پژدہ افاعنہ است] **(*Abdul Hameed Lahori*** [عبدالحمید لاہوری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.202***). (The subject of aforementioned narration was the ill-fated Drya Khan Rohla [دریا خان روھلہ] who was amongst the lowest of those low people who had launched some attacks). He had used the phrase as [**افاغنہ دوں نہاد**] (bad natured Afghana) **(*Abdul Hameed Lahori*** [عبدالحمید لاہوری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.326***). Then, he had used the phrase as [دریا خان روھلہ **شوریدہ بخت**] i.e. the ill-fated Drya Khan Rohla [دریا خان روھلہ]. **(*Abdul Hameed Lahori*** [عبدالحمید لاہوری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.329***).

Mir Abul-Qasim Razi-ud-Din [میر ابوالقاسم رضی الدین]:

The Panni Pathans of the state of Kernol [کرنول] in southern Hindh [ہندھ] had fought the historical and bloody battles against the British, French as well as, against the Nizam [نظام] of Karnatak [کرناٹک]. The historian had expressed his views with regard to the same, in the manner as: [وافغانانِ جہالت پیشہ] i.e. the foolhardy professional Afghans. (***Maqqala*** [مقالہ دوم] ***No.2 Page No.202***).

Nawab Ismaeel Khan Panni [نواب اسماعیل خا ن پنّی] was appointed as governor for Brar [برار] by Nizam Dakkan [نظام دکن]. He was pitched against a huge army and then, he was killed along-with a company of forty soldiers which had happened because of some inappropriate course of action which the Nizam [نظام] had adopted during the fight. The compiler of the book had expressed his views in said context in the manner that, [بہ تنبیہہ آں جہالت کیش مغرور] i.e. just to admonish the foolhardy and the arrogant people (***Maqqala*** [مقالہ دوم] ***No.2 Page No.218***). He had expressed his views further, as [افاغنۂ جہالت پیشہ] i.e. the foolhardy professional Afghans (***Maqqala Dom*** [مقالہ دوم] ***No.2 Page No.202 & 415***).

The same book compiler had expressed his views, with regard to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] the ViZair of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] in the manner, as below:

[داؤد خان پنّی کہ باامیرالامراء حسین علی خان بے وفائی کردن وجنگیدہ کشتہ شد پسر خضر خان است]

(***Maqqala*** [مقالہ دوم] ***No.2 Page No.304***). (Husain Ali Khan [حسین علی خان] had fought the battle at the instigation of the King Farrukh Sair [فرخ سیر] which was in fact the disloyalty to Husain Ali Khan [حسین علی خان]). Daoud Khan [داؤد خان] had showed extreme loyalty, extended solidarity with the king of his time namely, Farrukh Sair [فرخ سیر]). *We will discuss the same later, at an appropriate place*. The infamous Husain Ali Khan [حسین علی خان] had not much to his credit but despite that, he was awarded the title as the Ameer-ul-Umera [امیرالامراء].

Shah Nawaz Khan [شاہ نواز خان]:

The conquest of the Lakhnou [لکھنؤ] fort had a very significant place among the conquests of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. The same was conquered however, with the support of Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی]. He was in the service of Tana Shah [تانا شاہ] i.e. the governor of Golkanda [گولکندہ]. Shah Nawaz Khan [شاہ نواز خان] had expressed his views in this regard, about Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] in the manner, as below:

---- وفریب درآمدہ بوساطتِ **رنمست خاں کلاں عبداللہ خان پنّی** بیجاپوری معروف بہ سرانداز خاں از راہ ورسمِ **خلوص بے گانہ** ساختہ باخودایل گردانید چناچہ آں بے مروت حق ناشناس بسیت و چہارم ذیقعد نیم شبے نخشی الملک را بارنمست خاں کہ فرصت جویاں گردِ قلعہ می گردند ازراہِ کھرکی کہ اہتمام دروازہ بہ آں معتمد محفوض بود، درونِ قلعہ درآورد (***Masir-ul-Aumara*** [ماثر الامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.12***).

Khafi Khan [خافی خان]:

Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was the governor of Gujarat [گجرات] during the reign of Farrukh Sair [فرخ سیر]. There was a Hindu woman who had embraced Islam while he was there as governor and riots had broken out resultantly. Khafi Khan [خافی خان] had expressed his views in said context in the manner, as below:

---- واقرباۓ او(عورت) نزدِ داؤد خان پنّی استغاثہ نمودند وآں **افغان جہلات نشان** کہ در طرف دارئ کفار ہمیشہ می کوشید (***Muntakhib Albiyyat*** [منتخب البیات] ***Volume No.2 Page No.884***).

Syed Abdullah Khan [سید عبداللہ خاں]:

When Syed Husain Ali Khan [سید حسین علی خان], while he was on his way to Deccan [دکن], had killed Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in compliance with the order of his brother namely, Farrukh Sair [فرخ سیر]. Then, Syed Abdullah Khan [سید عبداللہ خاں] had expressed his resentment with regard to Farrukh Sair [فرخ سیر] in the manner, as below:

چناچہ شاہد مقال ما خرامین است کہ متضمن بہ اشارۂ عدم دخل و قتل **بندۂ بے تقصیر**(یعنی حسین علی خان) بنام داؤد خان پنّی بے دین وسرکشانِ آں سرزمین وصاحب مدارانِ دکن، صادرشد، دردست داریم

(***Lubelabab*** [لب لباب] ***Volume No.2 PagNo.808***).

Mir Ghulam Ali Azad [میرغلام علی آزاد]:

When Himmat Bahader Khan Panni [ہمت بہادر خان پنّی], the Nawab of Kernol [کرنول], had killed Nawab Muzzafer Jung [نواب مظفر جنگ] who was the Nawab of Deccan, he himself was also killed during the scuffle. The state of Kernol [کرنول] was looted and plundered after Nawab Muzzafer Jung [نواب مظفر جنگ] with the support of the British and the French colonialists. The family members of Himmat Bahader Khan Panni [ہمت بہادر خان پنّی] were arrested and confined in the house. Mir Ghulam Ali Azad [میرغلام علی آزاد], the connoisseur of Masir-ul-Kirram [مآثرالکرام], had described said incident in the manner, as below:

---- وچوں لشکر بر سرِ کرنول آمد، شہر را غارت کرد،**اہل وعیال ہمت خاں پنّی** ہمہ بہ اسیری در آمد نہ ۔ وازشامتِ عملے کہ ازاں بے ہمت صادر شیر جان و مال وآبروئے ہمہ برباد رفت۔ حالت دنیا خوراین است حال عقبی چہ خوابد شد ۔

(When, the lashker had reached at Kernol, it had destroyed the city and all the companions of Himmat Bahader Khan Panni were arrested. The bad luck had struck him in the manner that his life, prestige and whole estate was destroyed. If he was abused in this world to such an extent, then what the life hereafter would be like for him!) (***Masir-ul-Kirram*** [مآثرالکرام])

Rasheed-ud-Din Khan [رشیدالدین خان]:

Nawab Ismaeel Khan Panni [نواب اسماعیل خا ن پنّی] was killed in the Brar [برار] area. The book compiler had used the phrase in the context of his killing in the manner as, [افغانانِ جہالت پیشہ بے اندیشہ] i.e. the professional foolhardy Afghans devoid of angst had failed by the grace of God. He had expressed his views further in the manner that, the Pathan was killed mercilessly just due to his foolishness (***Tareekh Rasheed-ud-Din Khani*** [تاریخ رشیدالدین خانی] ***Page No.279***).

We can draw the inference in the light of aforementioned references that, the Pathans were also responsible for their abject state of affairs which was perhaps due to their inherent weaknesses. The way, the non-Pathan historiographers had discussed the Pathans *vis-à-vis* the Mughals while they had documented the Mughal era, the same had reflected however the true but somewhat somber picture of two great rival Muslim nations in the Subcontinent.

British and Pathan [انگریز اور پٹھان]:

The British had reposed neither, the trust in the Pathans nor, they had ever tried seriously to win their confidence. The reasons for the same were best known, only to them. They had meted out a very peculiar treatment to the Pathans during their entire stay in the Subcontinent, as compared with other people of the region. The manifestation of the same was that they had denied the Pathans, the right to be recruited in the army on a regular basis. They had also impeded the prospects of their collective welfare and progress and had dissociated them generally from the educational and the cultural activities whereas they had dished out various concessions to other people, simultaneously. Those people were under their influence, despite the fact that they had also opposed their illegal regime. Those people had progressed in all the fields of life generally, as a result of said historical British magnanimity except the Pathans. The British used to use the area of the latitudinous Pathans [آزاد پٹھان] as a shooting range. There was a British colonel namely, James. The angst free sentiment of the Pathan animosity had overawed him. He had opted to write even to the extent that, “Kill the Pathan wherever you find him and hit him as hard as you can”. The commissioner of the frontier province, Sir Hamilton Grant had revealed his innate bias publicly once, in order to forewarn the Hindus and with the intention to create the mistrust in the hearts of other Muslims. He had said in this regard that, “If the Pathans were

given freehand then there was no girl and profession which was likely to be safe in Hindustan". There was a British soldier and he was murdered in the tribal area. There was a British historian who had expressed his views in this regard, in the manner as, "we should arrest the murderers and they should be hanged in the pig hide till the dooms day so that they may remain as notorious people, permanently. The only way-out was to hang the Pathans in the pig hides else, they were supposed to be burnt alive". When, a British officer had sought the permission to arrest a Pathan alive, Major Rebuts who had become known as Lord Rebuts subsequently, had declined said permission. He had explained his refusal afterwards in the manner that, "the purpose of said insinuative refusal order was to give a free hand to kill as many people of the enemy as it was possible" (***Azad Pathan*** [آزاد پٹھان] ***Page No.40-41***). The British had made the black laws for the latitudinous tribes of the frontier area. When, they had recruited the locals in their army, they had assigned the regionalized names to those regiments as the Marhatta [مرہٹہ] Regiment, Jat [جاٹ] Regiment, Gorgha [گورکھا] Regiment, Bengal [بنگال] Regiment, Madras [مدراس] Regiment, Punjab [پنجاب] Regiment, Dogar [ڈوگر] Regiment, Rajpoot [راجپوت] Regiment etc. There was however, never a Pathan regiment. There were some units although, with the name as the frontier force rifles etc. which were used as the first aid unit(s) or were used as a possè comitatus for curbing the riots till the proper takeover by the regular regiments. Those units were also never equipped properly and whenever there used to be any threat from the Kabul side, the same possè comitatus unit used to be moved out to face the initial onslaught.

The British used to paste the photo of a Pathan on the top of his official chart with the note that, the Pathan is a brave man and he hates to join the regular army. The British used to declare him a symbol of fear and hate simultaneously and thus the responsibility of not recruiting him in the army was also directly placed on the Pathans.

Hindu and Pathan [ہندو اور پٹھان]:

The Hindu nation had always remained in the opposition of the Pathans. They used to support every British policy which used to be against them and used to always support the British bombardment on the latitudinous tribal areas. Thus, they used to endorse the bombardment by heaving a sigh of relief. The famous Hindu leader Mr. Gandhi [گاندھی] used to be very careful initially, with regard to the participation of the Pathans in his liberation movement. He had found

however a local Pathan group subsequently, which had qualified his standards. The Hindu nation had always opposed any development in the frontier area. They used to call the Pathans as "the girl lifters" or the kidnappers. When, the liberation movement had gained the impetus in the Subcontinent, the leading Hindu leaders used to question openly on all occasions that, "how the Muslims would respond, should Afghanistan attack Hindustan". The leading Muslim politicians in such a situation, used to have no other option but, they used to give the assurance that they would defend their own country only, in such eventuality. They used to take the stance that they would not let their freedom be sold for the cause of the Muslims of other areas. The Hindus used to detest the Pathans and used to always be scared of them. There was a historical incident which was really worthy *mirabile dictu* of mention to understand better the awe inspiring Pathan phenomena. There was a general perception that there used to be a Hindu leader namely, Pandat Madan Mohan Malo [پنڈت مدن موہن مالو]. He had woken up from his deep sleep one night, while he was in his Bungalow at Shimla [شملہ]. Then, he had started running up and down frantically and he had started shouting frightfully that, "some Pathans were there" "some Pathans were there". (پٹھان آ گئے پٹھان آ گئے)

There was yet another historical incident which was noteworthy *mirabile dictu* to understand the mentality of the hypocrite Hindu. When, the British had opened the fire on the red-dress volunteers when the liberation movement was making progress and they had killed almost five hundred young people then, Mr. Gandhi had paid the tribute to those who were massacred and he had passed the sarcastic comment *schadenfreude* that, "I had told them to stay away from the movement". The simpleton Afghan Pathans and the Kabul government somehow or the other has always remained at the beck and call of the Indian Hindu junta just like a hand trained bird, despite all the aforementioned bigotry of the Hindus.

Allama Iqbal and Pathan [علامہ اقبال اور پٹھان]:

The Muslims of Punjab were always vocal in support of their Afghan or the Pathan brethrens. They were always their well-wishers and had always made the endeavors to support their multifarious development programs in order to ensure their progress. The said cause was always their main concern, one way or the other. The incessant efforts on their part had continued till 1932 when, the social rights of the frontier areas were brought at par with the other regions.

Mollana Zafer Ali Khan [مولانہ ظفر علی خان] used to pronounce the British slogans of democracy very loudly, in the wake of said situation. He used to publish a regular article in Daily Zamindar [زمیندار] which used to bring forth the general news of said area. The satirical caption of said article used to be as, "Serzameen-e-Bayaien" [سرزمین بے آئین] i.e. "the land without constitution". The demands of Mollana for said area through his articles were endorsed always by the Muslim community, unanimously.

The way Allama Iqbal had taken the interest in this regard, to revolutionize the lives of the lumpenproletariat Pathans, had no parallel even in the literature of Pathans. Allama Iqbal had highlighted the complexity of their problems, through his poetry. He had vocalized his sympathies frequently against the plight of the Pathans. The message of Allama Iqbal was though, universal and the mankind as a whole was his poetic subject yet, his specific focus was the oppressed nations as well as, the Pathan nation which was among them. He had expressed his hopes generally but, he had the expectations from the Pathans to register the same. He had addressed the Pathans collectively and he had invited the leading Pathans in particular, to introduce the reforms into their community. We will restrict our narrative in this regard, to some of the poetic references only by Allama Iqbal which will reveal that, how concerned he was for the betterment of the Pathan nation. He had addressed the then ruler of Afghanistan namely, Ameer Aman Ullah Khan [امیر امان اللہ خان] through one of his poems i.e. Paiyam-e-Mashriq [پیامِ مشرق] in the manner, as below:

Oh, you pure conscience of nature but, bereft	اے ترا فطرت ضمیرِ پاک داد
With religiosity your chest is hundred cleft	از غمِ دیں سینۂ صد جاک داد
Refresh! constitution of Siddique and Umer	تازہ کُن آئینِ صدیقؓ و عمرؓ
Like desert breeze ye pass oh' freshener	چون صبا بر لالۂ صحرا گزر
Poor vagabond nation, roams in mountains	ملتِ آوارۂ کوہ و دمن
Blood of loins thumps in their veins	دررگِ اُو خونِ شیراں موجزن
They are intelligent, strong and bright face	ز یرک وروئین تن روشن جبین
Their sparkling eyes are hunting eagles grace	چشمِ اُوچون جرہ بازان تیز بین
In this world, they have yet to explore luck	قسمتِ خود ازجہاں نا یافتہ
Luck star they have yet to find and pluck	کوکبِ تقدیر اُو نا تافتہ

They are confined in mountains, still aloof	در قہستاں خلوتے ورزیدۂ ئی
Vibrancy of life has yet to bring them its proof	استخیرِ زندگی نادیدہ ئی
Patiently you enlighten this spirited nation	جانِ تو بر محنت پیہم صبور
Discipline proud Afghans as its agnation	کوش در تہزیبِ آفغانِ غیور
They may become an upright Islamic might	تاز صدیقانِ ایں اُمت شوی
For Islam they may become a guiding light	بہرِ دیں سرمایۂ قوت شوی
Life is a struggle, it is not there as a right	زندگی جہد است و اِستحقاق نیست
To conquer heavens, knowledge of soul is light	جُز بہ علمِ اَنفس و آفاق نیست

Allama Iqbal had compared the lumpenproletariat Pathans with an individual who was roaming in the mountains, aimlessly. The Pathan nation was aloof according to him and the same was confined in the mountains. The blood of loins was although in its veins and they had the bright face and they were intelligent and a strong nation yet, the luck stars had not sparkled for them. The vibrancy of life had yet to reach them. He had invited Nadir Shah [نادرشاہ] to step out and enlighten said spirited and strong nation so that, his name was graded as a well-wisher of the Muslims. He had wished the Afghan nation to become the fountainhead in the realm of Islam. He had encouraged Nadir Shah [نادرشاہ] to reach out to his nation for their education because the progress in the world was impossible without the same. Then, the constant struggle was the only medium to ensure success in the world.

The writer had the honor to meet Allama Iqbal and the same was in the personal knowledge of writer that, Allama Iqbal had written a letter to Aman Ullah Khan [امان اللہ خان]. Allama Iqbal had referred to the same fact specifically, in one of the meetings with the writer.

Allama Iqbal had addressed Nadir Shah [نادرشاہ] of Afghanistan in one of his poems during his visit to Afghanistan, in 1932. He had captioned said poem as [سیاحتِ چند روزہ] Seyahat-e-chand roza (tourism of few days). The same was in the manner, as below:

Nadir Afghan Shah has the soul of a sage	نادرافغانِ شہہ درویش خُو
God’s blessing through him come to engage	رحمتِ حق برروانِ پاک اُو
Country’s affairs are reinforced by his ability	کارِ مِلت محکم از تدبیرِ اُو
His sword is a custodian of Islam’s dignity	حافظِ دینِ مبیں شمشیرِ اُو
Like Abu Zer his sharpness lies in his politeness	چوں ابوذر خُود گدازاندرنحاز
His timely strikes soften the stones hardness	ضربتش ہنگام کیں خارہ گداز
Memory of Siddique’s era brings his splendor	عہدِ صدیق از جمالش تازہ شُد
Memory of Farooq’s era brings his grandeur	عہدِ فاروق از جلالش تازہ شُد
with fear of religion, he is like a tainted flower	از غمِ دیں دردلش چوں لالہ داغ
In the darkness of east, he is like a light-tower	در شبِ خاور وجودِ اُو چراغ
charm of men of taste in his eyes, one can feel	درنگاہش مستئ اربابِ ذوق
Essence of his life is his exuberance and zeal	جوہر جانش سراپا جزب وشوق
He is like a regal sword and has sagacious eyes	خسروی شمشیر درویشی نگہ
His gem like eyes and sword are Allah’s vibes	ہر دو گوہر از محیطِ لاالہ
Khyber is familiar with ones, who fear God	خیبر از مردانِ حق بیگانہ نیست
Those in whose hearts thousands fables trod	دردلِ اُو صد ہزار افسانہ ایست
I haven’t seen an area which is more intricate	جادہ کم دیدم از اُو پیچیدہ تر
Those intricacies do not let eyes, penetrate	یاوہ گردد در خم و پیچیش نظر
But at mountains foot, is a land of greenery	سبزہ دردامنِ کوہسارش مجوے
Its fragrant shades present spiritual scenery	ازضمیرش برنیاید رنگ و بُو ے
It is a land of chukars with eagles temperament	سرزمینِ کبک اُو شاہیں مزاج
Its gazelles take tribute from lions, as payment	آہوئے اُو گیرد از شیراں خراج
When cheliferous eagles fly in its vast sky	درفضایش جرہ بازاں تیز چنگ
Ferocious cheetahs shiver and check spry	لرزہ برتن از نہیب شاں پلنگ
But due to lack of centricity its life is bemused	لیکن از بے مرکزی آشفتہ روز
It is incomplete, disorganized and is confused	بے نظام و ناتمام ونیم سوز
Care free plunge is extinct, in its eagles flight	فر بازاں نیست در پرواز شاں
Their flight is inferior than, partridges flight	ازتدرواں پست تر پرواز شاں
Ah’ this nation is rendered putrefied	آہ! قومے بے تپ وتابِ حیات
From genuine adventure, its life is devoid	روزگارش بے نصیب از واردات
One offer Sajida and other is in Qayam	آں یکے اندرسجود، ایں در قیام

Its existence is like a prayer, without Imam Their life is spoiled with their each act Ah' their future is like their today, inept	کاروبارش چوں صلوۃِ بے امام ریزریز از سنگِ اُومینائے اُو آہ! ازامروز بے فردائے اُو

Allama Iqbal had expressed his views in the aforementioned verses after praising Nadir Shah [نادر شاہ] i.e. the ruler of Afghanistan in the manner that, the area of Khyber had deep history which was stretched over centuries. The same was not devoid of God fearing people. He had not seen any area which was more intricate. The intricacies were such that they were making the eyes go astray which was the land of partridges and chukars which used to fly very high like eagles and its gazelles used to demand the tribute money from the lions. There were cheliferous eagles in the vastness of said area which used to make even the cheetahs move fearfully. The literal sense of his message was that, each individual of the area was brave, fearless and courageous. Allama Iqbal had described also the weaknesses of the people. He had expressed his views with all the dejection in the manner that, despite all the qualities, the Afghans were bemused because of indiscipline and lack of centricity. They had failed to make use of their good qualities and were still unrefined. They were unfamiliar with the benefits of plunging into the field of education. He was regretful in the same context when he had referred to the extinction of their courage therefore he had scolded them, very gently. Then, he had expressed his views in the manner that, their flight was even inferior to the flight of partridges. He had passed the comments that, their self-esteem and the sense of superiority was not regulated by any discipline because they were devoid of very sagacity which was likely to glorify their life. Allama Iqbal had showed the sympathy towards the Afghans. He had expressed his views that their life was devoid of any genuine adventurism and such conduct was unlikely to win them any place which was attainable in any case. They had also lacked the unity, uniformity and unification. They were ethnocentric therefore they were away from unity. Their collective state of affairs was like a leaderless group of people and they had lacked the grace, glow and glorification even at the national level. This was the reason that they were not able to avail all those comforts of life which was their natural right. Allama Iqbal had examined their disunity very critically. He had expressed his views in the manner that, the Afghans were ill-discipline, disorganized and disorderly people. They were responsible therefore for their current abject state of affairs and the chances to have a glorious future were also very bleak, due to the ineptness in their present.

Allama Iqbal had addressed different groups through Khetab ba Aqwam-i-Serhad [خطاب بہ اقوام سرحد] (Address to the nations of frontier). He had emphasized the need that the Pathan communities were supposed to understand the vices of domineering religious hierocracy. He had called them very unambiguously, as the disorganized, disorderly people who had lacked the centricity. He had expressed his sympathies because they had preferred their tribal ethnocentricity over the unified status of Millet [ملت] which was out of sheer simplicity. He had advised them thus, to ponder over their present state of affairs. He had diverted their attention thereafter to the Quranic precepts and thus he expressed his hope for them to defocus on their tribalism for the sake of shouldering their collective responsibility. He encouraged them to merge into the grand unification of Millet [ملت]. He had advised them in the end after discussing several points of Islamic culture and education, to promote also their Khudi [خودی] (egoity).When, Allama Iqbal had reached the tomb of Ahmed Shah Baba Panni, the proponent of the concept of Millet-e-Afghania [ملت افغا نیہ], he was overwhelmed by the love and affection which the Afghans had demonstrated for him. He had addressed the deceased Ahmed Shah Baba and he had praised him for his considerately avid achievements. He was motivated further and then he had also advised the son of Nadir Shah Shaheed [نادر شاہ شہید], the former Shah of Afghanistan and he had divulged for him, so many attainable secrets. The crux of the same was that, to work hard to attain alleviation and betterment of the Pathan community and uniting them together so that they may attain the destiny otherwise, they were destined to be drowned together.

Allama Iqbal had referred to Nadir [نادر], Abdali [ابدالی] and Sultan Tipu Shaheed [سلطان ٹیپو شہید]. He had paid tributes to Nadir Shah and then, he had expressed his views in the manner that, Nadir Shah was a man who was privy to the secrets of unity. He had proclaimed Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] to be a sole and befitting role model and a pioneer of Afghan national unity. The book in which the poem "Aan So-e-Falak" [آں سوئے فلک] was incorporated, the same was captioned as Javeednama [جاوید نامہ] and the poem was in the manner, as below:

All the rulers of the east not only some		خسروانِ مشرق اندرانجمن
from Iran, Afghan, Deccan were awesome		سطوتِ ایران وافغان در دکن
Nadir knew the secret of unity, as a phenom		نادر آں دانائے رمزِ اتحاد

He won Muslims and used love, as a hem Abdali's struggle was reflection of a gem He was a pioneer of Afghan nationalism		با مسلماں داد پیغامِ وداد مرد ابدالی وجودش آیتے در افغاں را اساسِ ملتے

Allama Iqbal had used the names of Herat [ہرات], Kabul [کابل] and Ghazni [غزنی] in the poem. He had admired the entire Millet of Afghanistan. The said poem was captioned as Nadir Shah Afghan [نادر شاہ افغان]. The same was in his book which was titled as, Bal-e-Jibreel [بال جبریل]. The translation of the poem was in the manner, as below:

A gem like cloud took power from God the cloud which enlivens flower's vein No sooner it saw paradise, on its way it thrilled him to say, here I must rain A voice echoed from paradise, lea-buds of Herat, Kabul, Ghazni, want you again Tear of Nadir's eye is like a stained flower Energize his flame and illuminate it forever	حضورِحق سے چلا لے کےلولائے لالہ وہ ابر جس سے رگِ گل ہے مثلِ تارِنفس بہشت راہ میں دیکھا تو ہو گیا بیتاب عجب مقام ہے جی چاہتا ہے جاؤں برس صدا بہشت سے آئی کہ منتظر ہے تیرا ہرات و کابل و غزنی کا سبزۂ نورس سرشکِ دیدۂ نادر بہ داغِ لالہ فشاں چنانکہ آتشِ اُورا دگر فرو نہ نشاں

Allama Iqbal had encouraged the Afghans and Pathans to get united so as to earn the blessings of God. He had prayed and he had sought the blessings of God for the Afghans in the manner that, God had blessed Nadir. He had requested Nadir to bring enlightenment for the hearts of the Afghans forever, with the warmth of those blessings just like the cloud which had showered rain in Herat, Kabul and Ghazni. He was desirous to see said cloud focusing on the eyes of Nadir which were reddish due to tears. He had demanded from the cloud to ignite the fire of his eyes for others so that they may also be enlightened forever.

Allama Iqbal had referred to the famous poet of the Pashto language Khushhal Khan Khattak [خوشحال خاں خٹک]. He had encouraged the Afghan people to organize so that they may attain such

elevated position in the world which was their due deservingly. Khushhal Khan Khattak had looked down upon the Mughals as very ordinary rivals of the Pathans. He was of the opinion that the Pathan child was never lacking in any manner when he was placed against the Mughal child. He had expressed his views through the poetic medium in the manner, as below:

Tribes must merge in Millet, for unity	قبائل ہوں ملت کی وحدت میں گم
so the name Afghans may prevail	کہ نام ہوں افغانیوں کا بلند
I love those young men	محبت مجھے ان جوانوں سے ہے
for whom stars are there to scale	ستاروں پہ جو ڈالتے ہیں کمند
In no way is less than the Mughals	مغلوں سے کسی طرح کمترنہیں
the mountain child, hearty and hail	کہستان کا بچہ ارجمند
O' friend I can speak my heart out	کہوں تجھ سے ہمنشیں دل کی بات
Khushhal Khan liked graveyard's trail	وہ مدفن ہے خوشحال خاں کو پسند
From where mountain wind could never	اڑا کر نہ لائے جہاں بادِ کوہ
Bring dust of Mughal raider's gale.	مغل سہسواروں کی گردِسمند

Allama Iqbal had tried to convince the Pathans in Zerb-e-Kaleem [ضَربِ کلیم] to wake up to the real world. He had addressed them through a fictitious character like Mehrab Gul [محراب گل]. Mehrab Gul [محراب گل] had expressed his love for his country in the beginning of the poem and he had admired it. Then, he had focused on his self-esteem and pride. He had questioned whether he was there to accept the British slavery at the cost of his ego! The poem was in the manner, as below:

My mountains without you, where shall I go	میرے کہستاں! تجھے چھوڑ کے جاؤں کہاں
Your rocks are dust of my ancestors	تیری چٹانوں میں ہے میرےاب وجد کی خاک
Since ages you are destiny of eagles and leopards	روزِ ازل سے ہے تو منزلِ شاہیں و چرغ
You are devoid of flora and twitters of birds	لالہ وگل سے تہی، نغمہ و گل

	سے پاک
Your intricate passages are my paradise	تیرے خم و پیچ میں میری بہشت بریں
Your dust is ambary and water is actinide	خاک تیری عنبریں، آب تیرا تابناک
Partridge or dove like man, can never be an eagle	باز نہ ہو گا کبھی بندۂ کبک وحمام
for securing body, should I dump spirit in void	جفظِ بدن کےلئے روح کو کردوں ہلاک
Oh' self-respect and pride, what is your decision?	اے میرے فقرِغیور فیصلہ ہے تیراکیا؟
British slavery or integrity to which I abide!	خلعتِ انگریز یا پیراھن چاک چاک!

He had addressed his brothers and he had encouraged them to be active. He had lightened up the sentiment of self-respect and self-pride for them. He had inculcated the importance of understanding their plight. Then, he had encouraged them to revolutionize their lives. He had warned them also to guard against such general education which was promoting the subservience only. He had shaken them up in the literal sense for avid actions in practical life:

Romans, Syrians, Hindustan, all had to change	رومی بد لے،شامی بد لے، بدلا ہندوستان!
Oh, son of mountains, recognize your egoity	تو بھی اے فرزند کہستان، اپنّی
Recognize your egoity	خودی پہچان
	اپنّی خودی پہچان
Oh, unaware Afghan	او غافل افغان
Good weather, water and fertile land	موسم اچھا،پانی وافر، مٹی بھی زرخیز
If he fails to plow then, where shall that farmer	جس نے اپنا کھیت نہ سینچا وہ

stand	کیسا دہقان
Recognize your egoity	اپنّی خودی پہچان
Oh, unaware Afghan	او غافل افغان
A river, without high tide has no variety	اونچی جس کی لہر نہیں وہ کیا دریا!
A tempest without strong wind is not mighty	جس کی ہوائیں تند نہیں وہ کیا طوفان
Recognize your egoity	اپنّی خودی پہچان
Oh, unaware Afghan	او غافل افغان
Discovery of one's self in his own soil, is piety	ڈھونڈ کے اپنّی خاک میں پایا جس نے اپناآپ
Sacrifice regalism for such farmer's sobriety	اس بندے کی دہقانی پر سلطانی قربان
Recognize your egoity	اپنّی خودی پہچان
Oh, unaware Afghan	او غافل افغان
You are ignorant, your ignorance has audacity	تیری بے علمی نے رکھ لی بے علموں کی لاج
Scholars en-cash the faith and its variety	عالم فاضل بیچ رہے ہیں اپنا دین ایمان
Recognize your egoity	اپنّی خودی پہچان
Oh, unaware Afghan	او غافل افغان

Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] was the first and the last Pathan ruler who was able to understand properly, the vices with regard to the schism among the Pathan nations. He had the honor of bringing together also all the Afghans for once, under the flag of Afghanism. The Pathans had penetrated although, deep into the far flung areas of the Subcontinent during his reign and they had accepted to leave behind even their rugged mountains yet, they had remained ethnocentric, quite fanatically. They had attained the recognition in Hindustan nevertheless, of a living nation under the Mughal regimes. They were able to topple the rule of Humayon [ہمایوں] under the leadership of Sher Shah [شیر شاہ]. They had expelled him into the exile but, they had lived in the same country where they were placed sporadically even at that time. They had opted to name

their streets after the names of their respective tribes in the area of Shahjahanpur [شاہجہان پور]. Sher Shah [شیر شاہ] had come out triumphant notwithstanding the same, for basking in the sunshine of history with all the glorious achievements to his credit. The same had helped the Afghans to hoist the flags of their success as well. Allama Iqbal had invited the Pathans in the backdrop of aforementioned historical facts even through Sher Shah [شیر شاہ] to promote the unity. He had encouraged them to use the foresightedness intelligently. He had advised them to cast aside the internal schism. The poem which was written by him in this regard, the same was in the manner as below:

How nicely, Sher Shah Suri defined a point	یہ نکتہ خوب کہا شیر شاہ سوری نے
that tribal fervor is an absolute cringe	کہ امتیازِ قبائل تمام تر خواری
To be a Wazeri or Mehsood is an honor	عزیز ہے انھیں نام وزیری ومحسود
But Afghanism is like a binge	ابھی یہ خلعت افغانیت سے ہیں عاری
Islam in mountains is into a thousand bits	ہزارپارہ ہے کہسارکی مسلمانی
each tribe pivots around its tribal hinge	کہ ہر قبیلہ ہے اپنے بتوں کا زناری
Kaaba is there so is praise for Lat and Manat	وہی حرم ہے وہی اعتبارِلات ومنات
May God discolor your tribal tinge	خدا نصیب کرے تجھ کوضرب کاری

Allama Iqbal had underscored his immeasurable sincerity and sympathy for Afghans through his poetry. The same was undoubtedly, unparallel even in any old or new Pashto literature. Allama Iqbal had expressed his true wishes and sentiments during the period when the Hindus had denied all the rights and powers to the Pathans as a nation and to the people of their region. They had never wanted even the British to treat the Afghans or Pathans as human beings. They were open enemies of Pathans. The British bombardment in the tribal areas had always brought a sense of joy for the Hindus.

Assessment of Pathans [پٹھان اپنی نظر میں]:

The internal schism of the Pathans has crossed all the limits. They have divergent views even about their origin. There were some who had claimed to be the descendants of Prophet Jacob [حضرت یعقوب علیہ سلام]. The others have the claim to be a lost Jewish tribe but, they had never liked at the same time, to be called as Jews. They had taken the pride in being the Muslims as well as, the Pathans. One may come across a Pathan who may ask naively that, was he not a

Muslim or was he not a Pathan? That means, for him Islam and Pathan-hood was synonymous. Since, they had claimed themselves to be the grandchildren of Khalid Bin Waleed [حضرت خالد بن ولیدؓ] therefore, taking pride in the chivalry and bravery of Khalid Bin Waleed [حضرت خالد بن ولیدؓ] was something as an added grace by itself for them. There was also a fact, irrespective of those views of the Pathans, with regard to their origin that they were always a very hardworking and painstaking bunch of people. The individual caliber of the Pathans has also proved to be an unquestionable fact which was always a manifestly potent reality in the backdrop of their social conditions and their collective strength. The rugged mountains are their favorite abode and although they are a peculiar nation because of their particular set of traditions, height and stature, dress and language, natural propensities, habits and general characteristics yet, they have failed to catch up somehow or the other, with the modern times.

We feel inclined to examine the internal tapestry of the Pathan society in order to comprehend the actual constituents of overall texture of the Pathan culture. We have to learn about their actual mental disposition and only then, we will be able to understand their natural propensities. We have to learn also about the Pathan folklores which tend to play a catalyst role in their character building. The origin of said catalyst was believed to be the love of a Pathan mother for her children. We may well have to examine the hidden desires of young girls besides that, which tend to overflow always with the sentiments of sacrifice and to attain the social dignity. The same are regulated by the ethnocentric societal taboos, generally. The Pathan mothers, unlike the mothers of other areas, do not soothe their young ones to sleep with threats or scares. They chant the tales of bravery and chivalry rather, and paint the visuals of battlefields in their lullabies for their young ones. They invigorate the sentiment of bravery in the inner self of their young children when they sing those sweet words. They do not call their infants as the descendant of Bani Israel [بنی اسرائیل]. They call them rather as the descendants of Khalid Bin Waleed [حضرت خالد بن ولیدؓ]. They portray his bravery by highlighting the victories and the courage of Khalid Bin Waleed [حضرت خالد بن ولیدؓ]. Thus, they work on the inner soul of their young ones. They ignite this way, the very sentiment of patriotism through their lullabies against the invaders and non-Muslim rulers. There are many other similar family voices in general, which inject the angst into the inner self of a Pathan child which shapes up and cultivates his brave character, slowly and gradually. The military academy of a Pathan child is his cradle, literally. The gradual injection of such chivalrous thought process which comes from the sweet songs of a tutoring mother, which

infiltrates into the ears of a Pathan child, helps him grow up with a very resolute body and soul and it turns into his ultimate ideological goal as well. We have to examine in this regard just a few lullabies which are as below:

Go to sleep, my dear go to sleep		الله هُو شـه الله هُو
Your are Khalid's grandson		تـه نمسی ي د خالد
Your are Ghaznavi's son		غزنوی ـد وے ولد
Nothing can make you stun		ولی زړه لری جامد
Go to sleep, my dear go to sleep		الله هو شـه الله هُو
Horse is for you to ride		تـه خُلمی شـه دَ کرنک
Rivals, you must not avoid		لـه د بنمنِ او نـه کـرے څنک
Get rid of British, countrywide		ملک نـه لرے کـره فرنک
Go to sleep, my dear go to sleep		الله هو شـه الله هُو
Go to sleep, my dear go to sleep		الله هو شـه الله هُوڅما جا نـه الله هُو
Lili-lili-lili-lili-lili-lilo----Go to sleep		للی للی للی للی للو -------- الله هُو
Your father is out there for a fight		پلار دِ تلی دی په جنـگ
With sword, around his waist is tight		بنـه تیره توره څنک
For country's honor, offering head is right		
Because British are in our land with might		سر بـه درکاند پـه ننگ
Go to sleep, my dear go to sleep		پـه وطن راغـے نیرنگ
To Jihad your father was drawn		الله هو شـه الله هُوڅما جا نـه الله هُو
In order to destroy foes who frown		پلار د تلی دی په غزا
He will make his name from hereon		د دنبمنان بـه کری فنا
Go to sleep, my dear go to sleep		نوم پـه پریبندی دُنیا
Your cousin is looking for you as a foe		الله هُو شـه الله هُوڅما جا نـه الله هُو
For me whole country is a big woe		تربولان را تـه پـه څو
My heart bleeds like a wounded doe		بـتـول وطن شـه را تـه بو
May God uproot foe with his hoe		ـدزبـ گی نـه م څی نَو
Go to sleep, my dear go to sleep		خدائے د گډ کړی پـه دی لَو
		الله هُو شـه الله هُوڅما جا نـه الله هُو

Go to sleep, my dear go to sleep		الله هوُ شـه الله هوُ
Your are country’s security		تـه د وطن امانت
For country, you are a sentry		هم ي خادم د ملت
With an aim, I am raising you to maturity		ځـه د ساتم پـه نيت
So that I may avenge with authority		صبا در نـئے پـه پت
Go to sleep, my dear go to sleep		الله هوُ شـه اے ککيـه
Oh, you my tomorrow’s reserve		اے د صبا ځلميـه
To you, with my milk, I serve		سپينـے شو دے در کوم
My milk, ye shall fail to deserve		نلوشـه نـه درنجم!
If you bow head before foe or revere		سرکـه د بنمنِ تـه کرے خم
Go to sleep, my dear go to sleep		الله هو شـه الله هوُ

The latitudinous Pathan women despite being illiterate never lags behind in the realm of patriotism, in any manner whatsoever. She is ready to sacrifice her life and children just for the defense of the country and naturally both those virtuous assets are very dear to any woman. The greatest sense of pride and happiness for a young Pathan woman is to see her beloved displaying the chivalry and bravery in the battlefield. The wishes of a young woman are usually filled with the yearning to have the love and adoration of her husband. She has the aspiration at her young age to discover the sweet touch of her loving husband and to enjoy the moments of enflamed desires. The mind of a married Pathan woman however, even in the most self-indulging moments, cannot sideline the thought of taking the revenge. The culmination of all her admiration and adoration is to see her beloved husband fighting against the British and embracing Shahadat [شهادت] in the process. There was an enthralled Pathan woman who had expressed her sentiments in the same context while she was remembering her beloved husband. The same was in the manner, as below:

If my children and me have to die	کـه د بچوسـده تباه شـمـه
while fighting for country, we’ll not shy	دَ وطن جنـگ دے جنـگ بـه دستدرکومـه

Away from London, my Chittral lie Chittral is dispirited because British defy Burry the foe, let red bullets fly If bullets are short even then you vie I'll pledge my jewelry, to ensure supply	چرتـه لنـډ ن چرتـه چترال دی بـے ننگی زور شوه فزګیاں چترال تـه زنیـه دښـمـن پـه سروګو لو کـبـنـس پټ کړه کـه کاړتوس خلاص شو نویګن بـه کانړمـه

The healthy Pathan woman had expressed her sentiments with her bubbling warmth of blood with regard to her lover in the context of patriotism, in the manner as follows:

My lover in war you must not show back As for me friends taunt, will be a smack Dancingly in war, give sword's whack B'cause on friends sissy lovers, jokes I crack I'll give away gem of my nose-pin as charity My beloved if in a war you die, with chivalry If battlefield is conquered by foe's cavalry Go to India, in my house is banned your entry May God give me hundred lives as charity I'll die hundred times for country's prosperity	جانا نـه جنـګ نـه پـه شانشی چـه دَ همـځـوم رانـه شی پیغودو نـه چـه توره او باسی ګډ یـړه ما پـه همزولو پوری ډیزخندلی وینـــه دتنکئ لال بـه پـه خیرات کـړم کـه مِ جاناں پـه دغــه جنـګ کښ شهید شونـ کـه د میدان دښـمـن تـه پـر یـخود ځـائ دِ کور نشتـه هندوستان تـه زهٔ ینـه خاونده سل ځـلـه ژوند راکړے چـه دَ وطن پـه سینـه سل ځـا لـه مـړشـه

The mental disposition and the mindset of a young Pathan girl were reflected in said poem. The same had contained the innate propensities of Jihad and liberation despite the fact that the purity of her sentiments had targeted her lover only. She had appeared to be a preacher of gallantry and

bravery. The reflection of such sentiments is a tremendous contribution in the Pashto literature. She had appeared to be a symbolic Muslim woman. The poetry of Mirman Nazo [میر من نازو], the daughter of Sultan Balki [سلطان بلخی] and Hafiza Maleeha [حافظہ ملیحہ], the daughter of Khushhal Khan Khattak [خوشحال خان خٹک], had the capacity to sensationalize the mountainous areas even today. They both had emerged on the horizon of the Pashto literature, during the middle Ages. They had proved to be a source of spiritual alleviation for many. Zerghona [زرغونہ] was a woman from Zarghoon [زرغون] tribe of Panni nation. She was overwhelmed with the sentiments of patriotism and gallantry when she had expressed her sentiments very imaginatively, in the manner as below:

کـہ د وطن پـہ ننگ شهید شوے پـہ تار د زلفو کفن ورلہ کندعہ

(If my beloved, you embrace Shahadat [شهادت] for the honor of country, I shall knit your shroud with a bunch of hair from my hair-line) (***Bang-Heram*** [بانگِ حرم پشاور] ***Peshawar 1969***)

The lullabies and the folklores, the jingoistic sentiment as well as, the patriotism as mentioned above, the same tend to surmount the other characteristics. The Pathans were impressed seemingly by the Arabs as fighters in two ways. One was the gallantry whereas the second one was the resistance. The secret to underpin the Pathans manliness lies therefore, in those two basic characteristics.

The essence of Pathanism [پٹھان کا جوہر]:

We will deal in the end with the question that what was in fact the fundamental essence or the primary constituent of Pathan-hood. The answer for the same can be traced in the history of the Pathans provided we club the abovementioned lullabies and the folk songs with the history. We will discover further that the undefeatable sense of ethnocentricity (correct or incorrect) and the constant struggle and warfare were the fundamental constituents of Pathan-hood which may also be called as the Pathanism [پٹھانیت]. The tribal Pathans, like their vast rugged mountainous ranges, are very simple and informal. They are free from any pretense. They reign loftier however, in their self-esteem than their mountains. The natural simplicity and the emphatic way of talking, the reeling weather conditions of mountain ranges and the solitude of the rugged

mountains, the detached individuality and disdained aloofness from the rest of the world are also the fundamental constituents, which contribute in the Pathanism despite the fact that, their real asset is their self-esteem. Then, it is the absolute faith besides that, in the oneness of God Almighty along-with their allegiance with the superior religious hierocracy. They are self-reliant and they always long for those rugged mountains where a non-Pathan may not like to spend even a single day. Those eagle hide outs are very dear to Pathans and is their cradle and permanent abode. The glow and glare of modern civilization cannot be the substitute of comfort which those mountains offer.

The peculiar lifestyle, simplicity and the shabbiness of dress, estrangement with other languages and cities, are the fundamental characteristics of the latitudinous Pathans. The lightheartedness of a Pathan makes him consider every place as his own country. Whether a Pathan is highly educated or totally uneducated, he is God fearing or not, beggar or affluent, mighty king or an ordinary citizen or he is studded with all the traits of modernity or he is totally aloof and secluded, a Pathan in terms of his Pathan-hood has the temperamental disposition, which can cast aside all those aforementioned concerns. He relies on the watchword at every place that "If it is not him then, none other should also be there" [انا و لا غیری]. What needs to be examined in the backdrop of aforementioned facts was that, whether such temperamental disposition overshadows even the Islamic principles? What a Pathan may think, may well be taken as correct even without any regard for others? He maintains the same approach in every matter and he always weighs his own opinion heavier than the opinion of others. He will not even hesitate to go to the extreme end in order to realize his objective. There may not even be an iota of pessimism, which may find roots into his Pathan-hood. The Pathans would not like to raise any hue sadistically. They would not cry even during the extremely painful times. The credo of their life has always been rather, to take the revenge and to target the chest of the enemy. They consider themselves always as greater and superior than non-Pathans. This mindset tends to prevail at their inter-tribal level as well. The Pathans may also be called as the symbol of ecstasy, the way the same was envisaged in the poetry of Khushhal Khan [خوشحال خان] or even as a confused reflection of egoity [خودی] which was envisaged in the poetry of Iqbal. The obscurantism, impulsiveness and niggling irksomeness are also the fundamental constituents of Pathanism.

Pathan and Mughal rivalry [پٹھانوں کی مغل دشمنی]:

Pir Roshan [پیرروشن] (Bright Pir) of the frontier area, whom the Mughals and their courtiers used to call sarcastically as the Pir Tareek [پیرتاریک] i.e. the Pir somber, his preaching was the resultant natural reaction against the treatment which was meted out to the Pathans by the Mughals. Khushhal Khan had made the objective of his life in this regard, to initiate a literary movement against the Mughals just because of the ill-will and ill-treatment which the Mughals had meted out to them. He had used his pen in this regard, like a sword even to the extent that he had targeted also the reconciliation policy of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر شہنشاہ]. Where the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had showed the political courage of managing the Pathans, there the pen of Khushhal Khan was also effective equally, for unveiling the very harsh and obscured historical realities. The eerie omissions and commissions of a person tend to tarnish at times, the reciprocity which is required for any reconciliation during the natural course. Khushhal Khan had exposed the same mindset i.e. the manipulative ploy of *honnét homme* the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] in Rood-e-Kosar [رودِ کوثر] in the manner, as below:

> "I am very well acquainted with the justice of Alamgir. I also know his religious belief, self negation and fasting habits. Has he not murdered all his brothers one by one? Has he not subjected his father to experience the torments of captivity? There may be someone who offers one thousand Sajdas in a day and rubs his forehead on the ground and he may fast daily and his stomach and spine are combined as a recluse but, all his prayers and acts of spiritual sanitization are just the pretentions till the time his heart is devoid of piety. The tongue of Aurangzeb does not say what his heart believes very strongly. May God destroy his heart and lungs and he may also be put to the sword"

Another poet of the Pashto language namely, Hameed [حمید] had expressed his views in the manner, as below:

> "Wherever the Mughals went, they were like stones. The world was set ablaze because of their injustice"

There was a third poet of Pashto language namely, Khawaja Muhammad [خواجہ محمد]. He had expressed his views in the manner, as below:

> "There will be no justice during the reign of Alamgir, I, Khawaja Muhammad, will have to go in some other direction and which direction may be different altogether!" (***Rood-e-Kosar*** [رودِ کوثر] ***Page 469, 470***)

The above mentioned were the opinions of some intelligent Pathans about the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] yet, he was the [خدنگ آخریں] "Last Musket Arrow" in the Subcontinent, according to Allama Iqbal:

درمیان کارزارکفرودیں
ترکش ماراخندک آخریں

There were two great Muslim powers in the Subcontinent which had failed to reconcile their differences. They had not only made the Muslims suffer *en masse* because of their internal schism rather they had also smitten the history with their somber approach. They had failed to fulfill even the religious duty of preaching Islam in the Subcontinent. We should also examine the other hidden but, illuminating aspects instead of focusing on the aforementioned somber aspects of history. We observe that on the one hand, there was one group of Pathans with such pessimistic views about the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] and we also observe on the other hand that, the renowned Vice ViZair of wars namely, Daoud Khan Panni [وریر جنگ داؤد خان پنّی] who was also a Pathan. He was awarded the title of Aitbar Khan [اعتبار خان] *hapax legomenon* and he was given a freehand to spend as much money as perhaps was required regardless of time and place. He was such a brave General that, we can say easily that there was not a General braver than him in the history of the Subcontinent. The historians have failed however, for some very covert reasons to document his contributions along-with his father namely, Khizer Khan Panni [خضرخان پنّی] and his uncle namely, Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] and his two real brothers namely, Mir Shamsheer Khan Panni [میر شمشیر خان پنّی] and Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. They had also rendered great services in practical wars during the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی]

was the one who had mustered the support for the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب شہنشاہ عالمگیر] to conquer the Gholkanda [گولکندہ] fort. He was a Pathan and was very popular to have rendered all out support to the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. *The in detail account of his contribution will be rendered, in the chapters to follow*. There were a number of other Pathans besides him who had proved to be the loyal warriors, during the Mughal era. The Pathans had although some innate weaknesses yet, the political reasons had always widened the gulf between the two rivals. There was an element of satisfaction that every governament of Pakistan, unlike the Mughals, has maintained the same principle of Islamic brotherhood towards the latitudinous Pathans to ensure the fulfillment of very concept which was the genesis for the creation of Pakistan. Quaid-e-Azam, the founder of Pakistan, had taken drastic measures in this regard after the creation of Pakistan. He had withdrawn the troops from the frontier areas which were deployed there during the British Raj.

Firebrand of Allama Iqbal [اقبال کا نیم سوز]:

We have tried to establish, in the preceding pages with historical references that, the Pathans were a sequel assemblage of different nations which was able to make the ingress into their present milieu, at different points of time, in the history. They had intermingled then with the locals intimately. The temperament of the Pathans, by virtue of frequent intermingling with the other nations therefore, had also become an amalgam of different instinctive and impulsive characteristics. The general awareness about said aspect was there yet, there was not any serious effort made till today to bring them into the mainstream. The same was perhaps the reason, their way of life was still very inordinate or in the words of Allama Iqbal, was firebrand [نیم سوز] i.e. they were still away from the level of maturity. There was no doubt that their harsh geographical conditions have always played a contributory role but, there was a historical reality which also cannot be cast aside that it was the same geological milieu, through which the various rulers were able to rule the far-flung regions of the Subcontinent. The Pathan area had produced the lords as well as, the mystics but, the dictates of the times had always demanded for a scientific study in order to understand better the Pathans of the frontier areas. We have to help them catch up with the modern times by introducing modern reforms. There was one reality which cannot be cast aside that, the obligation to perceive the world was harder than to have the wanderlust only.

جہاں بانی سے ہے دشوار تر کارِ جہاں بینی

There was a British writer namely, Sir Warburton. He had spent eighteen years among the latitudinous Pathans [آزاد پٹھان] and had expressed his views in the manner, as below:

> "I had never felt any need to have a guard in order to wander among them. I had lived among them with only a stick in my hand".

He had expressed his views further, in the manner as below:

> "If you win the confidence of a Pathan and stay loyal to him, he will definitely return you in the same coins".

There was another British writer who had advised his countrymen, in the manner, as below:

> "When you meet a Pathan you should take it for granted that you are meeting a person who is just like you". (***Pathan Borderland***)

When the Pathans had offered a solemn pledge of loyalty through a solemn declaration for a new Islamic state after the independence of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam had addressed them for the first time in the national Jirga [قومی جرگہ], while he was on his trip to Waziristan [وزیرستان] as Governor General. The same was the center of riots under the British Raj. He had delivered his address in the manner, as below:

> "I am fully aware of the part that you have already played in the establishment of Pakistan and I am thankful to you for all the sympathy and support you gave me in my struggle and fight for the establishment of Pakistan. Keeping in view your loyalty, help, assurances and declarations, we ordered, as you know, the withdrawal of troops from Waziristan as a concrete and definite gesture on our part that we treat you with absolute confidence and trust you, as our Muslim brethren across the border".
>
> **(*Speech of Quaid-e-Azam to Tribal Jirga at Government House, Peshawar 17th April, 1948*)**

The Pathan or the Afghan nation and the constituents of their language, their virtues and vices as well as, the historical events and the achievements which we have already discussed, were also applicable to a nation which was known as “the Panni Pathan” in history. The said nation had enjoyed its reign of power during the period before Christ. They were able to bask in the golden sunshine of their own history. The said “Panni Pathan” had its roots in another nation which was known in the history as “Parthian”. There was no historian however who had made an attempt ever to discover their history. The result of the same was that the “Panni Pathan” nation along-with their achievements was consigned into oblivion, in the context of the history of the Subcontinent. We will also examine besides their history in the pages to follow, their contribution in the history of Iran, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Afghanistan and Ghandaharah as well as, their overall contribution in the history of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent. They had produced several Generals, soldiers and great heroes. We will be bridging the great historical gulf successfully for the first time when we will complete the course of compilation of their history. The same had started since the period before Jesus Christ and had continued down to the modern era. Since, said nation had stood out as a separate identity therefore we will also try to establish that the Pathans as such was not a nation rather, they were a sequel assemblage of various constituent nations.

PANNI PATHAN

Chapter-IV

THE RULER NATION "PANNI" HAD EXISTED IN THE ERA BEFORE JESUS CHRIST

عہدِرفتہ کی صدیوں کے سائے تلے جگمگاتی عظمتیں سو گئیں
شا نِ عہدِ کہن اک فسانہ بنی یاد کی رفعتیں سرنگوں ہو گئیں

Glories of grand era were asleep under shades of centuries
Glorious past was abunch of forgotten tales, in memories

Pronunciation of the word "Panni" [پنّی]

We may start straightaway with the descriptive account of the history of the Panni nation but it will be very essential to throw some light initially on the pronunciation of the very word "Panni" [پنّی]. The same will help avert the confusion for researchers who may well like to examine this book for their objective studies. The word Panni [پنّی] is a small word apparently, but had emerged in various books of history with the changed shapes, anecdotal sounds and pronunciations. There were two reasons for those variations. The Urdu and the Persian historians used to rely on the archaic scripts in which the vowel points either ceased to exist totally or were used to be ignored intentionally. The alphabetical dots or the points used to be disregarded even as a matter of practice in some noted cases. The readers used to give the phonetic sound to the word "Panni" [پنّی] resultantly in accordance with their inflective and dialogic convenience. Then the vernacularism of various areas had also shaped or misshaped the phonetic qualities of the same and thus the argot and the dialectic sound of the word "Panni" [پنّی] was formed at will. The common people had adopted therefore the pronunciation of the word "Panni" [پنّی] with variant sounds in their brogue expediency. Since, the variant vernacular intonations were not deburred for said word after any research therefore even the writers had adopted the drawl tones at random in their different written scripts. The colloquialism had tested and tried although the word "Panni" [پنّی] at various levels in its evolutionary course to form the prosodic features yet its

ultimately culminated pronunciation in supra-segmental phonology had come out as “Panni” [پنّی] or “Perni” [پرنی].

The writers had described the word “Panni” [پنّی] in various books of history with the accentuation **[**تشدید**]** as [ّ] of the Urdu language. The English writers have used double “NN” for said accentuation. There were some other writers however who had written the word “Panni” [پنّی] with the alphabet “A” as well as with “U” and thus, they had pronounced and written it as Panni **[**پنّی] or Punni [پنّی]. The aforementioned explanation of the phonemes was based on a thorough research. We have relied, in this regard, on the books which were in the order, as below:

(Imperial Gazetteer *Volume No.22 under the title of BaroZai, Tareekh Sindh* [تاریخ سندھ] *Volume No.1* ***Page No.28 and 29***) etc. (Mirrat Mustafa-abad **[**مراۃ مصطفے آباد], Across the Border *Page No.59,* Hayyat Afghani [حیات افغانی] *Page No.241,* Gazetteer Zob **[**ژوب] *Page No.24,* Political Mission Page No.24, Monchi *Volume No.1 Page Nos. 263, 347, 355, 467,* Jadoo Nath [جادو ناتھ] Studies *Page No. 9 and 342,* Pashto English Dictionary by Plots’ *Page No.275,* Jamiyya Lughat [جامع الغات] Volume No.2 Page No.111, Rose Glossary ***Volume No.3 Page No.223*****)** and various writings of Mahmood Banglori **[**محمود بنگلوری] and letters by Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni **[**نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی] from Hyderabad Deccan, which were addressed to the writer.

There were some writers of the Urdu or Persian languages who had neither, accentuated the word Panni nor, had they used any vowel, dots or points (*Hayyat Afghani* [حیات افغانی] ***Page No.231***, ***Maser-rul-Aumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1 Page No.165, 370 and 657, Queen Davis page No.41, has used only “A” and single “N” for both singular and plural, Gazetteer Maimon Singh*** [میمن سنگھ] ***Page No.23, 24 and 36***, *Report Censes Baluchistan* [بلوچستان] *year 1921* ***Page No.94***, *Riverty Notes* ***Page No.642***, Haturam *almost on every reference,* **Hayat Lodhi** [حیات لودھی] ***Page No.432, in the Dictionary of Panni offshoots, almost at every place from page 202 to 262, Aien-e-Akbari*** [آئینِ اکبری] *in English*). There were some writers who had used both words as Panni as well as Panri [پنّی یا پنری] (*District Gazetteer Sibi Page No.45, Fahrist Manderjat* [فہرست مندرجات] *Page No.16 and 17, Kero Page No.372, Ruqat Alamgiri* [رقعات عالمگیری], *at some place it is written as* [پنّی] *with* [ُ] *and is not written as* [پنّی] *and is accentuated with* [ّ], *Sertaj Altwareekh* [سرتاج التواریخ] ***Page***

506, *Tazkera Afghani* [تزکرہ افغانی] ***Page No.6***, it is also written as Panaay [پنے] or Panie [پنئ] or Panay [پنئے] *Hayyat Afghani* [حیات افغانی] *Page No.2*, *Tazkera Afghani* [تزکرہ افغانی] (***Page No.6)***, [حیات لودھی] (***Page No.430 and 431)***. The word Panni **[**پنّی] is also pronounced as Paneri [پنری] in Pashto accent of southern Baluchistan [بلوچستان] **Hayat Lodhi**, **Across the Border** *Page No.166,* Gazetteer Zob [ژوب] (*Page No.75*), Gazetteer Sibi [سبی] (*Page No.61, Kero Page N0.64, 372*), *Major H.G Reverty Notes* (***Page No.217***). The word Panni **[**پنّی] was written as Pannay [پنے] at various places in the book which was captioned as "Red Way Afghana". The writer had the privilege to examine the same in Waqeat-e-Alamgiri [واقعات عالمگیری] *Page No.62* which had pertained to a garden of a family which had migrated from Hoshyarpur India [ہوشیارپور]. The word Panni was written as Pannay [پني] therein ***Hayat Lodi*** [حیات لودی] ***Page No.421***. The word Panni **[**پنّی] was also written as Panee [پني] at some places (***Khurshed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.178***). The word Panni **[**پنّی] was written as Peny [پني] in the English translation by Syed-ultamakhereen [سید التماخرین] (***Page No.21***). The same was written at some other places as Peni [پنئ]. The pronunciation of both words however, had remained unchanged. Haturam [ہتورام] had also used said word in the same manner at various places in the book which was captioned as "History of Baluchistan" [تاریخ بلوچستان] (***Page No.664***). There were some writers who had used said word as Punnee [پَنّي] and [پُنّي] with both accentuations i.e. [ٰ] and [ُ] of the Urdu language. Sir Jonathan Scot had written said word in his English translation of Tareekh Frishta [تاریخ فرشتہ] with the Kashmiri accent as Punni [پُنّی] with the accentuation [ُ] of the Urdu language (*Volume No.2 Page No.97*). He had abbreviated the same as "Poeen" [پُوئین] because more emphasis is placed on the accentuation [ُ] of the Urdu language in the Kashmiri dialect and thus, the words are pronounced accordingly. There were some scholars as per Jamiyya Lughat [جامع الغات] (*Volume No2 Page No.111*) who had used the same word as Pernie [پرنئ]. The Rose Glossary (*Volume No.3 Page No.194, 198, 437, 438*), Major H.G Reverty Notes (*Page No.217, 436 and 642*) and Sir Olaf Kero had used the same as Parrni [پڑنی] and Parni [پرنی] and Koki Arznay had also written it in the same manner, in his Encyclopedia (*Page No.15, 64, 372, 411*). Mahmood Khan Banglori [محمود خان بنگلوری], the compiler of Saheefa Sultan Tipu Shaheed [صحیفحہ سلطان ٹیپو شہید] (*Volume No.2*), had translated it as Puni [پونی] in accordance with some English script

while he had referred to General Hassan Khan Panni **[**حسن خان پنّی]. The said reference was probably taken from the script of colonel Kirk Patrick, who had used it as Puni [پنّی]. The word Panni **[**پنّی] was written in Gazetteer District Hazara (***Page No.227***) as Pernie [پرنئ] whereas Mr. Blue had also written it in his Dictionary as Pernie [پرنئ] (*Page No.191*).

The word "Panni" [پنّی] was written as Panerr [پنڑ] in the census report of the Baluchistan [بلوچستان] province (***Page No.96***). There is also a village in district Hazara which is known as "Pannian" [پنّیاں] which is seemingly a patronymic word or said village is named as such because it was the habitat of many Panni people. The people of Hazara also call the same village as "Panerrian" [پنڑیاں], for some unknown reasons. The Panni people of five villages of Tehsil Kabirwala [کبیروالا] district Multan are also known as "Pannian" [پنّیاں]. When, Mr. Khurram Khan Panni from Dacca was appointed as Council General of Pakistan in Kenya in August 1963, the English Daily newspaper had spelt his name as Pani [پنّی] whereas, there was an Urdu Daily which had converted said word in the Urdu language and was written as Panie [پانی]. *The detail account of the same in extenso, will be given later*. Major H.G Reverty had given very divergent and strange pronunciations with regard to the masculine and feminine and singular as well as, plural nature of the word "Panni" [پنّی] which will also be discussed below but, all the aforementioned accounts which had pertained to the shapes and sounds of the word "Panni" [پنّی] and wherever the same were mentioned in various scripts and in whichever context the word "Panni" was used transiently or enduringly, it had the reference to the Panni [پنّی] nation, squarely.

Panni [پنّی], Perni [پرنی] and Pernie [پرنئ] is the name of the same nation:

The word "Panni" [پنّی] was used as Perni [پرنی] i.e. the alphabet "R" or [ر] of the Urdu language was used in the italicized sound, in accordance with the latest research which was about the history of Iran of pre-Christ era. The said word was written as Pernie [پرنئ] and Panerri [پنری] in the January 1965 edition of "Oolus" [اولس] (***Page No.16***) which was a Pashto magazine from Quetta. Mr. Watson, when he had described the Jadoon nation in the Gazetteer District Hazara, had identified the Jadoon tribe as an offshoot of the Pernie [پرنئ]. He had declared the Jadoons as the descendants of Dani [دانی]. He had called them as the consanguine brothers of the Kakar

[کاکڑ] people (***Page No.227)***. Mr. Rose Glossary had mentioned in the Fehrist Aqwam [فہرست اقوام] that, the "Southern valley" which is in the middle of the Bora [بورا] and Zob [ژوب] mountains, was under the occupation of the Perni [پرنی] which is an offshoot of the Afghans and those Panni [پنّی] people were the consanguine brothers of the Kakar [کاکڑ] (***Volume No.3 Page No.434 to 438)***. He had expressed his views at some other place and had stated that the Parnie [پرنئ] or the Parnie had eighteen sons and Parnie was among the alleged four sons of Dani [دانی] (***Volume No.3 Page No.198)***.The said word Parnaie was also used at Page No.199. Major H.G Reverty had expressed his views that the internal rift among the Parnaie [پرنئ] or Panni [پنّی] individuals was just like the Afghan nation which was due to their allegiance to the Mughals. The allegiance to the Mughals does not mean those Mughals from Delhi, but were the ancient Mughals of Kabul [کابل] and Kandahar [قندھار]. (***Notes on Afghanistan*** [افغانستان] ***Page No.426)***. He had expressed his views in some other context that the "Safi [صافی] or Safie [صفئ]" were the descendants of another son of Parnaie [پرنئ] (***Page No.217)***.

Major H.G Reverty had mentioned the name of the Panni nation as Panmari [پنمری] from the Pashto script and had referred to it in his famous Pashto English Dictionary. The same was written in the English language as Parnni [پنڑی] but, the way it was written in the Pashto script was supposedly pronounced as Parnni [پنڑی]. He had elaborated further and had expressed his views in the manner that it was one of the tribes of the Afghan people which had included the Safi [صافی], Gadoon [گدون] and Khaiteran [کھیتران] offshoots as well. (*The same are offshoots of the Panni tribe, Writer*). He had expressed his views further in the manner that the Panmari [پنمری] i.e. Parnni [پنڑی] was the masculine of Panni. He had spelt it in the English language as "Parrnaey" which may well be written as [پرنائی] or [برنئ] in the Urdu language. The same was used in both singular as well as plural forms whereas, the masculine and feminine was supposedly Panmari [پنمری] or Parnaie [پرنئ]. They had probably spelled it in the English language as "Parrnaey" whereas it was pronounced in the Urdu language as Pernie [پرنای] or [پرنی] Pernee (***Page No.191)***. He had mentioned in the Notes on Afghanistan [افغانستان] that the Jadoon [جدون] also had the dwellings in the west of the river Sindh, besides having the same among the Parnaie [پرنئ] people. There were about seven thousand Parnaie [پرنئ] families in district Hazara. Those families were placed scatteredly in sixteen to seventeen villages and all of them were known as the Panni tribes (***Page No.218***). *The in extenso account will follow later*.

Further Elaboration [مذید وضاحت]:

The learned writer had expressed his views further that there were many people from the Parnaie [پرنئ] nation who had migrated from Hindustan in ancient times (***Page 226)***. The word Hindustan means the southern part of the Subcontinent. The areas which were under the occupation of the Parnaie [پرنئ] or Panni [پنّی] in Afghanistan [افغانستان] were inter-connected ***(Page 242)***. We may reiterate here that Afghanistan [افغانستان] used to be the eastern part of Iran in ancient times and was under the rule of said nation. There was many a group [خیل] which had hailed from the Panni [پنّی] tribe according to Tazkera Afghani [تزکرہ افغانی] (***Page 2)***. Those groups were called as "Panni" [پنّی], collectively. Mr. Blue had mentioned in his Pashto English Dictionary that the word Panni [پنّی] was used as both singular and plural whereas, the masculine singular was Parrni [پرنی] and the feminine singular was Parrnai [پرنئ]. Mr. Bergiz had also maintained the same view with regard to the word Parrnai [پرنئ] or [پرنائی]. Major H.G Reverty had expressed his views in the Notes ***(Page 347)*** that the Parrnai [پرنئ] was an Afghan nation. The Pathan tribes of said district consisted of Parrni [پڑنی] and Safi [صافی] or the Safie [صفئ] tribes, according to Gazetteer of district Zob **[**ژوب] ***(Page 66)***. The aforementioned factual position was affirmed further by the compiler of Gazetteer who had written said nation, with both words as Parnni [پنڑی] as well as, Panni [پنّی] ***(Page 22 and 76)***. Khan Wali Khan (*Politician*) had provided some very valuable information while he was pleased to give the reference in his letter which was addressed to the retired superintendant of the Archaeological Department. He had stated in his letter, which was addressed to the writer, that "In my opinion, the Panni tribe was the same Parrnaey tribe whose chieftains were the Arses [ارساسیہ]" (***Letter of Khan Wali Khan addressed to Writer***). We will explain later that the Arses [ارساسیہ] were the founders of the Panni reign. The modern research had also unearthed the historical reality that the Parni [پرنی] was the name of the Panni nation. The researchers had inserted however, the alphabet "R" into the word "Panni" [پنّی] and they had negotiated its phonetic sound at will, in order to accentuate the sound. Then, they had converted it to sound as "Panni" [پنّی] which had acquired the extensive use. Thus, they had dropped perhaps the alphabet "R". There was one offshoot of the Panni nation which was described as "Parni" [پرنی] in the Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان]. The rule of dropping an alphabet was maintained in the names of some other offshoots of said nation. The name of one of the offshoots was Lowana [لوانا] or Lowan [لوان] for instance. The orientalists had written the same as "Lawarn" which was perhaps

the correct name (***Rose Volume No.3 Page No.198)***. There was another offshoot by the name of "Shorn" [شورن] which was also mentioned in the English history and was written however, in the Urdu and Persian languages as Shawan [شوان], Soan [سون] or Shoan [شون] (***Rose Volume No.3 Page No.198)*.** There was another example from the modern research that the Panni nation was described as "Arshaks" [آرسیکس] (*Arses*) and all its Iranian rulers were addressed by said title. The said word was written as Arshak [ارشک] in the Urdu and Persian languages and was written however as Ashk **[**اشک] according to the latest history books and the alphabet "R" or [ر] of the Urdu language was dropped. The rulers of the Panni nation were called as "Arses" i.e Ashkian [اشکیاں] or Arshukani [اشکیانی], collectively (***Tareekh Iran*** [تاریخ ایرانی] ***Volume No.1 Page No.3 and 221)***. We can draw the inference very easily in the light of all aforementioned explanations that with the additions and deletions of some alphabets from the word "Panni" [پنّی] or "Parni" [پرنی], it had the reference to the same ruling nation which was generally known as the "Panni Pathan" which was known however as "Parni" [پرنی] in ancient books of history and most of its rulers had ruled Iran with the title as Arshak [ارشک] or Ashk [اشک] (*Artaxerxes or Arses*) instead of their actual names. Kero had also used the word Parni [پرنی] more than once whereas Professor Fry had used said word in his scripts for about four times **(*Page No.50, 135, 180, 191)*.**

"Panni" in various books of history [پنّی مختلف تواریخ میں]:

The history of the Muslim rulers of the Subcontinent will remain incomplete if the same was narrated without the achievements of the Panni [پنّی] nation. The historians had exercised some level of competence while they had compiled history but, the accumulative effort had always remained deficient due to the inherent defects in the research as well as, due to the inadequate approach towards the study of history. There was no doubt that some historical facts and achievements of some tribes of the Subcontinent can be cast aside very easily but, there were always some fundamental realities which can never be ignored to fulfill the requirements of historiography. The general or the historical reference of the Panni [پنّی] nation had always formed and constituted as an integral part of any treatise which was rendered on the history of the Subcontinent. The said reference was in such ambit and scope, which had unveiled many historical discoveries, if the same was ignored, the examination of the history was of no avail. The reference of the Panni [پنّی] nation was an essential chapter, as a matter of fact, to unfasten the blind drapery in order to look through the wholesomeness of history. The reference of said

great nation of the Pathans was also a prerequisite for any book of history it was in the English, Urdu, Persian and Bengali or Pashto languages. The said reference was just like an ink for the pen and no historian can move forward with a dry pen to establish the comprehensiveness of history. Then, the worthy reference of the Panni [پنّی] nation was also needed to be incorporated in the standard dictionaries of Urdu, Persian, Pashto and Bengali languages besides, in the books of history. The way the Pathan nations and the tribes cannot be sidelined for historiography similarly, the Panni [پنّی] nation cannot possibly be sidelined to examine the vicissitudinous course of history in the Subcontinent. We feel inclined to incorporate therefore, some glimpses of the contribution which the Panni [پنّی] nation had rendered with the intention to inculcate further, the historical significance of aforementioned narrative. Those glimpses had also included the latent role of the Panni [پنّی] nation which they were able to play on the quiet in the Subcontinent. They had set afloat thus, their history on the currents of time. The said latent period had pertained to the era of the Panni [پنّی] nation when they were down for the count under the afflictions of the Sassanid [ساسانی] usurpers.

Rig-Vedic [رگ وید]:

There was no reference of the Panni nation in any religious book except in Rig-Veda [رگ وید] (*1500 to 2000 B.C.*). There were more than one references of said nation in Rig-Veda.

The writer had the honor to meet Khan Wali Khan (*Politician*). The reference of the Panni Pathan was available according to him, at more than three places in the hymns of Rig-Veda. The same had pertained to the minor gods, persons, and general phenomena and myths. The fragmentary references of the name "Pani" [پنّی] (*the Bactrian Parna*) was also there however which had pertained to some possible historical events, notably the struggle between the early Vedic people (*known as Vedic Aryans, a subgroup of Indo-Aryans*) and their enemies i.e. Dasa or Dasyu and their mythical prototypes etc.

Across the Border:

The compiler of the book, which was captioned as "Across the Border**"** (*Page No.59***),** had expressed his views that there were a number of nations which had dwelled in the controversial

region between the borders of Afghanistan [افغانستان] and Baluchistan [بلوچستان] which had included the Panni people of Sanghan valley [وادئ سانگہاں]. They had earned a big name during the Emperor Babar era as the freelance horse riders. The Panni people of Sanghan valley [وادئ سانگہاں] were one of the offshoots of the Pathan people.

Imperial Gazette of India:

There were 20, 282 members of the Panni nation other than their smaller offshoots, in accordance with the Baluchistan [بلوچستان] census 1908 (*Page No.289 Volume No.2***)**.

Tazkera Afghani [تذکرہ افغانی]:

There were some groups which had originated from the Panni nation but, all of them were called as "Panni" [پنّی], collectively (***Page No.2*)**.

Aien-e-Akbari [آئینِ اکبری]:

The descendants of the Panni used to live in Shikarpur [شکارپور] and in its vicinity, according to the English translation of Aien-e-Akbari [آئینِ اکبری]. When, those people *dépayeé* were condemned into exile, they had migrated to Jaypur [جے پور], Jodhpur [جودھپور], Aaheer [آھیر] and other places where they had established themselves as merchants. They had adopted the profession *métier* of goods forwarding agents for their living. The reference of the Panni [پنّی] nation was given in the manner, as below:

> "The Panni [پنّی] nation, which is an offshoot of the Afghans of Kandahar, will provide sixty goats, one thousand cavalry and one thousand infantry soldiers to the Emperor Akbar". (*To provide sixty goats, one thousand cavalry and one thousand infantry soldiers to the Emperor Akbar has proved that they were enjoying some autonomous status, Writer*).

The Afghans had always considered themselves as descendants of Bani-Israel [بنی اسرائیل] (Israelites) and they had claimed that the name of their agnate was "Afghan" [افغان] who had three sons namely, Sterben [سٹربن], Ghurghasht [غرغشت] and Bateen [بٹین] or Batton [بٹن]. The

alleged descendants of Ghurghasht [غرغشت] were Kakar [کاکڑ], Naghar [ناغڑ] and Panni [پنّی]. They had proliferated from those three agnates into various tribes. Then, each tribe had entered into the reorganization phase on the pattern of its patronymic identity. The Panni [پنّی] people of Jaypur [جے پور] and Jodhpur [جودھپور] were merchants (***Volume No.3 Page No.397 to 402***).

Akbernama [اکبرنامہ]:

Abulfazal [ابوالفضل] had expressed his views with regard to the events of 1011 Hegira 1602 A.C, in the manner as below:

"از عرائض صوبہ داری کابل و دیگر متصدیانِ مہمات آنجا (سرِ فتنہ برافروختن احداد بہ نہاد درتیرہ ۔ وپیوستنِ الوس آفریدی، پنّی واورک زئی درنگر کوٹ اقامت داشت"

(***Translation:*** "*The same pertains to the subversion of Ahadad in the area of Teera and joining of hands with him by Afridi, Panni and Orakzai tribes"*) (***Aqamat Dasht*** [اقامت داشت] ***Volume No.1, Page No.814*****).** The said quote had proved that the individuals from the Panni [پنّی] tribe were very much there in the area of Teera, during the reign of the Emperor Akbar. They were also an active force and they also used to live in Shikarpur [شکارپور], Jaypur [جے پور], Jodhpur [جودھپور] and Aaheer [آہیر] etc. (***Makhzan Afghani*** [مخزن افغانی] ***Volume No.3 Page No.129***).

Census report Baluchistan [رپورٹ مردم شماری بلوچستان]:

There were some Panni people in Baluchistan [بلوچستان]. There were about 3555 individuals from their offshoots like Eswat [الیسوت], Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] and Zerkoon [زرکون] as per the census report Baluchistan [بلوچستان] 1921. They were proficient in different languages besides their mother tongue. The total population of the Panni [پنّی] tribes was 27,727 individuals which used to be 28,675 individuals, in 1918 (***Part One Page No.92***).

Makhzan Afghani [مخزن افغانی]:

The descendants of the Panni [پنّی] used to live in Sung Mundhie [سنگ مندھائی] which is in the vicinity of Shikarpur [شکارپور]. The Safi [صافی] and the Gadoon [گدون] were their descendants.

Freed-ud-Din Ahmed [فریدالدین احمد] had expressed his views in this context in the manner, as below:

> "The instant fact pertains to the abode of Ghurghasts" [غرغشت] and the Panni [پنّی] nation and the same were not at its native place. They were sent into exile just because of some *lèse-majesté* errancy. They *émigré* were able to settle down thereafter in Jaypur [جے پور], Jodhpur [جودھپور], Aaheer [آہیر] and Jiamir [جیمیر]".

The aforementioned areas were called as "Dhonavar" [دھناور]. (*The reference of exile was regarding the incident of condemning the Panni nation into exile by the Sassanids* [ساسانی], *in 226 AC. The Sassanid* [ساسانی] *had mutilated their entire history thereafter. The detail account about the same will follow later*).

The Panni [پنّی] tribes used to live in about one hundred large size villages at that time and their population was within the range of one thousand to five thousand individuals in each village. They were goods forwarding merchants by profession and most of them were quite affluent. Then, there were some who used to take their merchandise to Deccan whereas, the rest used to conduct other usual businesses. They used to live in Dhonavar [دھناور] (***Makhzan Afghani*** [مخزن افغانی] ***Volume No.3 Page No.120*****).** (*The book Makhzan Afghani* [مخزن افغانی] *was compiled during the reign of the Emperor Jahangeer, Writer*) The names of the descendants of the Panni [پنّی] were quoted in the above named book as Moay Sangha [موئے سنگا] or Sanka [سنکا], Easwat [الیسوت], Margzani [مرغزئی], Umer Zai [عمرزئی], Zadoon [زادون], Jadoon [جدون] or Gadoon [گدون], Seebi [سِبی], Shoan [شون], Ali Khail [علی خیل], Mando Khail [مندوخیل], Merghistan [مرغستان], Dhepal [دہپال], Bosi [بوسی], Qasim [قاسم], Karrak [کڑک], Kazak [کڑک] or Khajak [خجک] and Loan [لون] (***Part 3 Page No.54***). We may point out that the abovementioned was an ancient view which was not based on any proper research. The aforementioned were not the names of the sons rather they were the offshoots of the Panni [پنّی] nation. There was another noteworthy *mirabile dictu* fact that the book, which was captioned as Makhzan Afghani [مخزن افغانی], was published on the 10th Zilhaj [ذالحج] 1021 Hegira, during the reign of the Emperor Jahangeer. The said book was published in 1030 Hegira, according to another view. The reference of the same was also given in Khulasa–Alnisab [خلاصہ النساب], according to which said book was published, in 1217 Hegira.

The Pathan:

The people of the Seebi [سِبی] nation were the descendants of the Panrri [پنڑی] and Gadoon [گدون] or Jadoon [جدون] nation. They are available in Mardan and Hazara. The Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] are available in Baluchistan [بلوچستان] whereas the Safi [صافی] are available in Peshawar as well as, in the seventy miles long Qallat valley [وادئ قلات] of Bajorr [بجوڑ] which is located in the north, at the opening of Derra Bolan [درہ بولان]. The Derra Bolan [درہ بولان] was categorized as a distinctive symbol of the area which was guarded duly, by the Pathans whereas Quetta is located in its center. The northern part of the same belongs to the Pathans and Tareen [ترین], Achak Zai [اچک زئی] and Kakarr [کاکڑ] whereas the Panri [پنری] are more popular as Pathans among them (***Page 372***). The said Panri [پنری] were in fact the Panni [پنّی] people whereas the Panni [پنّی] was the son of Dani [دانی] (***Kero Page No.19***). The Panni [پنّی] people had migrated from the north at different times as nomadic people and they were able to subjugate the local nations (***Kero Page No.64***).

Mughal India or Soria Domogar [مغل انڈیا یا سوریا دوموگر]:

…….. The descendants of those (Pathans) had adopted similarly, the name of their ancestors and some of them were Panni [پنّی], Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی], Esa Zai [عیسی' زئی], Saran Khail [سرن خیل], Masan Khail [مَسن خیل], Kanarr Zai [کانڑ زئی] and Lodi [لودی] etc. (***Volume No.3 Page No.132***).

Pashto English Dictionary by Major H.G Reverty:

The word Panni [پنّی] was described in the Pashto English Dictionary, by Major H.G Reverty, in the manner as below:

PANĪ [پني]: Singular male and plural. The name of a tribe of the Afghan (Riaz-ul-Muḥabbat) and it includes Safi [صافی], Gadoon [گدون] and Khaiteran [کھیتران].
PANAEY [پنيَ]: Singular (Male person of tribe).
PANAĪ [پنئِي]: Singular female, a female of the above.
PANĪ [پني]: Singular male and plural, the name of a tribe of the Afghan (Riaz-ul-Muḥabbat).

PANAEY [پنيَ]: Singular, a male member of the tribe.
PANAĪ [پنئِي]: Singular female, a female member of the above.
PARRNA [پرنا]: Singular, feminine and plural (***Page No.191***).

Major H.G Reverty had expressed his views further that, the descendants of the Parnie [پرنئ] *dépayeé* were condemned into exile, in great numbers. They used to live in Sa'uaga'h [سوگاه] and Mandheri [مندہری] which was in Sovistan [سوسِتان]. They had left those areas in ancient times and they had moved towards the north. They had obviously dispersed in a frantic manner and very few of them had stayed back in their native country. Then, most of them had migrated to Hindustan where they still exist in great numbers. They are available also in the southern part of the Subcontinent (***Notes Page No.218***). The said statement is self explanatory.

Pashto Dictionary by Mr. Blue:

PANNI [پنّی] (Singular male) was the name of the Afghan tribe (***Page No.26***) and Kakarr [کاکڑ], Nagharr [ناغڑ], Davie [داوئ] and Panni [پنّی] still live in the Koh Suleiman [کوہِ سلیمان] (*Praaspa)* [تحت سلیمان] range. The Panni [پنّی] were more popular among them. The Panni carry out the trade activity along-with the Lohani [لوہانی] (*which is an offshoot of the Panni, Writer*) between central Asia and Hindustan (***Page No.61***)

Dictionary by T. John Plats:

The word Panni [پنّی] was the name of an Afghan tribe according to the Dictionary by T. John (***Page No.275***)

Notes on Afghanistan [افغانستان]:

The main cause of rift amongst the individuals of the Pernie [پرنئ] or the Panni [پنّی] nation was due to their allegiance with the Mughals, just like the other Afghan nations. The Mughal does not mean the Mughal rulers of Delhi rather they were those Mughals who used to be there prior to them. They used to be in Kabul [کابل] and Ghazni [غزنی] as well and were available besides that, in the upper Doaba Sindh Sager [دوآبہ سندھ ساگر] area. They had lived also in the northern areas of

Punjab for a long time. The reasons to subject the Pathans to the hegemony of the Mughal was that, the Ming [مِنگ] and Hazara kibbutz of the Mughals also used to exist in the same areas. They used to implement their administrative rule on the locals through them (***Page No.626***). The statement of said writer had also unveiled the reality that the Panni nation was also popular by the name as Pernie [پرنئ]. The Panni nation was a popular ancient nation of the yester years which had enjoyed a strong parallel status in the extreme northern areas, prior to the advent of the Mughals in the Subcontinent.

Mr. Reverty (*Historian*) had expressed his views further that a large number of people from the Panni [پنّی] or Pernie [پرنئ] nation had migrated to Hindustan where they had gradually multiplied into larger communes. Then, some of them had migrated on the invitation of Lodhi, the ruler of Delhi namely, Sultan Bahlol [سلطان بہلول] (*1450 to 1488 AC*) and they had opted to settle down within the precincts of his sultanate. He was the first Pashtoon [پشتون] ruler in Hindustan. The objective of his invitation was to field the Pathans against his opponents. He had helped the Panni nation therefore, to settle down in the Dhandar [ڈھنڈار] area of Mawar [ماوار]. The reference of their large colonies like Jaypur [جے پور], Jodhpur [جودھپور] Aaheer [آہیر] and the area which was known as Dhonadar [دھناور] was also available in the history of 1217 Hegira 1802 AC. They had about one hundred villages whereas the population of each village had ranged from one thousand to five thousand individuals, approximately. They were merchants and used to trade with the merchants of Deccan i.e. with the people of their native area. Then, there were some who were very affluent whereas, the others used to earn their living from some other professions. There were some others who had joined the state service of independent rulers of Deccan, in the south of the country after the downfall of the Panni rulers. The Sibi area of Quetta had remained always as the domain of the Panni tribes (***Page No.262-267***). There was an individual at the time of partition of Indo-Pakistan, by the name of Bahlol Khan Panni [بہلول خان پنّی]. He used to live in Chomian [چومیوں] which was a town in Jaypur [جے پور]. He was a poet and his adopted pseudonym was Dana [دانا] (***Weekly Afghan Dated.01.04.1968***). The family of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung [نواب بہادریار جنگ] which was generally known as the Pathan family had also migrated to Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] from Jaypur [جے پور] (***Makateeb*** [مکاتیب] ***Page No.39***).

Census Report Baluchistan [بلوچستان] 1911:

The Pathans of Baluchistan [بلوچستان] were divided into six major branches and their agnate was Qais Abdur Rasheed [قیس عبدالرشید]. He was one of the companions of the Prophet ﷺ. Those six branches were Tareen [ترین], Sheerani [شیرانی], Lina [لِینا] or Lona [لونا], Kasi [کاسی], Kakar [کاکڑ] and Panni [پنّی] (***Volume No.1 Page No.94-95***).

Tuzk-e-Baberi [توزک بابری]:

The Emperor Babar had expressed his views in his Tuzk [توزک] (chronicle) in the manner, as below:

> "I had conquered Dutor [دیتور] and I had handed its management over to Abul Fathe Turkman [ابوالفتح ترکمان]. Hameed Khan Sarung Khani [حمد خان سارنگ خانی] and a group of the Panni Afghan had created a general commotion in the vicinity of Hisar Feroza [حصار فیروزہ], along-with about three to four thousand other Afghans. The riots had broken out resultantly. I had deployed for their castigation, Kochain Timor Ahmedi Sultan Bronchi [کوچین تیمور سلطان برونچی], Abul Fathe Turkman [ابوالفتح ترکمان], Malik Dada Kirani [ملک داداکرانی] and Mahamid Khan Multani [محامد خان ملتانی] on Wednesday, in the month of Safer [چہار شنبہ ماہ صفر] 933 Hegira 1526 AC. They had taught a befitting lesson to the Afghans and had massacred most of them. Then, their chopped off heads were dispatched to me" (***Page No.202***, ***Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.3 Page No.104***).

Hayat Afghani [حیات افغانی]:

The Panni was the grandson of Ghurghasht [غرغشت]. There was a big Moza [موضع] by the name of Basim Ghurghashti [غورغشتی] in Chach [چھچھ]. The inhabitants of Ghurghasht [غرغشت] used to consider themselves as Kakar [کاکڑ] or Panni [پنّی]. There was no doubt that they were the descendants of Ghurghasht [غرغشت] as Kakar [کاکڑ] or Panni [پنّی]. There were other Moza(s) of the Panni people in district Hazara. The fact that, how some people of the Panni people were able to reach Deccan and they were still there, had always remained an unexplained phenomena. There were about one thousand people of said nation in Deccan (***Page No.246***). The word Panni

was mentioned in said book for an individual and as one of the sons of Dani [دانی] and grandson of Ghurghasht [غرغشت]. The Panni was also incorporated as an individual in the Genealogical Tree and was quoted as the brother of Kakarr [کاکڑ], Nagarr [ناغڑ] and Davie [داوئ] (***Page No.321***).

Census Baluchistan [بلوچستان] 1941:

When the British Raj was there in 1941, a census was conducted at the request of the locals i.e. (Shumar Kunundgan [شمارکندگان]) constitutors (Halqadaran [حلقہ داران]) and constellates (Elaqadaran [علاقہ داران]). There were more than three thousand sub-branches of the Pathan nations, according to said census. They were enlisted under the heading as, the "Pathan Nations" (***Page No.54 to 56***). There was another list which was published by the Government of Pakistan with regard to the census of Baluchistan [بلوچستان] 1961 and also consisted of many branches of the Panni nation (***Page No.16***). The objective of referring to those census reports was to affirm and endorse those branches as Panni [پنّی] people so that, those people may also be treated as from the Panni [پنّی] nation.

Loralie [لورالائی] District Gazetteer:

There were 11,094 individuals from the Panni nation in Loralie [لورالائی] Baluchistan [بلوچستان], according to the census of 1901. The said list had not included the individuals of the Easwat [الیسوت] offshoot. There were about five thousand well prepared individuals however, who had planned to attack Hoda [ہودا] which was under the British administration, according to the same list of 1874. The Deputy Commissioner of Daira Khazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان], Mr. H. B. Baket, had dispatched the British troops to Hoda [ہودا] on receiving said information, to thwart the subversive activities of attackers (***Page No.79***).

Glossary of castes and Tribes:

The AtmanZai tribe [اتمان زئی] had migrated to the frontier area, across river Sindh and some Panni people had also accompanied them. They had decided to live there (***Page No.255 and 256***). The reference of eighteen sons of the Panni is also available in said glossary (***Volume No.3***

Page No.198). The same had included the descendants of Ghurghasht [غرغشت] i.e. Kakarr [کاکڑ], Nagarr [ناغڑ], Davie [داوئ] or Dadie [داوی] and Panni [پنّی] (***Page No.222 and 223***). We have already explained that these were the names of four different nations (*Writer*).

Tazkera Afghani [تزکرہ افغانی], Sertaj Altwareekh [سرتاج التواریخ], Hayat Lodhi [حیات لودھی]:

The reference of Kakarr [کاکڑ], Nagarr [ناغڑ], Davie [داوئ] or Dadie [داوی] and Panni [پنّی] was available in all the above mentioned three books. The reference of the eighteen sons of Panni [پنّی] was also available in the book which was captioned as Hayat Lodhi [حیات لودھی]. Then, the reference of seventy five major branches of the Panni nation was also available in Hayat Lodhi [حیات لودھی] (***Page No.431***).

Afghana [افاغنہ]:

The Panni [پنّی] people were the Ghurghasht [غرغشت] Pathan. They were the descendants of the nomadic shepherds who used to live in the desert. They had come from Ghazni and had landed in the area and then they had occupied it. The people of Seebi [سِبی], Panni [پنّی], Khabatey [خبٹئے], Dehpal [دہپال] Murghzan [مرغزان], Barozai [باروزئی], Umer [غمر] and Shoan [شون] were able to occupy district Sibi [سبی] by the end of the 16th century. There were about two thousand Panni [پنّی] in said district and their major towns were Kerk [کرک], Khajak [خجک], MerghZai [مرغزائی], Tali [تلی], Gulu Shaher [گلو شہر], and Dehpal Khurd and Kallan [دہپال خوردوکلاں]. They were farmers by profession. (***Letter by Sultan Mohammed Panni*** [سلطان محمد پنّی] ***Quetta Dated.14.02.1962***). The descendants of the Panni [پنّی] were in great numbers in the southern Hindh which had included Delhi [دہلی] and Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] etc. They were also equated therefore as Rajpoot [راجپوت] people. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was one of the bravest and the leading Panni [پنّی] chieftains. He was known for his chivalry, gallantry and philanthropy. The people of the Panni [پنّی] or Panrri [پنڑی] nation were available in the town of Khawaja [خواجہ] in Blund Shaher [بلند شہر] other than in the town of Kohana [کوہانہ] in Rohtak [روہتک] (***Page No.218***).

Baharistan Rajisthan [بہارستان راجستھان]:

The abovementioned account was also reaffirmed by Colonel Tad, in his book which was captioned as "Rajisthan" [راجستھان]. He had referred to the Rajpoot [راجپوت], among other nations, and he had declared them to be the people of the Panni [پنّی] nation (***Translation Rajasthan*** [راجستھان] ***Page No.238***). The Panni [پنّی] people were however not Rajpoot [راجپوت].

Mission to Kandahar [قندھار]:

Major Limsdon had expressed his views in the treatise which was titled as "Trade and Traders of Afghanistan [افغانستان]" in the manner, as below:

> "Now I will discuss the merchants and the merchandise of the southern Afghanistan [افغانستان] and besides that, I will disclose their source which was also available in the report by Dr. Blue. Those merchants used to live in the tents and they were affluent people. They had divided themselves into twelve groups (Khail) [خیل] in order to obtain their share from the grazing areas. Their families were about ten thousand, in 1887. They were there as groups in the order, as below:

Panni [پنّی] **Tribe**:

> The present chief of the tribe is Atal [اٹل] and he has eighty tents.

Loni [لونی] **Tribe**:

> They are known as Loni [لونی]. They are in fact the Panni [پنّی] people and they have two chieftains namely, Mahi Khan [ماہی خان] and Ali Mohammed Khan [علی محمد خان] and both of them have fifty and eighty tents, respectively. The merchandise which they trade had included wool, carpets and dry fruits (***Page No.91***).

A political mission to Afghanistan:

The abovementioned report had revealed that Babi [بابی] had four sons and Kakarr [کاکڑ] and Panni [پنّی] were more popular nations among them. Those two nations used to live in Koh Suleiman [کوہِ سلیمان] or Praaspa [تحت سلیمان]. They used to carry out trade between central Asia and Hindustan in collaboration with the Lohani [لوہانی] people (***Page No.61***). (*Lohani* [لوہانی] *is an offshoot of Panni Writer*).

Azad [Latitudinous] Pathan:

Dani [دانی] had four sons i.e. Kakarr [کاکڑ], Nagarr [ناغڑ] Davie [داوئ] and Panni [پنّی]. Those tribes still live in Koh Suleiman [کوہِ سلیمان] or Praaspa [تحت سلیمان]. The leading tribes among them were Kakarr [کاکڑ] and Panni [پنّی]. They were freelance traders. They used to trade between central Asia and Hindustan as leading merchants while collaborating with the Lohani [لوہانی] people (***Page No.93***).

Gazetteer District Sibi and Zob:

The Pathan tribes of the districts Sibi and Zob used to consist of Panrri [بنڑی] and Safi [صافی] (*An offshoot of Panni Writer*) in accordance with the report of 1907. The former had the population of 5,319 individuals whereas the latter had the population of 345 individuals. The Panni [پنّی] or Panrri [پنڑی] people were the Ghurghasht [غرغشت] Pathan. The Safi [صافی] was one of their offshoots. They used to exist in large numbers in Ghazni. The other big branch of said nation was Gadoon [گدون] which had the existence in the area of Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] which was in the east of district Peshawar. There was another branch of said nation which had entered into Koh Suleiman [کوہِ سلیمان] or Praaspa [تحت سلیمان] area from the western side and had infiltrated into the southern areas, gradually. The Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] and the Eswat [الیسوت] who used to live in the area of Loralie [لورالائی], they were also the Panni Pathan. There was another offshoot which had moved through Derra Bollan [درۂ بولان] and the same had established itself in the precincts of Sanghan [سانگھاں] as well as, in the occupied Baderra [بادرہ], Quwait Mandi [کویت منڈی] and Sibi [سبی]. Thus, they were able to consolidate their position, gradually. They had the option to rule the Barkhan [بارکھان] area either themselves or to get an administrator [ناظم]

appointed of their own choice by the ruler of Kandahar [قندهار]. They had brought the area thereafter within the precincts of their domain gradually which was then held by the Marri [ماڑی] nation. The descendants of the Panni [پنّی] were also in the southern Hindh where they had made very significant achievements, prior to the downfall of the Babar dynasty (*Reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir, Writer*). There was a very brave chieftain of said nation and his name was Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. He was famous for his *sans reproche* achievements in the battlefields. There used to be a popular cliché that "Bani to bani naheen to Daoud Khan Panni" [بنی تو بنی، نہیں تو داؤد خان پنّی] i.e. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] can be relied upon for averting the worst. He was also known for his generosity and benevolence. The Panni [پنّی] people were divided into three offshoots i.e. Lonarr [لونڑ] or Loana [لوانا], Mandokhail [مندوخیل] and Musakhail [موسی' خیل] as per census 1901. The origin of Musakhail [موسی' خیل] was from the Nadir [نادر] area of Khurasan [خراسان] and they were 5319 in number. The Panni [پنّی] or Panrri [بنڑی] were nomadic shepherds from the desert and they were the descendants of Ghurghasht [غرغشت] (***Gazetteer Sibi Page No.61 and 62 District Zob Page No.75 and 76***).

Maser-ul-Umara [ماثرالامراء] (***Volume No.1 and No.2*)**

The Panni [پنّی] nation was mentioned as the "Panni Afghan" [پنّی افغان] in Volume No.1 (***Page No.125***) whereas the reference of Sardar Shair Khan Tareen [سردار شیر خان ترین] was mentioned in the context of the events of Shahjhan [شاہ جہان] as per Volume No.2 in the manner, as below:

> "Sher Khan was then sent to the expedition of Paienda [پائیندہ]. He had censured also Adal Shahi [عادل شاہی] thereafter in the ninth year but, someone had informed Shah Safvi [شاہ صفوی] in the meantime that, Sher Khan [شیر خان] was desirous to conquer Kandahar [قندهار]. Since, he was familiar with the conditions and he was well acquainted with the other nations of the area and since he was from the Kakarr [کاکڑ] or Panni [پنّی] nation therefore, the possibility was there for him to achieve his objectives in collaboration with them. Shah Safvi [شاہ صفوی] had sent a letter to him pursuant to the same and he had reaffirmed his solidarity and friendly relations. He had promised to bestow upon him the rewards and huge grants to reasure the healthy past relations" (***Page No.657***).

The descriptive account with regard to the achievements of some other prominent Panni leaders, besides the above was also mentioned in the same volume. *The same will be discussed later*.

Syed-ultmakhereen [سید التماخرین]:

The second group of the Pathans was Ghurghasht [غرغشت]. The descendents of the same were called as Ghurghashti [غرغشتی]. The third big group was "Panni" [پنّی] which was connected with said chain. GhalZai [غلزئی], Lori [لوری], Niazi [نیازی], Lohani [لوہانی], Swor [سور], Browani [بروانی] and Kalyore [کلیور] were related to Panni [پنّی], collectively. Must Ali Ghori Afghanan [مست علی غوری افغانان] was also from the Panni nation (***Page No.81***).

Frontier and overseas expeditions (*Volume No.3*)

The Kakarr [کاکڑ], Tareen [ترین], Panni [پنّی] and Shirwani [شیروانی] were the major nations of Baluchistan [بلوچستان] (***Page No.91***).

The Pathans:

The people of the Panni [پنّی] nation used to live in Sheikhavati [شیخاوتی] and Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] in the southern Hindustan therefore some people used to consider them as Rajpoot [راجپوت], erroneously. The Panni [پنّی] were the Ghurghasht [غرغشت] Pathan. They were relatives of the Kakarr [کاکڑ] people. The same was in fact a nomadic nation which had migrated from Ghazni and they had opted to settle down where they exist even at present (***Page No.103***). Colonel Tad had also described them as both i.e. Rajpoot [راجپوت] as well as, Pathan.

Zafar-ul-Lughat Pashto [ظفراللغات]:

The Panni [پنّی] was a name of the Pathan tribe (***Page No.213***). The reference of the Panni nation was also available in Sertaj Altwareekh [سرتاج التواریخ] (***Page 504***) (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No.446 Glossary Robertson Page No.222 to 223 and in Hayat Lodhi*** [حیات لودھی]). The discourse of history was incomplete in the light of aforementioned references, if the same was narrated without the reference of the Panni [پنّی] nation.

Name survived only [صرف نام زندہ رہا]:

We have already made clear that the Panni [پنّی] was not the name of any individual. The modern research had also nullified the hypothesis that the Panni [پنّی] was an individual. The modern research has referred repeatedly to the Panni [پنّی] people as the rulers as well as, the history making nation and the Parthian [پارتھی] were its offshoots (***Fry Page No.64***). The Panni [پنّی] people were also known as Parthians. The history was thankful however, to those hackneyed storytellers who had kept the name of said nation alive, one way or the other and as a consequence, the researchers and scholars were able to conduct further research to prove that the Panni [پنّی] was an ancient nation with Iranian origin. They used to have the predominant existence in the area of present Turkmenistan.

Anonymous status [گوشۂ گمنامی میں]:

The journey of history and the general information about other Iranian rulers, particularly the Sassanid [ساسانی] rulers, was not only very well established rather, the same was also well preserved. The Sassanid [ساسانی] rulers had censored and cloaked amazingly, the history of the Panni [پنّی] nation in 246 A.C after when they had usurped the power from them. They had pushed them into obscurity slowly and gradually as long as they had remained in power. There was a specialist of Iranian studies namely, Professor Fry. He had expressed his views in the manner that the role of the historians was far less than the role of the Sassanid [ساسانی] rulers in mutilating the history of the Arshaks [ارشک] (*Panni* [پنّی] *Writer*) despite the fact that, they had benefitted from them tremendously. The well known historians of the world had little knowledge about said nation till 1966 according to our information. Professor Fry had referred to the same nation however, for the first time and he had highlighted their names as “Arses” Ashkiyan [اشکیاں] or Ashkiyani [اشکیانی] as well as, the Perni [پرنی]. The Sassanids [ساسانی] had effaced and expunged the name of their benefactor namely, Perni [پرنی] nation from the history in such a manner that a very literary person and a poet namely, Firdausi [فردوسی] had also failed to render the correct and explicit versified account in his Shahnama [شاہ نامہ] with regard to the history of said nation. There was no need to explain that Shahnama [شاہ نامہ] was about the history of Iran. He had given the very brief sub-references of the Panni [پنّی] nation in the Shahnama [شاہ نامہ]. He

had addressed them as the "Arses" Ashkiyan [اشکیاں] or Arshukani [اشکیانی] which was in fact their title name. He had not even bothered to explain that the same was the title name of the Perni [پرنی]. Professor Fry had also referred to Firdausi [فردوسی] in this regard and in the context of public perception about the Perni [پرنی] in the manner, as below:

> "Since, the Arshak [ارشک] (*Panni* [پنّی] *Writer*) rulers were defined with very few roots and offshoots therefore, no one can throw light on their glorious past. I have not heard anything about them except their names and even their names do not emerge as kings. I really wonder why they were consigned into the oblivion (***Fry Page No.178***) whereas said nation had the *de jure* rule in Iran for about five hundred years. They had ruled Armenia, Iraq and Syria with grandeur, for about six hundred years. The references of their successful battles against the Romans were preserved rampantly until late, in the Grecian or in other occidental books of history besides, in the books of general history.

The author of Shahnama [شاہنامہ] namely, Firdausi [فردوسی] had versified in detail, the four dynasties of Iran with regard to the period, which was prior to the Muslim conquest. He had made a conscious attempt however to delegitimize the history of the Perni [پرنی] nation with an unconstructive literary approach. The relevant excerpt of his versified blurb was in the manner, as below;

Arses kingdom had lasted for two centuries	بادشاہی اشکانیاں دویست سال بود
Kingdom from its inception was in anarchies	آغاز پادشاہی اشکانیاں طوائف الملوک
They say, if farmer has to take fruit	چنیں گفت گوینده دہقان ساج
He must protect the branch and root	چوں کوتاہ شد شاخ و ہم بیخ شاخ
Enthroned king cannot fly like a king	جوبر تخت شاں شاہ نبشاند ند
If anarchism is attached in his wing	ملوک الطوائف ہمیں خواند ند
When anarchism for Alexander was afloat	سکندر سگا بعدازاں گو نہ رائے
Rome and not Iran he had opted to promote	کہ تا روم آباد ماند بجائے
When, prudent fail to be real prudent	چو نرسی وچوں او نہ مرد بزرگ
Only inept surge to become dominant	چوآرش کہ بدنامدار سترگ
Since there were all perfect knaves	دراخواند نہ اردوان بزرگ
Kingdom had become a toy of babes	کہ ازمیش بگشت چنگال گرگ

A branch with bad roots was their reign	چوں کوتاہ شد شاخ وہم بیخ شاں
World had seen rarely, their history again	نگویہ جہاں دید تاریخ شاں

The gist of aforementioned verses was that the throne of Iran had remained vacant. The anarchists [طوائف الملوک] had ruled after the downfall of Alexander. The reign of those rulers was so insignificant that nobody was ever heard of talking about the history of the Arshukani [اشکیانی] (***Shahnama*** [شاہنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.36***7). Firdausi [فردوسی] had expressed his views further in the context of anarchism [طوائف الملوکی] in the manner, as below:

Currents of time had entrapped Alexander	پس اززروزگار سکندر جہاں
And had rendered glorious kingdom, tender	چہ گوید کرابود تخت مہاں
Rulers had emerged everywhere at random	بگیتی بہر گوشۂ ہر یکے
Autocrat was everyone, in his kingdom	گرفتہ زہر کشور لے اندکے
Kingdom's central authority had vanished	جوہر تخت شاں، بنشاند ند
Anarchy was more and more replenished	ملوک الطوائف ہمیں خواند ند
Anarchism had for two centuries, persisted	ازایں گونہ بگزشت سال دویست
Then kinghood was as if, it had never existed	تو گنتی کہ اندر شاہ جہاں شاہ نیست

The gist of aforementioned verses was that, there was no one to be enthroned as ruler of Iran after the downfall of Alexander. Then, whosoever was able to find opportunity, he had become an autocrat in said large country. The same was perhaps the reason that their *de jure* reign was termed as the anarchism [طوائف الملوکی]. Then, the period of two centuries had just passed by, in the same anarchic state of affairs. The very concept of kinghood had vanished thereafter in such a manner as if it had never existed (***Shahnama*** [شاہنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.36***7, ***Abramaka*** [ابرامکہ] ***Page No.18***).

The first Sassanid [ساسانی] ruler namely, Ardsher [اردشیر] (*Ardashes*) had defeated however, the last Iranian king namely, Ardawaan [اردوان] in 226 B.C and then he had captured Iran. Firdausi [فردوسی] had given the detail descriptive account of the war events in said context. The war had lasted, according to him, for forty days only. He had described the same in the manner, as below:

For forty days, the war had lasted	چہل روز از سال ہمیں بودجنگ
In which destitute was further blasted	برآں زیردستاں جہاں بود تنگ
When, torrents of war were over	یکے بعد برخاست بس ہولناک
For scared hearts, horrors were to hover	دل جنگیاں گشت ازآں پرزباک
War had toppled, reign of Ardawaan	کہ ایں باد برارداواں ریزیست
His troops were like a lost caravan	بریں لشکر اکنوں بیاید گریست
With troops, Ardawaan was captured	گرفتارشد ارداواں درمیاں
His glorious reign was thus, ruptured	بے ادا پئے تخت شیریں رواں
Ardawaan was brought before the king	فردآمدازاسپ شاہ ارداواں
He was like a bird, without a wing	تنش خستہ وتیرہ، تیرہ رواں
He was told, his reign had diminished	بیامہ درآگاہ فرماں گزید
His name from this world was finished	شدآں نامداراز جہاں ناپدید
His two sons were also arrested	دوفرزند او ہم گرفتارشد
They were maltreated and molested	واز تخمہ ار شئے خوارشد
All scared, to Hindustan they had gone	برفتنہ گریاں بہ ہندوستاں
As if they were a tale only, of long-gone	سزد کرکنی زیں یکےداستاں
There was none to be called his offshoot	برفت ازمیاں بزرگاں تپاک
Ardawaan's lineage was a severed root	تن ارداواں از خوں کرد پاک

The gist of aforementioned verses was that, the war had lasted for forty days between Ardawaan [اردوان] (*Last Panni ruler*) and Ardsher [اردشیر] (*Ardashes*) and Ardawaan was defeated. He was arrested and then he was murdered. He had two sons who were also arrested. Then, they were sent to Hindustan in tears. There was no one left in his posterity to keep alive the name of Ardawaan [اردوان]. (***Shahnama*** [شاہنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.371***) The name of one of his sons was Bahman [بہمن].

Discrepancy in the tenure of reign [معیاد حکومت میں تضاد]:

There was an Arab historian namely Musaudi [مسعودی] who had expressed his views with regard to the entire age of those Arses [اوراکس] Panni rulers. The same was 513 years approximately,

according to him. The duration was however, about two centuries, according to Firdausi [فردوسی]. There was another version according to which, it was about 550 years. The same was about 556 years, according to the author of Abramaka [ابرامکہ] (***Abramaka*** [ابرامکہ] ***Page No.18-19***). The tenure of those Panni rulers was however about 465 years, according to Professor Fry. *We will discuss the same later.* The incoherent reigning periods of those Arses [اوراکس] Panni rulers of Iran had lacked perhaps the poise of stateliness but, they were not at all completely anarchic [طوائف الملوکی] to be rendered as insignificant, historically. There were 30 to 32 rulers of the Arsacid kingdom in Iran who had ruled with the title as Arses [اوراکس] (*Arses was the Greek rendering of an old Persian name and was preserved as Arsaka and Arsama, in old Persian*) They had a glorious reign for about six hundred years, in Armenia. There were about one hundred Arses [اوراکس] (*Artaxerxes*) rulers according to the references of Musaudi [مسعودی] and Umer Kirmani [عمرکرمانی]. There were 240 Arses [اوراکس] (*Artaxerxes*) rulers however, in accordance with the reference which was pertaining to the biography of Ardsher (اردشیر) (*Ardashes*) which was captioned as Karnamic [کارنامک] (***Abramaka*** [ابرامکہ] ***page No.19***). Those two references of anarchism [طوائف الملوکی] were *ignotum per ignotius* unfounded and incorrect, according to our viewpoint. The state of anarchism [طوائف الملوکی] cannot remain constant for such a long period even according to the law of nature. The descriptive account of the *de jure* reign of those rulers along-with the length of their respective tenures as well as their achievements and performances, will be given in the pages to follow.

Historical Ploy [ایک تاریخی سازش]:

The self-contradictory and illogical nature of aforementioned references was discussed with nullity by Professor Fry lately, because those references had failed to qualify even the basic principles of determining the historicity of a complete age. The first maneuver of maligning the history of Arses [اوراکس], Arshukani [اشکیانی] and/or Panni [پنّی] era was set afloat, during the reign of Ardsher [اردشیر] (*Ardashes*). The same was made through a grangerized book which was captioned as Karnamic [کارنامک]. Thus, the entire history of the Arses [اوراکس], Arshukani [اشکیانی] and/or Panni [پنّی] with their *de jure* reigns was twisted and distorted with ulterior motives. The eighteen subsequent Sassanid [ساسانی] rulers *arrièr-pensée* had continued the effacing process with the same ill mindset. The said process had continued one way or the other till the reign of their twentieth ruler namely, Noshirwan Adil [نوشیروان عادل] (*531 to 579 A.D.*).

The actual name of Noshirwan Adil [نوشیروان عادل] was Khusro [خسرو] in accordance with the history books of the east. He was popular for his equity and justice. Sheikh Saadi [شیخ سعدی] had made an attempt to eternalize his name through one of his stanzas in the manner, as below:

زنده است نام نوشیرواں عادل
گرچہ بسے گزشت کہ نوشیرواں نماند
Name of Noshirwan Adil is immortal
Although time has passed and he is extinct

There was another stanza of Sheikh Saadi [شیخ سعدی] in the same context, in the manner, as below:

قاروں ہلاک شد چہل خانہ گنج داشت
نوشیرواں نمرد کہ نام نکوگزاشت
World was richer when Croesus had died
Noshirwan carried name and he survived

We will scrutinize later, the super-eminent characteristics of Noshirwan Adil [نوشیروان عادل] along-with his justice and benevolence which were attached with his name. We will also determine the veracity of the same, in the light of historical events. The Sassanids [ساسانی] had ruled Iran for about 426 years i.e. from 226 to 652 A.C. They had kept alive their own history during said period besides, the history of Aal Mad [آل ماد] (***Aal*** *were among the oldest races in the world and one of the few, which had survived:* ***Mad*** *means, gods rage*) as well as, the history of Karni [کارنی] (*Greek Autocrats*) and Achaemenid [اشامینی]. The history of about five hundred years of their predecessors i.e. the Arses [اوراکس], Arshukani [اشکیانی] or the Panni [پنّی] rulers had became extinct however in the process, amazingly. The Sassanids [ساسانی] rulers had termed said entire *de jure* reign of the Arses [اوراکس] as nothing but, "Anarchism" [طوائف الملوکی]. They had delegitimized said reign historically and they had declared the same as "suspension" [تعطل] in the continuity of history. Thus, they had not only made an attempt to efface the entire chapter of history of the Arses [اوراکس], Arshukani [اشکیانی], Panni [پنّی] nation and their *de jure* era from the Iranian history rather, they had denied the world *suppressio veri* the right to examine the actual historical journey of a civilization which had ruled with the enormity of splendor despite the fact that their state system was engulfed intermittently by intrigues. The Sassanid [ساسانی] rulers had consigned said splendid period to obscurity, intentionally. The obscurity alone was

thus, the witness and custodian of untold achievements of those Arses [اوراکس], Arshukani [اشکیانی] or Panni [پنّی] nation, until recently. The Sassanid [ساسانی] rulers had declared purposely, the *de jure* reigns of Arses [اوراکس], Arshukani [اشکیانی] or the Panni [پنّی] nation as unworthy to be incorporated in their history. The entire *suppressio veri* reign of about five hundred years of history making by the Arshukani [اشکیانی] rulers of Iran and then for about six hundred years of glorious rule of Armenia as well as, their rule in Iraq and Syria was in fact the worthy historical nexus of completing the chain of events in the history of Iran. The Greek historians on the other hand, had preserved the references of successful battles of the Arses [اوراکس], Arshukani [اشکیانی] or Panni [پنّی] nation which they had fought against the Roman Generals like Emperor Trajan, Gnaeus Pompeius and Cicero etc. Those references were never found surprisingly, in the documented history of Iran. The Sassanid [ساسانی] rulers had effaced the history of their Arshukani [اشکیانی] benefactors in such a manner, as if they had never occupied any space during the course of history, according to Professor Fry. The Zerdashtnama [زرداشت نامہ] was set ablaze, according to Professor Fry, which was the Sassanid [ساسانی] religious book. The principal manuscript of the same was re-inscribed however with gold letters, on twelve tanned hides of oxen (***Abramaka*** [ابرامکہ] ***Page No.16***). When, the Panni [پنّی] nation was in power, they had restructured said burnt book for the sake of preserving its religious sanctity and they had handed it over to the Sassanid [ساسانی] nation. When, the Sassanid [ساسانی] nation had assumed power however, instead of being indebted to the Panni nation for keeping intact, the religious sanctity of Zerdashtnama [زرداشت نامہ] they had consigned the entire history of about five hundred years of the Panni [پنّی] nation, into the oblivion, purposely. The people of said Panni [پنّی] nation exist in millions even today, in every nook and corner of the world including, in the Subcontinent. There was no record to ascertain however, why their name had become extinct from the history of a country where they had ruled for as long as, about five hundred years. There were some historians who had maintained the view that the Panni [پنّی] nation was banished from its native country just due to some *lèse-majesté* historical lurch. The said view had affirmed clearly, the highhandedness *suppressio veri* through which their history was suppressed by the later Sassanid [ساسانی] rulers. They had mutilated their history intentionally and they had even rendered the same as intraceable. There was a very pertinent question in the same context that if there was no intentional effort of expunging and mutilating the history of the Panni nation, then where had the Iranians placed the Parthians, in Ashkani course of history and what was their status in the world,

presently? The befitting reply with regard to the same was the historical treatise which Professor Fry had rendered in an explicit manner.

Injustice of Noshirwan [نوشیروان کی بے انصافی]:

The Sassanid [ساسانی] ruler namely, Ardsher [اردشیر] (*Ardashes*) had initiated the process of compiling the history of Iran. He had captioned the same, as Karnamic [کارنامک]. Then, Noshirwan [نوشیروان] had compiled *hortus siccus* the history of his own era, in Iran. He had captioned it as Khuda-e-namic [خدائے نامک]. He had amalgamated Khuda-e-namic [خدائے نامک] with the ancient history of Iran, with the intention to sanctify the history of his own era (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.467***). When, he was in the process of merging the history of his own inglorious era with the ancient history, he had no other option but to tarnish *arrièr-pensée* the glorious history of the Panni [پنّی] nation so as to glorify his own era, additionally. Since, Khuda-e-namic [خدائے نامک] was quiet about the period which had preceded Ardsher [اردشیر] (*Ardashes*) therefore the same was deficient, episodically. The deficient area was the portion which had pertained to the reign of the Panni [پنّی] nation, in Iran. The main source of Firdausi [فردوسی] for compiling his Shahnama [شاہنامہ] was also Khudienamic [خدائے نامک] according to some historians. We may well take said view of the historians as correct then, whatsoever even Firdausi [فردوسی] was able to present in the versified form, was a distorted blurb of history *ignotum per ignotius* which he was able to take as an unathuntic reference from Khudienamic [خدائے نامک]. Firdausi [فردوسی] was not a historian and he was also obliged to narrate therefore the montage version of history, in his versification which was made available to him by his myopic age in which he had lived. He had reproduced as a consequence, the suppressed references of the Panni nation which he had taken from the archaized book i.e. Khudienamic [خدائے نامک].

Sheikh Saadi [شیخ سعدی], our Iranian moralist poet, had also tried to immortalize Noshirwan [نوشیروان] through his poetry just because of one incident of his theatrical justice. The length and the breadth of his over pronounced episode of justice was based only on said isolated and solitary incident. The same was narrated in the manner, as below:

> "The Roman Emperor [قیصرروم] was pleased to praise the style of construction while he was visiting the royal palace of Noshirwan [نوشیروان]. He had raised an objection however,

on an angular room which was odd looking according to him which was asymmetrical. He was told that said room was angular just due to the reason that an old lady had her house in the adjoining area of said room. The king Noshirwan [نوشیروان] had not evicted her from the house by force rather the room of the palace was built angularly with the intention to accommodate the old lady" (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.471***).

The aforementioned simple incident was emblematized in Marowaj-Alzahb [مروج الزهب] by Musaudi [مسعودی] and he had termed it as the proverbial "Justice of Noshirwan" [نوشیروان] (***Volume No.2 Page No.97***). The so called justice of Noshirwan [نوشیروان] had unfolded itself in its true manifestation *in puris naturalibus* when he had assassinated his elder brother and nephew who were the actual successors to the throne. He had moved out thereafter to conquer Antakya [انطاکیہ], the Roman city and from there he had brought the enslaved prisoners of war. He had ventured out thereafter into the Syrian border but, he had not conquered Alexandria [اسکندریہ] and instead he had opted to go to Constantinople [قسطنطنیہ] where he had compelled the king to pay the protection money which was in fact, the fine imposition on the Roman Empire. He had massacred the general public in Khazran [خزران] and Turkistan [ترکستان] and he had vandalized the populated areas, as well. Then, he had turned to Yemen [یمن] where he had compelled the king to kneel to his subjugation. He had strengthened his kingdom by taking the daughter of Khaquan of Turkistan into his marriage. Then, he had murdered the rulers of Kafchaq [قفچاق] and Tamazistan [طمازستان] and he had ravaged all their cities prior to carrying out the expeditions into the Fergana [فرغانہ] city (*Fergana* [فرغانہ] *is a city with its capital in eastern Uzbekistan in the southern edge of the Fergana valley).* He had sent his troops to Serandeep [سراندیپ] and then he had imposed the fine of war against Hindustan. He had carried out the genocide of eighty thousand people in one day immediately after his enthronement. The said genocide was carried out to preserve the Zoroastrianism (***Tabaqat Naseri*** [طبقاتِ ناصری], ***Page No.297, 307***). Since, the Panni nation was the follower of Sabaism [ستارہ پرست] at the initial stages and there was no religious freedom in the Noshirwan [نوشیروان] era therefore, Noshirwan [نوشیروان] had uprooted the Panni nation from their native land with all the might. Then those Panni people, who were able to survive his manhunt, were subjected to a frantic run and chase during their dispersal period and they were made to seek the refuge into some unknown areas. The Muslims admire *ignoratio elenchi* the justice of Noshirwan [نوشیروان] despite the aforementioned events and without any cogent historical proof of substantiating his justice. The history had failed to provide

any other instance of his proverbial justice except, the one simple instance of the angular room of an old lady. There was only one reference of the last Panni ruler in the book *collectanea* Khudienamic [خدائے نامک]. Noshirwan [نوشیروان] had given the reference of one of his ancestors namely, Ardsher [اردشیر] (*Ardashes*) in Khudienamic [خدائے نامک]. Ardsher [اردشیر] (*Ardashes*) had murdered the last Panni ruler because he had usurped the power from him. Noshirwan [نوشیروان] had made sure to abstain from discussing their history any more, other than said reference of the Panni nation. He had given rather, the whimsical turns and twists to the actual course of history in Khudienamic [خدائے نامک]. The Arab historians were based in Iran mostly, and they had also relied on the Iranian version of history which had emanated from *collectanea* Khudienamic [خدائے نامک]. They had reproduced whatever was available to them from Khudienamic [خدائے نامک] into their Arabic books of history. The historian Tabari [طبری] had divided the ancient history of Iran, into four sections i.e. Dadie [دادی], Kirani [کرانی], Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) and Sassanid [ساسانی] periods. Firdausi [فردوسی] had also referred to those four periods in his Shahnama [شاہنامہ] whereas, both Tabari [طبری] and Firdausi [فردوسی] had mentioned the Arshukani [اشکانی] era, as a period of "Anarchy" [طوائف الملوکی] (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.33***). The Arab historians and the other oriental scholars had also followed the same postulate. Thus, they were obliged to maintain the stereotype view about the history of Iran in their respective books of history.

Reality of alleged anarchism [طوائف الملوکی کی حقیقت]:

The pattern of governance at the ruling center of the Panni nation and during the reigns of other minor dynasties was on the pattern which was prevalent during the reigns of the kings who had preceded them. The ancient Iranian system of governance was based on four types. There was firstly, the dynastical rule which was headed by a patriarch. Then, it was the village rule which was headed by a vavasour. Then, it was the tribal rule thirdly which was headed by a chieftain and fourthly it was the countrywide rule over the satrapy principalities and all the power in said type of governance was centralized on the vinculum model (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.185***).

There were seven well-known and distinguished dynasties during the Achaemenid [اشامینی] reign which had also emerged on the style of the Panni rulers. They had their own large areas of

governance and also used to receive huge concessions and grants from the kings. Those seven dynasties had included the families of kings as well. The chiefs of those dynasties used to be the vavasours who were under a king and besides that there were other rulers like the ruler of Asia Minor [ایشیائے کوچک]. He was a subordinate to the Emperor of Iran and he was under direct check of the Emperor through his vavasours. The Achaemenid [اشامینی] rulers used to appoint the new rulers by granting the estates. Those rulers used to enjoy a highly privileged status. The Emperor also used to exempt them in some exceptional circumstances from the payment of taxes. They were privileged to retain the revenue in such eventuality instead of depositing the same in the treasury.

The provincial rulers were usually appointed from among the royal family or from amongst the six dynasties. Those who were appointed from the royal family were allowed to use the word "Shah" [شاہ] as a title. The provincial governorates were called as the kingdoms during the reign of the Panni nation. The Islamic historians, besides the Sassanid rulers, had called said system as "Anarchic" [طوائف الملوکی] *imperium in imperio* perhaps due to the reason that the kingdoms were smaller in size. The criticism of anarchism was therefore absolutely unfair in the historical perspective with regard to the system which had endured for centuries. The pattern of autocratic system of governance was in place even prior to the Panni rulers. The historians had never termed the same as anarchic [طوائف الملوکی]. The pioneer of Achaemenid [اشامینی] reign of power namely, Cyrus the Great, (Korosh Azam [کوروش اعظم]) (*549 to 569 B.C.*) had also adopted the same method of governance to make his reign a success. He had also appointed his vavasours in Maida [میڈیا], Babylonia [بابل], Lidia [لیذیا] and Parat [پارت] (*Khurasan*). Those vavasours were answerable to the king directly but, the Daryoush the Great i.e. Daryoush Azam [داریوش اعظم] (*485 to 521 B.C.*) had divided most of the independent states later on into provinces to decentralize the authority of his vavasours. The head of each province was addressed as Satrap [ساتراپ] or Wali [والی] as a result of the same. The Satrap was in fact the Greek substitute title for "Shutter Pader" [شترپادر] which was an Iranian word. The word "Shutter Pader" was used for a "figure head" (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.185to 186***). The same system of governance was in practice mostly during the *de jure* reign of the Panni rulers. When, the Sassanids [ساسانی] had usurped the power from the Panni rulers, they had to malign the credible rule of the Panni nation in order to justify the usurpation. They had to declare the same as an anarchic [طوائف الملوکی] era, in order to give legitimacy to their own usurpation. They had literally obliterated in this

campaign, the name of the Panni rulers from the history of Iran. The said campaign was perhaps executed with the intention to easternize the Iranian history. We will make an attempt to rediscover however, said effaced chapter of history of the Panni nation and we will try to place it adroitly through this book.

The cycle of history had also witnessed the despicable interference *haute vulgerisation* by the mentally inferior and revengeful Sassanid [ساسانی] nation into the supremely pungent Islamic teachings even after the successful spread of Islam. The whole Islamic umma has not been able to filter out evenly, the elements of said interference even till today. The way, the Sassanid [ساسانی] nation had misconstrued the Islamic teachings, was indicative of the fact that how they had dealt with the Arshukani [اشکیانی] or the Panni [پنّی] diehard competitor nation and with their history.

Sources of Information [ذرائع معلومات]:

There was a blind drapery which had remained drawn for centuries, on the historical era of the Arshukani [اشکیانی] or Panni [پنّی] nation of Iran. The historians had carried out the painstaking research for years and years however, to obtain the information from various sources in order to fill up the cyclic vacuity for the sake of streamlining the history. The historians had presented their comprehensive and versatile historical papers and articles in this regard, in many workshops and seminars on different occasions. The said incessant struggle has not come to an end, as yet. The Roman and the Greek historians had also rendered their valuable contributions, in this regard. There were six French numismatists and they were also able to bring forth the numismatic evidence with regard to the Panni rulers. (*Greek inscription of Pacorus coin reads, King of kings Araces, bringer of plenty, the just, the illustrious, friend of Greeks etc.*). The page of history was turned over most befittingly during the quest after said information and Professor Fry, a specialist in the Iranian Studies, was able to bring alone to the surface *objet trouvé* the information with regard to Araces [اوراکس] (*Artaxerxes*) or the Panni rulers. Professor Fry was able to bring forth, among other historians, ninety five references with four sub-references of Araces [اوراکس] (*Artaxerxes*) or the Panni rulers. Those references were related to the coins, ruins, numerous antiques, buried features, scripts and epigraphs which were inscribed in many languages other than the Greek scripts. There were some historical facts which were inscribed in

different languages. The epigraphs of the Achaemenid [اشامینی] rulers were similar to the epigraphs of Arshukani [اشکیانی] or the Panni [پنّی] era. Those epigraphs had proved that the Arshukani [اشکیانی] or the Panni [پنّی] nation had played a very significant role in the history of Iran even prior to acquiring the reign of power. There were many books in the European, Chinese and Prakati [پراکتی] languages in which the ancient historians like Dayo Doris, Kristiansen, Strabo, Plutarch, Herodotus, Davecasiowis, Sykes, Stein and Tabari [طبری] had also rendered their considerable contribution. There were also other books of canons and instructions and many stamps other than Zend-Avesta [ژند اوستا], Talmud [تلمود] and Rig-Veda [رگ وید]. Then, there was the description of various geographers which was also available as a ready reference. The scripts of Ptolemy [بطلیموس] and Pompeius Trogus had also brought forth some very meaningful information. The books like "Literary History of Persia" and "Mahmal-al-Tawareekh-o-Qisus" [محل التواریخ و قصص] had also proved to be quite helpful, in this regard. The Iranian studies expert, Professor Fry had said in 1962 that, "I have gathered information from the historians during the course of many one to one meetings, in order to discover the history of the Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni rulers. I have relied besides that, on all the historical papers which were read in various conferences during the course of 50 odd years". He had not treated the Panni era as the "dark period" [عہدِ تاریک] like other historians. He had declared on the contrary that, said era was an "abandoned period [عہدِ فراموش] of a dynasty" (***Fry Page No.178***). There were about two thousand well preserved antiques, according to him, which were discovered from an excavated tavern which were about the Panni Arshukani [اشکانی] era (***Fry Page No.183***).

The contemporaneously existing renowned historian, namely, Hassan Preena [حسن پرینا] ([پرینا] *is an offshoot of Panni nation*) (***Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***1941 Page No.54***) had also endorsed the information which was already provided among others, by Professor Fry. He had also placed reliance on the references of historians like Justin, Swetin and Polybius and others. He had benefitted in this regard, from the history of Iran as well as, from many a germane Greek book, directly. He had rendered his tremendous contribution through his voluminous book which was captioned as "Iran Pastan" [ایران پاستان] which had contained the references of the historical achievements of antecedent Iranian Araces [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni rulers in a chronological order. The same book was the first one perhaps in any eastern language about the Iranian Panni ruler nation. The same had contained in detail, the historical

account of twenty eight rulers who had ruled with the title name as Araces [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) as Panni rulers. We may reitrerate that, there was no nation by said name anymore in this world. The people of said nation are very much in existence however with their tribal name, as "Panni" [پنّی]. They have beeen introduced with their actual name for the first time however through this book.

The Roman and the Greek historians had given *toties quoties* the sub-references of the Arshukani [اشکانی] or the Panni rulers while they had ventured into describing the history of their own nation because the Panni rulers had fought the battles against the Roman and Greek rulers. They had referred to the internal affairs of the state of those Panni rulers just transiently. They had dealt with the other subjects very stringently which were related to the internal affairs of their own state(s). The author of the book which was captioned as "Tabaqat Naseri" [طبقاتِ ناصری] had also given the brief reference of eight rulers of said nation. The antiquities which were discovered from Nicae [نیسا] (*which is in Russian territory*) which was also the capital of their country, the same had great historical significance. The paleographic study of other epigraphs was also a source of exploring more information from different angles. Then, the Kandahar [قندھار], Swat [سوات] and district Mardan [مردان] were also replete with the unique remnants of the ancient Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation. The same were inviting the archeologists however, to carry out a deeper research so as to bring forth the historical facts, manifestly. The coins which were discovered other than from Kandahar, were also a great source of establishing the numismatic evidence (***Oolus*** [اؤلس] ***January 1965***). The history *toties quoties* had referred amazingly to the tales of the ancient Roman Generals like, Crassus of Sulla, Emperor Trajan, Octavia (Plebeian), Mark Anthony (Marcus Antonius) and Augustus (Gaius Julius Caesar), Tiberius Claudian Nero and Gnaeus Pompeius whereas, the world on the other hand, had remained absolutely unfamiliar even with the names and the history of the Generals against whom they had fought all those battles to glorify their pseudo reign. There was also a noteworthy *mirabile dictu* reality that Professor Maqbool Beg Bakhshani [مقبول بیگ بدخشانی], who had earned the Nishan-e-Spas [نشان سپاس] for writing the history of Iran in Urdu language, had cataloged the achievements of twenty eight Iranian rulers in an orderly manner, other than twenty one Armenian rulers of said Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation. The said history was written however with the dynastic title of the Panni nation as "Arshak" [ارشک] and not with their national name which was "Panni" [پنّی] or "Perni" [پرنی].

Professor Maqbool Beg Bakhshani [مقبول بیگ بدخشانی] had negated however all the other statements through which the rule of said Panni nation was declared as an anarchic [طوائف الملوکی] era. The view of Professor Fry was also somewhat on the same lines but was articulated somewhat differently. The source of information of Professor Maqbool Beg Bakhshani [مقبول بیگ بدخشانی] was however, the books of history in the Greek language as well as the Persian translations.

Historical background [تاریخی پس منظر]:

There may well be many written volumes *toto caelo* of history but, they had failed to encompass the entire history. The early Muslim historians had referred to the "Panni" [پنّی] or "Perni" [پرنی] nation as "Arshak" [ارشک]. They had termed their reign also as an anarchism [طوائف الملوکی]. The history of Parat [پارت] (*Province Khurasan* [خراسان] *which was the central capital for the Panni rule, Writer*) had come in the limelight, through the efforts of the historian Cayce, when the rulers of said area had come into clash with the Roman and the Syrian rulers. There was no other source besides that, to highlight the history of said nation. The history of "Panni" [پنّی] or "Perni" [پرنی] nation, as "Arshak" [ارشک] was dependent totally on the numismatic study of few coins which were discovered from different places. The history of early "Arshak" [ارشک] or Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) (*Panni, Writer*) rulers was written by a historian namely Justin, which was very brief and self-contradictory. The Arab and the Iranian historians had not really contributed much in this regard. The coins of the "Arshukani" [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) (Panni *Writer*) period had not even contained the minting year but, those coins had the depiction of embossed effigies of the rulers only. The chain of the same had culminated in the first century B.C. The year for the subsequent periods, which was inscribed on the coins, was associated with the commemoration of some historical event (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.226 and 227***).

Origin and nationality [اصل اوروطنیت]:

Those who were known as the Parthian groups had the consanguinity with the Saka or the Scythian nation. Their native land was the area of the southeastern plains between Alkhzer [الخزر] or the Khazer sea [بحیرۂ خزر] (Hatra) [الحضر] (*Caspian*) as well as, the Ural sea [بحیرۂ

ارال]. The boundaries of Parthia or Parat had included the southeastern part of the Khazer sea [بحیرۂ خزر] (Hatra) [الحضر] (*Caspian*) (***Parthia**, the Parthian language self-designator word signifying the habitat of the "Parthians"*). The advent of the Panni nation, after Alexander the great, had introduced its own influence in the local culture as well as, in the social life of those areas (***Fry, Page No.50***). The said nation had a nomadic way of life. The place of its origin was the present Russian Turkmenistan [روسی ترکمانستان]. The said nation was known in those days by the name as Perni [پرنئ]. The historians had addressed them with various names as, Arses, Assasia, Arsasi, Arshaki, Ashki, "Arshak" [ارشک] Ashki, Arshakian, Ashkay, Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) and as Panni [پنّی] by virtue of their erstwhile recognition as Parthians. Those people were members of different nations or federations according to the historian Strabo (*XL-508 to 517*). They were known as "Dahae" collectively whereas their designated country was known as "Dahistan" [داہستان]. They were referred as Da Aas [داآس] in the epigraphs of the Xerxes [خشایارشا] [زرکسیز] era. They were referred as Das [داس] in Rig-Veda [ریگ وید] whereas they were referred as Daha [داہا] in the ancient Persian books (***Fry, Page No.50***). The Armenian sources of ancient Iran had revealed that the province of Parat [پارت] was also known as "Shahistan" [شاہستان]. The people of Parat were the Saka or the Scythian tribes according to the historian Justin. The historian Strabo had maintained that the Parthi people, who had ruled the province of Parat [پارت], were an offshoot of the Saka tribe. There were some historians who had maintained the view that the Saka or Scythe nation was also known as Dahan (***Encyclopedia Britannica Volume No.2 Page No.434***). Sir Olaf Kero had expressed his views in this regard that, "the leadership was in the hands of a Parthian clan of the Panni tribe" which means that the nation which was ruling the captured Parat [پارت] region (***Kero Page No.64***). The same was helpful in drawing the inference that the Panni nation was very large in terms of its members and the Parthi group was one of its offshoots. The Saka or Scythe, who used to live in the Dahae area and they had migrated to Khawazam [خوارزم], which was located in the north of Khurasan [خراسان], had opted to live permanently as a community (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.225***). The proverbial brother of the Panni namely, Davie [داوئ] was a distorted word and had emanated perhaps from the word "Dahae" [داہائے] which was the name of a place. The people of said area had the collective recognition as the Darhae tribes [داہائے]. The alleged father of Kakar [کاکڑ], Nagharr [ناغڑ], Davie [داوئ] and Panni [پنّی] i.e. Dani [دانی] was also the abbreviated or the distorted form of the word Dahae [داہائے].

The primal sultanate and its boundaries [ابتدائی سلطنت اور اسکا حدوداربعہ]:

The "Arshak" [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni *Writer* reign was established firstly in the Iranian province of Parat [پارت] which is known presently, as Khurasan [خراسان] or Kherson (*a city in southern Ukraine*). The northwestern border of said reign was upto the Khazer sea [بحیرۂ خزر] (Hatra) [الحضر]. The said area was known as Bistoon or Koh Bistoon [کوہ بستون], according to the epigraphs of Great Daryoush [داریوش اعظم] (*485 to 521 B.C.*) which was known as Parto [پرتو] according to the epigraphs of "Takhat Jamshaid" [تخت جمشید] and "Naqsh Rustam" [نقش رستم]. The Greek historians had designated the name as "Parthia" [پارتھیا] to the same. The Iranian studies expert namely, Professor Brown was of the view that the metamorphic change of the word Parto [پرتو] had converted it to sound as "Parhao" [پرہاؤ]. Then, the same had assumed the shape as Phailao [پہلاؤ]. The said connotation had become known as Pahlavi [پہلوی] thereafter because of the people of said area. Thus, their language had also become popular by said name, gradually. The ancient historians had defined the dimensions of Parat [پارت] in the manner, as below:

> "Khawazam [خوارزم] and Fro [فرو] were in its north and Zung [زنگ] (*Seistan* [سیستان]) and Sagarthi [ساگارتھی] were in the east. Hyricania [ہرکینیا] (*Gorgan* [گرگان])" (*Formerly, Ashtarabadin of Iran*) was in the west.

The famous cities of said area were Darmaghan [درمغان], Shahrood [شاہرود], Joyen [جوین], Sabzwar [سبزوار], Neshapur [نیشاپور], Mashed [مشہد], Taber Shez [تبرشیز] and Turbat-e-Hiaderi [تربت حیدری] (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.224***). The Sassanid [ساسانی] rulers were believed to have given the name Khurasan [خراسان] or Kherson to said province. The meaning of the word Khor [خور] is "sun" and since said province was in the eastern part of Iran therefore it was called as Khurasan [خراسان].

Gallantry and chivalry [شجاعت وتہور]:

The diehard nomadic nation of the Panni [پنّی] or Perni [پرنی] rulers used to live in the present Turkmenistan [ترکمانستان] with a natural wanderlust and blithely lifestyle. They had played a significant role however as a reckonable force. They had promoted the history with gallantry at

all critical junctures which was due to the fact that they had the dexterity of managing the strong horses. The archers of the Panni [پنّی] or Perni [پرنی] nation used to make a tactical move. They used to move about the camp of their enemy on their horses with the intention to provoke the enemy. Then, they used to swamp the enemy camps in a sudden attack. Thus, they used to entice the enemy to chase them. The enemy used to make their horses run after their horses at full gallop *ventre á terre* and then the archers of the Perni [پرنی] nation used to skew their bodies backwards and they used to shoot at the chasing enemy while slewing left and right. The onslaught of said tactically dexterous move used to be an impossible maneuver to defend and was always considered as one of the most organized maneuvers in the battlefield. The aforementioned maneuver used to require the superb equestrian skills because both hands of the rider used to be hung on his arch while shooting the arrows. The rider used to rely on his legs without any stripes to pilot his horse. The pressure on his legs used to be the principal equestrian expertise in said maneuver. When, they used to pull out the provoked enemy from the safe dens, the enemy used to chase the Panni [پنّی] or Perni [پرنی] archers to run them down during the execution of said maneuver. The Panni people used to shoot the arrows in said enticing run and chase very skillfully. The said maneuver was termed as the “Parthian Glance” or Parthian Shot, in various books of history. The Panni archers used to launch the organized attacks to disrupt the enemy. They used to run away very swiftly after plundering the enemy in a sudden spear attack. The well organized Roman cavalry which was known in the history as the “Legionaries” and which used to consist of three to six thousand horsemen, had also failed to outmaneuver their aforementioned chivalrous move. (*Roman legionary under the age of forty five was a professional soldier. The soldier had to be a Roman citizen and he used to be enrolled in service, for twenty five years. Legionary used to be loaded with armor, shield, helmet, two javelins, short sword, dagger, a pair of heavy sandals, marching bag, with about fourteen days food, bladder of water, cooking equipment, two stakes for construction of palisades and a shovel or wicker basket)*. The Panni people had also defeated and killed Crassus despite his large battery of legionaries. (*Marcus Licinius Crassus (155 to 153 B.C.) was a Roman general and politician. He had commanded the left wing of the Sulla army at the battle of Colline Gate and he was able enter into political alliance, which was known as Triumvirate, with Gnaeus Pompeius Mangus and Gaius Julius Caesar*).

Famous Parthian Shot

“Parthian Shot” without stripes. The rider used to rely solely on the pressure, from his legs for guiding his horse.

The common boundaries of the Panni sultanate were from present Iraq accross Syria and beyond. The famous city of Nicae [نیسا] of Iran was located at the extreme end which was conquered during the reign of Caliph Umer [خلیفہ حضوت عمرؓ]. The Muslim conquerors had named Nicae [نیسا] as Hamus [حمص], thereafter. The Roman Empire was on the western side of said sultanate. The same was divided into three administrative units and there were three Roman allies Generals who were the rulers namely, Gnaeus Pompeius, Gaius and Julius Caesar. The said political alliance was known as the First Triumvirate. Those Generals who were signatories the First Triumvirate, they had never recognized the Panni reign in Parthia and resultantly said quandary had produced the series of long drawn battles between both countries. Marcus Licinius Crassus whose title was “Dives” was very close to General Gnaeus Pompeius. He had pioneered in fact the aforementioned political alliance (First Triumvirate). Then pursuant to the same, they were able to engage the Panni rulers in practical battles. Crassus was always very keen to acquire some historical triumph in order to give some emblazonment to his military victories. The

aforementioned ambition had pushed him into Syria eventually where he was defeated. Then, he was killed at Carrhae [کرہئے] in a pitched battle against a Parthian General, namely, Surena [سورینا] (*Panni Writer*) (***Kero Page No.64, Fry Page No.187, New Standard Encyclopedia Page No.337, 977 and 1237***).

Etymology of the word "Arshak" [اشک]:

The rulers of the Panni nation had assumed the title of "Arshak" [اشک] or Arsaseya [ارساسیہ] or Arseks [آرسیکس] (*Artaxerxes or Arses*). Then, they were known always by their title name instead of their actual names which was the reason that there was a difficulty in determining the reign of each one of them historically in a chronological order. The word "Arshak" [اشک] or Arsaseya [ارساسیہ] or Arseks [آرسیکس] (*Artaxerxes or Arses*), which had pertained to their title, was also derived from the word "Arasa" [اراسا], which means the "Bear" or "Avestan" i.e. "Afrasiab" [افراسیاب] (*Afrasiab was the name of a mythical king and hero of Turan)* which was taken as a symbol of strength. The said word was written as "Arshak" [اشک] in the Persian language and was also written as "Alshak" [الشک] subsequently. The said word was mentioned in some books of history as Ashkiyan [اشکیاں] as well. The Greeks had used the expression "Aresen" for the same. The English historians had used the word "Arasia" [اراسیہ] in this regard. The Iranian form of said word was shown as Avestan (Aršan) (*Etymologically related to Greek Arsēn "male, manly"*). The Iranian studies expert professor Fry had used the word Perni [پرنئ] on thirty two pages in his book. The same was in fact, the actual substitute of the word Ashkiyan [اشکیاں]. Sir Olaf Kero had addressed said nation with the name as Perni [پرنئ] four times at page No.50, 135, 180 and 191 respectively in his voluminous book of history which was captioned as "The Pathan". The ancient historians had also used the word Perni [پرنئ] or "Panni" [پنئ] very frequently for said nation according to Sir Olaf Kero. The word "Arshak" [اشک] was used however in many books of history instead of individual names of those rulers.

The other nations from central Asia used to symbolize the animals as a source of invigoration as well. The Turks used to emblematize "White Wolf" whereas "Tarpan" [ترپان] (*Eurasian wild horse*) used to be the national symbol of Mongolia (***Fry Page No.42, 181, Encyclopedia Britannica Page No.434, New Standard Encyclopedia Page No.977***). The Iranian historian

namely, Badukhshani [بدخشانی] had described the word "Arshak" [اشک] as a patronymic expression which was the name of a patriarch of a dynasty according to him (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.226***). The said view was also correct and the meaning of the same was "Bear" similarly, the symbol of invigoration was "the Wild Horse" for Chifta [چیفتہ] who was son of Ganges Khan. The people used to adopt such names in olden days, in the manner the people prefer to name their child nowadays as "Sher Mohammed" [شیر محمد] etc. The objective of the same used to be to equate the child with the strength and prowess of a loin. There was a historical example in this regard that, Alaptgeen [الپتگین] had snatched Ghanzna [غزنہ] from a ruler by the name of Amir Anok [امیرانوک]. The word Anok [انوک] was also used for a "Lion" (***Tabaqat Naseri*** [طبقاتِ ناصری] ***Page No.2226***). The said word was used as a noun amongst the Arabs and Turks. The name of a hero of Asia was "Alp" [الپ] in accordance with the contemporary as well as, ancient Turkish Dictionary. The word "Tonga" [ٹونگا] means "Afrasiab" [افراسیاب] i.e. "the lion". The said mythically chivalrous and gallant king and hero of Turan had proved himself to be the biggest enemy of Iran. The word "Tonga" was used for "Wolf Totem" and was emblematized for the pride of the Turks. The word "Totem" was also a term which was used by the American Indians, as a dynastic symbol. The same used to be demonstrated as an effigy of an animal. The word "Afrasiab" [افراسیاب] which means the "Lion" had appeared repeatedly in Avesta-Zend [اوستاژند] (***Fry Page No.42***). When, the reign of Mustafa Kamal Pasha [مصطفیٰ کمال پاشا] was at its apex, an English writer had published a book which was captioned as "The Grey Wolf".

From Turkistan upto Iran [ترکستان سے ایران تک]:

Alexander the great had died at the age of 30, in 323 B.C. He was on his way home after having conquered and ravaged the entire region from Russian Turkistan to Azerbaijan [آزربئیجان]. The same was on the western fringe of river Ural [دریائے اررال]. Then, the Empire of Alexander was partitioned by his eight Generals after the conquest into eight eastern dominions in between 322 and 275 B.C. Diadochi (*Wars between the Successors of Alexander*) was a series of conflicts between the Generals of Alexander to rule his Empire. Then, the division had taken place in the manner, as below:

1. Ptolemy [بطلیموس] had received Egypt 2. Laomedon [لامیدان] had received Syria and Phoenicia 3. Philotas had taken over Cilicia 4. Peithon [پیٹون] had taken over Medea 5. Antigonus [انٹی اوکس] had received Phrygia, Lycia and Pampphlia 6. Phlip had become the ruler of Bactria and Sogdiana 7. Perdiccas was appointed as a satrap for various parts of the Empire during the partition of Babylon 8. Taxiles and Porus were the rules of kingdoms, in India.

The king Antiochus I [انٹی اوکس اول] (*286–246 B.C.*) had become the king of Hellenistic Seleucid kingdom [رومن سلوکس]. He had reigned from 261 B.C to 246 B.C. Then, Antiochus II [انٹی اووکس دوم], his son, had succeeded him in the winter of 262-61 B.C. The areas of Balkh [بلخ], Bactria Sufd [سفد] and Merv [مرو] were under the administrative control of Hellenistic Seleucid [سلوکس] rulers by that time. Then, the aforementioned all three areas were consolidated by Diodotus [ڈویوڈس] in 256 B.C. He had got them liberated in fact from the rulers of Babylonia. Diodotus [ڈویوڈس] was from Greek origin. (*Diodotus was a contemporary and a neighbor and an ally of Andragoras, the satrap of Parthia. He had also proclaimed independence from the Seleucid Empire, at about same time.*). The satrap Diodotus [ڈویوڈس] was the founder of Greco Bactrian kingdom according to the epitome of Justin of Pompeius Trogus, in Bactria. The kingdom was expanded further into India in 180 B.C. The same had emerged thereafter as the Greco Indian kingdom (*B.C-1 to 180 B.C*). Then, Araces [ارشک] or Ashkiyan [اشکیاں] had led a revolt against Andragoras [انڈراگورس] in or about 238 B.C with the help of the Parthians which had laid the foundation of the Parthian Empire which had become known as the Greek Bactrian Empire [یونانی باختری عہد حکومت], subsequently. The territory of Tokharistan was an identified area of Kushan Bactria (*Originally formed in the early 1st century AD under Kujula Kadphses in the territories of ancient Bactria on either side of the middle course of Oxus River or Amu Darya in the present northern Afghanistan as well as, in the southern Tajikistan and Uzbekistan).* The same had included the areas of Surkhandarya southern Tajikistan besides, the northern Afghanistan [افغانستان]. The second Syrian war was fought along the coasts of Asia Minor [ایشیائے کوچک]. The southern Syria and Azerbaijan [آزربائیجان] had also claimed autonomy due to constant intrigues of petty despots and because of the restlessness in the city-states, in Asia Minor. The said political wave had brought an end to the Hellenic Seleucid [سلوکس] reign in the area.

The tribes from the present Russian Turkmenistan had also started the migration in the wake of decentralization of power and at the emergence of autocracy. They had launched attacks at the central Asian check posts and had destroyed the same. The said area was not however, under the Hellenic Seleucid [سلوکس] administrative control. Those check posts were although reconstructed yet the liberation movement had not come to an end. The said movement had remained active even during the reign of Antiochus II Theos [انٹی اووکس دوم]. The Bactrian Panni tribes were leading said movement from the the front and were gallant and chivalrous people. They were keen to establish their own independent and autonomous governance despite all the odds. They had made Khawarzam [خوارزم] as their initial base to settle down. Then, they had moved to Khurasan [خراسان] or Parat [پارت] which had proved to be a sheer change of fortunes during the course of revolutionary period because there was a very strong yearning which had overpowered the minds of the people. The same had transformed their nomadic mindset to acquire an independent state. The said desire had led them to struggle for their own rule in Khurasan [خراسان] (***Fry Page No.135, 180, Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.226, Britannica Page No.434)***. The Panni [پنّی] or Perni [پرنی] group, which had migrated from the river Khazar [خزر] to Khurasan [خراسان] or Parat [پارت], was headed by its chieftain namely Ferhad (Phraates) [فرہاد] or Feryapat [فریپت] (*Phriapatius*). He had enjoyed the title name as "Arshak" [ارشک].

The mythical secret of Arshak" [اشک] dynasty was unveiled by a few *reflet* relics which were unearthed at Nicae [نیسا] (*Turkmenistan*). The same were discovered from a sealed pot. The capital city of said nation was Nicae [نیسا]. The other antiques along-with pottery and articles had included a stamp, as well as, other scripts on which the word "Arshak" [ارشک] was inscribed. Those alphabets were also available on some discovered sphenoid bones as well (***Fry Page No.181-276***).

Arshak still exist [ارشک]:

The posterity of those who were known as Arshak [ارشک] they still exist, in Iran. There was a member of the Iranian parliament whose name was Mohsin Arshak Yorr [محسن ارشک یور]. He had opposed vehemently, the election of the prime minister in the parliament, during the riots in Iran according to a news report. He had also staged a walkout along-with the opposition party

(***Daily Naway-e-Waqt*** [نوائے وقت] ***Lahore 11.09.1978***. The word "Yorr" [یور] is used for the posterity or for descendants. The word "Arshak Yorr" means therefore the linage or the descendants of Arshak [ارشک].

PANNI RULERS OF IRAN IN SEQUENCE

ARSHAK-I [ارشک اول]

227 B.C. to 249 B.C.

Reign of power [عہد حکومت]:

The reigning year of Arshak [ارشک] (*Araces*) or Panni [پنّی] had started from 249 or 250 B.C, according to the people of Khurasan [خراسان] or Parat [پارت]. The same was in fact, the first reigning year in the history which was duly recorded. The Arshak [ارشک] and his brother Tridates [تیرداد] had murdered Pherecles who was the ruler of Parat. The said area was under the administrative control of Antiochus [انٹی اووکس] at that time. Azerbaijan [آزربائیجان] on the other hand, had already removed the yoke of their totalitarian ruler because Antiochus [انٹی اووکس] had also tried to curb the insurgency from the northern side however he had failed to contain the same. Antiochus [انٹی اووکس] had come into power in 281 B.C. He had taken over the reign of power after the death of Antiochus [انٹی اووکس] and he had seized the control in 261 B.C. He was coroneted with the title as Antiochus II Theos [انٹی اووکس دوم]. He was a real debauch. There were so many insurgencies which had surfaced during his rule. When, Ferhad (Phraates) [فرہاد] or Feryapat [فریپت] (*Phriapatius*) was reigning and while he was in Bactria [باختریہ], he had decided to launch a movement in collaboration with his brother Tridates [تیرداد]. They had succeeded to liberate Parat [پارت] in the process, from the Greeks ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.222 to 228).*** There were some historians who had maintained the view that Tridates [تیرداد] was the governor of a province under the Seleucid [سلوکس] Arshak-I. He had murdered Pherecles and he had captured Parat [پارت] or Parthia [پارتھیہ]. Then he was able to establish his own autocratic rule (***Fry page 192***). There were some other historians who had maintained the view that he himself was not a governor rather he was able to contain the insurgency of his Satrap (*From the discovered coins, he appeared to be Andragoras*). He had only incited the Iranians to liberate

themselves from the tyrinical rule of the Greeks. He was able to establish his own rule however in the process. There was another view that, when Bactria had already declared insurgency against their rulers, the same had helped the Arshak [ارشک] to emerge on the political horizon (***Fry Page No.180, Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.223 to 226***). The Bactrian reign had lasted till 282 BC according to Badukhshani [بدخشانی].The reign of Arshak was very brief and was a very turbulent era due to internal insurgencies. The Seleucid-II [سلوکس دوم] had assumed the administrative control in 281-B.C. He had moved towards Khurasan [خراسان] where Arshak [ارشک] had confronted him. He had failed to face the huge Seleucid [سلوکس] lashker therefore, he was compelled to retire into Dasht-e-Kavir (دشتِ کویر) (*The same is also known as Kavir-e-Namak or Great Salt Desert which is in the middle of the Iranian Plateau*). He was able to reemerge however after obtaining the reinforcement from Deudus, who was the Bactrian king. When, the Seleucid [سلوکس] lashker was able to realize that the enemy was reinforced and it was difficult to handle them therefore, they had decided to move towards Syria. Arshak [ارشک] had fallen from a horse in 227 B.C and he had died. Arshak-I [ارشک اول] was able to include into his Empire the Greco-Bactrian area which consisted of Balkh [بلخ], Sufd [صفد] and Merv [مرو] at that time. There were six close aids of Arshak [ارشک] who were involved in making said revolution a success. There were five courtiers and nobles *corps d' elite* of Arshak [ارشک] whereas, the sixth one was his brother Tridates [تیرداد]. He had died in 247 B.C after when he had received a wound of a spear from his own soldier, according to some historians ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.228)***. There were some other historians who were of the opinion that he had died when he had already ruled for about thirty odd years. The boundaries of the Parat [پارت] province were dimensionally different in those days, as compared with the boundaries of the present Khurasan [خراسان] ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.224).***

Dynasty and its difficulties [خاندان کو مشکلات کا سامنا]:

When, Arshak [ارشک] or the first Panni ruler had assumed power initially, he had to confront many problems. Then, his successors had also remained engulfed politically in the enigmatic situation. The said turbulence had erupted when they had conquered Hyricania or Gorgan [گرگان] which was located in the southeastern corner of river Khazar [بحیرۂ خزر]. The reason to select said area was perhaps to acquire the allegiance of their fellow nationals because said area was

their native land. The said move was considered a revolt however by the Seleucid [سلوکس] king of Babylonia [بابل]. He was also the ruler of Balkh [بلخ], Sufd [صفد] and Merv [مرو]. Since, the other areas in the west were also under said king therefore the expansion move of the Panni rulers was very slow and resultantly, the initial attempts of expansion by several Panni rulers were ungainly. They had taken about fifty odd years to consolidate their reign of power.

The aforementioned sluggish pace was due to several reasons. The Panni nation was the nomadic assemblage and the nomadic culture was enshrined very deeply in their lifestyle. They had taken a very long time resultantly, to mature the concept of an independent country as their permanent abode. They were entrenched against the Greeks besides that, on the western side for a very long period in history. Then, the Greek culture had the deep roots in the areas as well as, in the vicinity of their occupied areas. They had failed to expedite as a consequence, the process of flourishing their rule at a rapid pace (***Fry Page No.191***). The Panni sultanate was established however on more consolidated footing by the time Mithradates (*178 to 138 B.C.*) had assumed power as sixth ruler of said dynasty (***Fry Page No.181***). When, Mithradates had found the opportunity, he had conquered Mesopotamia from the western side and he was able to proclaim the recognition resultantly, as an international state instead of a regional power. Then, he had conquered Medea in 135 B.C and he had also annexed Salvias in 141 B.C as his dominion which was located on the river Euphrates. The Panni nation had occupied prior to that, the western areas of Eocratides [اروکرت] in 160 B.C (*Eocratides (170-145 B.C.) was one of the most important Greco-Bactrian kings*). The Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation had dispatched the expeditions during said period as far as into Arghola and up to Hindustan. The records of history for the year 141 B.C had proved that the reign of the Panni Parthian [پنّی پارتهی] nation was also in the other areas besides Sola [سولہ] (***Fry Page No.183, 185, 191***). The frontiers of their dominion had expanded with the passage of time, from Herat [ہرات] and from the river Euphrates and had stretched up to river Sindh which had included also the Baluchistan [بلوچستان] area (***Kero Page 71***). There were many princes who had ruled Persia [فارس] (*Southern Iran, which had included Kerman*) one after the other and said area had included a portion of Kirman [کرمان] area. The latitudinous nations and tribes used to scale the area freely in the eastern and in the southern parts of the sultanate. Those areas are presently known as Baluchistan [بلوچستان] (***Fry Page No.189***). The Kandahar [قندهار] area had also remained a battlefield for skirmishes of

Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation according to the historian, Isador (***Fry Page No.185***). The said view was not only endorsed by some other historians rather the numismatic evidence and the epigraphs which were discovered from the Kandahar [قندهار] area, had also endorsed said fact. The epigraphs had contained the inscriptions in the archaic ideograph of eastern Iran. There was one epigraph which was in both Aramaic and in Greek languages. The Saka nation, the consanguine relation of said nation, had also captured a large area of the Ghandaharah when they were able to defeat the Greco-Bactrian rulers. The said historical reality was also endorsed by the fact that the province of Kandahar and Koh Suleiman [کوہِ سلیمان] or Praaspa [تحت سلیمان] and Baluchistan [بلوچستان] were the main and powerful bases for said nation. Then, the offshoots of said nation used to exist besides in said area in the entire Ghandaharah region, Baluchistan [بلوچستان] and Afghanistan [افغانستان] as well. *The account of the same in extenso will follow later*. Those facts were also proved by an epigraph which was discovered from Takhtbie [تخت بائی] which had represented the Gandaferi [گنڈافری] Panni era. The Gandaferi [گنڈافری] had established their rule in Ghandaharah after the Sereen [سرین] Panni rulers. They were able to consolidate their governance up-to the Punjab periphery.

There was a big group during the Friezer era among other nations. They had either migrated along-with the victorious Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation or the same had consisted of those people perhaps who were reluctant to live under the tyrannical Sassanid [ساسانی] rule. They were compelled to migrate therefore into the Ghandaharah territory and in Koh Suleiman [کوہِ سلیمان] or Praaspa [تحت سلیمان] areas, gradually. They had become known then as the Indo-Parthian nation. (*They were also from the Arshukani* [اشکانی] *(Arshukani) or Panni nation, Writer*). The Saka nation was subjugated during the reign of Friezer and then they were pushed out to live in the east. The Sakas had also captured a portion of Hindustan in collaboration with the Panni Pahlavi people of Iran, according to the Indian sources. The said reality had received the endorsement from the disinterred coinage of both nations (***Fry Page No.104, 184 and 186***). The Panni nation was able to capture thus the entire Iranian plateau, gradually and they were able to cast their influence on some areas of the Ghandaharah region other than Hindustan ***(Fry Page No. 185, Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.242)***.

ARSHAK-II OR TRIDATES PANNI

[ارشک دوم یاتیرداد پنّی]

247 B.C. to 214 B.C.

The brother of (*Araces-I*) Arshak-I namely, Tridates [تیرداد] had taken over the reign of power in 227 B.C after his death. He had assumed the title as Arshak-II and he had taken over the administrative control of Parat [پارت] as well. The concept to have a strong rule in Parat [پارت] and to seize control of the entire Iran was not devised with its all political dimension, till that time. The full scope of said concept had become very clear however during the reign of Arshak-II i.e. Tridates [تیرداد]. The ruler of Egypt namely Ptolemy [بطلیموس] had conquered Iraq [عراق], Aasor [آسور], Babylonia [بابل], Susa [شوش], Parus [پارس] and Medea during said period after when he was able to capture the Euphrates areas. When, he was about to move towards Balkh [بلخ,] in the flurry of his conquests, the internal insurgencies had compelled him to take a detour.

Tridates [تیرداد] was really overwhelmed by the Egyptian raids. Ptolemy [بطلیموس] had moved however, towards Hyricania or Gorgan [گرگان] while retreating and he was able to annex it after getting released from the occupation of the Seleucid [سلوکس] domination (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.228)***.

Attack of Antiochus-II on Parat [انٹی اوکس دوم کا پارت پر حملہ]:

Antiochus-II had organized a raid in 237 B.C along-with his brother namely, Seleucid-II [سلوکس دوم] to invade Parat (Khurasan) which was under an agreement with Deudus. Tridates [تیرداد] had sought the support from the Saka or Sakie tribes in the wake of said move because they were in the area between river (Amu) Oxus [دریائے جیحوں] and [دریائے سیحوں] or river Syr [دریئے سیر]. The Saka people had sent their troops to Tridates [تیرداد] without delay. Deudus had died however, exactly at that time and Tridates [تیرداد] had approached the son of Deudus. They had entered into an agreement then to fight against Antiochus-II. The Seleucid had managed their escape from the battlefield however when the actual battle had taken place.

Stronghold of the Panni reign [پنّیوں کا پایۂ تخت]:

When there was some peace, Tridates [تیرداد] had decided to concentrate on the internal affairs. He had built the forts for the defense of the strategic places and besides that, he had developed many new cities. He had also developed a new city in Hyricania or Gorgan [گرگان] under the name as Dada [دادا] in order to make it his capital. The said city was surrounded by mountains with fresh water fountains therefore said city had become a very good touristic place. The significance of the aforementioned city had never diminished even after the death of Tridates [تیرداد]. The rulers, who had succeeded him, had also maintained said city as their capital.

Death of Tridates [تیرداد کی وفات]:

Tridates Panni [تیرداد] or Arshak [ارشک] had died at a ripe age in 214 B.C after when he had consolidated well, the foundations of his reign. He was the first Panni ruler who had adopted the title as the Emperor for himself which was on the style of the Achaemenids [اشامینی] rulers.

ARSHAK-III OR ARDAWAN PANNI-I

[ارشک سوم یاارداوان پنّی]

214 B.C. to 196 B.C.

Conquest of Medea and Kurdistan [میڈیا اور کردستان کی تسخیر]:

Ardawan-I [ارشک سوم یاارداوان پنّی] had assumed the power with the title as Arshak-III [ارشک سوم] in 214 B.C after the death of his father Tridates Panni [تیرداد]. Since the Roman king namely Antiochus-III [انٹی اووکس سوم] was busy in an expedition in Asia Minor therefore, he had also decided to expand his kingdom as a measure of retaliation. He had captured Medea immediately and then he had opted to go to Kurdistan [کردستان] via mountains of Hyricania or Gorgan [گرگان].

Then, he was able to subjugate the entire area and annexed the area of Hamadan Kulah [ہمدان کلاہ] with his dominion thereafter along-with the area in between the two rivers i.e. (Amu) Oxus [دریائے جیحوں] and [دریائے سیحوں] or Syr [دریئے سیر] (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.231 to 239)***.

War against Antiochus-III [انٹی اووکس سوم]:

The king of Syria namely, Antiochus-III [انٹی اووکس سوم] had made available a huge lashker to encounter the onward march of the Panni troops. Those lashkers consisted of one hundred thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry soldiers, according to some historians. He had made the repeated attempts to recapture the dominions of Asia Minor. The Armenian area was the first stepping stone towards his ultimate destiny. He had conquered it in 209 B.C and he had moved towards Medea where he had found Ardawan-I [ارشک سوم یاارداوان پنّی] defenseless against his march. Antiochus-III [انٹی اووکس سوم] was able to capture his state capital therefore, without much resistance. He had ravaged the entire area and he had also plundered the treasure in the temple of Anahta Davi [اناہتا دیوی] and had caused damage to the temple as well.

Since, Medea was detached from the Panni reign during said time therefore, Ardawan-I [ارشک سوم یاارداوان پنّی] had decided to defend the onslaught of Antiochus-III [انٹی اووکس سوم]. He had filled up the underground water channels with stones as a tactical move which was with the intention to deny the enemy an easy access to the water. He had even tried to contaminate the water at some places with some toxic material but, Antiochus-III [انٹی اووکس سوم] was able to approach said area very swiftly. He was able to reach the main city i.e. Hecatomipylus well before time when the water was not even polluted completely and he had captured the area. Antiochus-III [انٹی اووکس سوم] was under the impression that the Panni ruler was intimidated perhaps and he was likely to succumb to his onslaught but Ardawan-I [ارشک سوم یاارداوان پنّی] was ready to defend his state against all odds. He had approached Hyricania or Gorgan [گرگان] and he was able to obtain some reinforcement from the Saka tribes. Antiochus-III [انٹی اووکس سوم] had also chased him in the labyrinth of Koh Alberz [کوہ البرز]. He had reached Hyricania or Gorgan [گرگان] simultaneously but, his lashker was very tired due to the hazardous terrain. He was not confident enough however, to meet the success in Hyricania or Gorgan [گرگان]. The battleground

was all set and then a long drawn battle had also taken place. Antiochus-III [انٹی اووکس سوم] had decided to enter into an armistice with Ardawan-I [ارشک سوم یاارداوان پنّی], pursuant to said situation. Then an armistice was worked out between the two sides with the condition that Ardawan-I [ارشک سوم یاارداوان پنّی] was supposed to support the attack of Antiochus-III [انٹی سوم اووکس] against Balkh [بلخ] and in return Antiochus-III [انٹی اووکس سوم] was supposed to accredit recognition to his reign. Ardawan-I [ارشک سوم یاارداوان پنّی] had accepted said condition and he had provided the stipulated assistance in this regard in compliance with the terms of armistice. The history has not unveiled however, any reference with regard to the outcome of said attack. Ardawan-I [ارشک سوم یاارداوان پنّی] was desirous to attack the Balkh area in any case but the death had not spared him said opportunity. He had died in 196 B.C. (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.232 to 233)***.

ARSHAK-IV OR FERYAPAT PANNI

[ارشک چہارم فریاپت پنّی]

196 B.C. to 181 B.C.

Arshak-IV or Feryapat Panni [ارشک چہارم فریاپت پنّی] had taken over the administrative control of the state after the death of his father Phriapatius Panni. He had assumed the title as Arshak-IV [ارشک چہارم]. He had ruled for about fifteen years without any disturbance. There was no activity of historical significance as such to further highlight his reign. (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 233)***.

ARSHAK-V OR FERYAPAT PANNI-I

[ارشک پنجم فریاپت فرہاد پنّی اول]

181 B.C. to 174 B.C.

Arshak-IV or Feryapat Panni (*Phriapatius*) [ارشک چہارم فریاپت پنّی] had died and soon thereafter his son namely Phraetes (فرہاد پنّی) had taken over the administrative control of the sultanate.

Phraetes (فرہاد پنّی) had assumed the title as Arshak-V [ارشک پنجم]. He had diverted his attention immediately towards the Mards [مارد] (*Mardakan*) tribes (*Mardakan is the oldest village in "Abs heron peninsula" which is known after a tribe called Mards*) after the takeover. Those tribes used to have their habitats on both sides of the river Aama and Mards [مارد]. They were really known as hoi polloi people. They used to carry out looting and plundering in the border areas of the Panni sultanate. The man-hunt campaign of Phraetes (فرہاد پنّی اول) against those miscreants had lasted for several years. The Seleucid [سلیوقی] had remained completely aloof however, during the course of said crackdown despite the fact that the Mards [مارد] (*Mardakan*) tribes used to live under their protection. The aforementioned fact had proved that the Seleucid [سلیوقی] reign was weak enough to defend its sovereign status. When, Phraetes (فرہاد پنّی اول) was able to sort out the Mards [مارد] (*Mardakan*) tribes effectively then he had diverted his attention towards the area which was known as Ray city [شہرِ ری] (*Rey, Rayy, Ray, Rhages or Rages was also known as Shahr-e-Rey which was the oldest existing city in Tehran*). The same was between Hyricania or Gorgan [گرگان] sea and Medea. The epigraph of Bishoon [بیشون] of the great Daryoush Azam [داریوش اعظم] had depicted the Rey [شہرِ ری] as Argh [ارگ]. The name Argh [ارگ] was also written in the Avesta-Zeng [اوستا ژند].

Conquest of Rey [شہرِ ری]:

When the sons of Phraetes (فرہاد پنّی اول) were still very young and he had fallen sick, he was not able to live very long after the conquest of Rey City [شہرِ ری] (*Rayy, Ray, Rhages or Rages or Shahr-e-Rey*). He was unwilling to handover the administrative control of the sultanate to any of his sons at their tender age therefore, he had appointed his brother namely, Maherdad [مہرداد پنّی] as his successor. The historian Justin had given the reason for said succession that Maherdad [مہرداد پنّی] was a brave and an intelligent person and his credo was that "the interest of the sultanate was more important than children". Thus, he had placed the interest of the state above the love for his own sons. The later events had also proved that his decision was correct. There were two mighty neighbors of Parat or Khurasan in those days. The Seleucids [سلیوقی] were on the one side whereas the Bactrians reign was on the eastern side. Thus, the Panni rulers were exposed to both the states perilously which had made it all the more essential for Parat to have an intelligent, brave and experienced ruler (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 235 and 336)***.

ARSHAK-VI OR MAHERDAD PANNI-I

[ارشک ششم مہرداد پنّی اول]

174 B.C. to 126 B.C.

Maherdad [مہرداد پنّی]-I (*Mithradates*) was enthroned in 174 B.C. He had assumed the title as, Arshak-VI. The Askani [اشکانی] (*Panni*) sultanate was concentrated mainly into a more specified area at that time which included the area of Mards [مارد] tribes on the one side and the area of Rey City [شہر ری] on the other side. Maherdad [مہرداد پنّی] had expanded his state and he was able to consolidate his sultanate to such an extent that his sultanate had proved to be a formidable rival and adversary for the Roman Empire during the reigning period of 34 years (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 235 and 236)***.

The Bactrian state was divided into two parts on the eastern side when Maherdad [مہرداد پنّی] had taken over the reins of power. There was one part of the Bactrian state which had the extended limits up-to the Punjab area. The Greco-Bactrian state had weakened resultantly, on the other side whereas the Seleucid [سلیوقی] state had also become very weak after passing through phases of ups and downs. The Medea had also slipped out of its grip. They had also remained engaged for about fifty years against the Palestinian Jews (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 236 and 239)***.

Conquests [فتوحات]:

The internal insurgencies from both sides had provided an opportunity to Maherdad [مہرداد پنّی] to move forward into the both eastern and western areas. He had concentrated on the eastern expeditions in order to consolidate his position even prior to moving into the west. He had launched his first attack therefore against Bactria [بلخ] and he had annexed it with his own sultanate after a successful run over.

Conquest of Upper Medea [بزرگ میڈیا فتح]:

Maherdad [مہرداد پنّی] had moved towards the Upper Medea (*Char ax Sidae, near Seleucia* [سلوکیا] *in Mesopotamia*) after when he was able to consolidate his hold on Bactria [بلخ] where he had fought a bloody battle. Maherdad [مہرداد پنّی] had come out all victorious and he was able to include Medea into the Parat (*Parthia*) sultanate, ultimately. He had handed over the administrative control of said area to Baclisus and then he had opted to go to Hyricania or Gorgan [گرگان] in order to contain the impending insurgency.

Insurgency in Hyricania or Gorgan [گرگان کی شورش]:

The people of Gorgan had some distinctive achievements to their credit under their previous rulers i.e. the Merv [منیشی] or Merv (مرو). They were denied the opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their achievements however, under the Panni rule. Thus, they had no other option but to initiate the movement for their independence. Maherdad Panni [مہرداد پنّی] had not spared them any opportunity however, to convert their insurgency into actual liberation. He was able to reach Hyricania or Gorgan [گرگان] very swiftly and he was able to contain the insurgents (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 340)***.

Conquest of Khuzestan [خوزستان کی فتح]:

Maherdad Panni [مہرداد پنّی] had moved towards Ellam [عیلام], Khuzestan [خوزستان] after the conquest of upper Medea which was his neighboring country. The same was also the country which was named as Khodaj [خودج] in the epigraphs of Takhat Jamshaid [تخت جمشید] and in Naqsh Rustam [نقش رستم] of Great Daryoush Azam [داریوش اعظم] (*485 to 521 B.C.*) which was under the Seleucid [سلیوقی] reign at that time. Maherdad Panni [مہرداد پنّی] had launched an attack against Khuzestan and he was able to annex it with his Parat sultanate. He had appointed Manseker as ruler of said area. He was a member of the Panni dynasty.

Conquest of Parus and Babylonia [پارس اور بابل کی فتح]:

Maherdad Panni [مہرداد پنّی] had launched the attack against Parus after the conquest of Khuzestan. He had moved towards Babylonia thereafter and he had amalgamated both areas into his sultanate. The governance of (Parthia) Parat [پارت] was extended thus, to Balkh [بلخ], Medea [میڈیا], Khuzestan [خوزستان], Parus [پارس], Babylonia [بابل], Seistan [سیستان] as well as, into northern Afghanistan [افغانستان]. The aforementioned conquests had taken place during the reign of the Panni rulers i.e. from 164 to 140 B.C. The said sultanate had overall administrative control of Hyricania or Gorgan [گرگان], Balkh, Merv (مرو), Khawarzam, Heart, Zeng [زنگ] (*Seistan* [سیستان]) Khaj [خج] (*Kandahar*) Punjab besides the area of Mards tribe, Rey City, Medea, Khuzestan and Babylonia. Maherdad Panni [مہرداد پنّی] had opted to go back to Parat after the conquests of all the aforementioned areas. He had remained busy for about twenty years thereafter in the consolidation process and he was able to stabilize his large sultanate (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 342)***.

War against Seleucid [سلیوقی حکومت سے جنگ]:

The Seleucid [سلیوقی] rule had become fragile due to internal disturbances. The Seleucid [سلیوقی] rulers were completely helpless when the eastern dominions had started drifting away one after the other. The rising power of Parat had also posed a threat to them and thus they had no other option but to forestall the onward march of Arshak-VI.

The Seleucid [سلیوقی] ruler namely, Demetrius Balkhi [ذیمٹریئس بلخی] was although pitched against his rival Diodotus Tryphon yet, he had given more importance to the threat from Parat. He had opted to cast aside the internal insurgencies and he had worked out a plan to sort out Maherdad Panni [مہرداد پنّی]. He had prepared a lashker which had included the people from Balkh (“Iran Pastan” *reference Justin*) Parsis and Khuzestan according to the historians. He was confident to win over the Roman subjects under the Panni rulers. He was able to execute his political strategy

therefore, in the same manner exactly and when, he was able to infiltrate into the eastern areas, the throngs of Grecians had declared to join hands with him. When, Maherdad Panni [مہرداد پنّی] was able to gauge the situation, he had extended the hand of friendship to Demetrius to normalize the situation. The said move had worked out well for him and Demetrius had moved out all alone in the frontline of soldiers to shake hands. Maherdad Panni [مہرداد پنّی] had arrested him however and he had made him a prisoner. Then, he had kept him as a captive *détnu* throughout in his journey. When, the lashker of Demetrius was able to learn about said capture, they had panicked and they had adopted the course of dispersal. Maherdad Panni [مہرداد پنّی] had treated Demetrius with magnanimity on the dispersal of his troops. He had provided him the accommodation in the royal palace in Gorgan. Demetrius had made an attempt to escape from the royal palace however, during the reign of the successor of Maherdad Panni [مہرداد پنّی] but he was arrested again.

Arshak-VI had planned to launch an attack against Syria thereafter but, he had fallen sick and he had died, in 136 B.C.

The reigning power of Parat had expanded far and wide during his reign of about thirty eight years and had included Balkh [بلخ], Medea [میڈیا], Khuzestan [خوزستان], Parus [پارس], Babylonia [بابل], Seistan [سیستان] and northern Afghanistan [افغانستان]. The said reign had the exclusive administrative control over Hyricania or Gorgan [گرگان], Balkh, Merv (مرو), Khawarzam, Heart, Zeng [ژنگ] (Seistan [سیستان]) Khaj [خج] (Kandahar), Punjab and the area of Mards tribe. He was also able to capture all the main routes from the river Oxus to river Khazer (Hatra) [الحضر] (*Caspian Sea*) (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 241 and 242)***. He was able to reach river Tigris [دریئے دجلہ] in 141 B.C according to Professor Fry, an expert in the Iranian studies. There was historical evidence that the limits of his governance was up-to the fringes of Asia Minor. He had dispatched the expeditions into Hindustan from Arghola [ارغولہ] which was on the eastern side (***Page No.185***). The numismatic evidence had also ratified the same fact. He had assumed the title as, the Great king, very deservedly.

Founder of the Parsi Cap [پارسی ٹوپی کا مخترع]:

Maherdad Panni [مہرداد پنّی] was the first ruler who had proclaimed himself as the "Satrap of Satraps" i.e. the ruler of rulers. He had declared himself as the Great Emperor. The discovery of said historical fact was made through the numismatic evidence. There were coins of his era which had his embossed effigy with a long angular or conical cap. The top of the cap and the bottom fringes were decorated with hanging diamonds. The front of the cap had contained a star which was also studded with diamonds. The said cap was adopted as an emblem by his successor Panni rulers which had remained as voguish rank and fashion as well. The same style of cap was also adopted by the ruler of Odessa and other rulers which had included the Sassanid [ساسانی] ruler namely, Ardsher [اردشیر]. He was the pioneer in stalking the Panni rule (***Fry Page No.185-182***). The said cap had also become a regular dress feature of the Sassanid [ساسانی] rulers with the passage of time. The Zoroastrians of Subcontinent used to put on said dove color cap until recent times and especially on their national or religious festivals. The top front and the bottom fringes of the cap used to be embroidered *petit point* or decorated usually with some design patterns instead of diamonds (*Writer*).

ARSHAK-VII OR FERHAD (PHRAATES) PANNI-II

[ارشک ہفتم فرہاد پنّی دوم]

127 B.C. to 136 B.C.

Ferhad (*Phraates*) Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] had assumed the title as Arshak-VII [ارشک ہفتم] on the death of his father Maherdad Panni [مہرداد پنّی]. He had remained in power till 136 B.C. Maherdad Panni [مہرداد پنّی] had planned to conquer Syria but life had not spared him time to execute his plans. Then, said plan had automatically devolved upon his son Ferhad (*Phraates*) Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم].

Demetrius was still in the captivity of Ferhad Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] (*Phraates*) who had given him the royal accommodation along-with the royal protocol. The Greek Demetrius used to

always remain perturbed and as soon as he was able to find opportunity, he made an attempt to escape from the captivity. He had fled to Gorgan where he was chased and then he was arrested. He was condemned into captivity once again.

War against Seleucid [سلیوقیوں سے جنگ]:

Antiochus-V [انٹی اووکس پنجم] Dionysus had ascended to the Seleucid throne in 138 B.C, with the title as Antiochus-VI [انٹی اووکس ششم]. He had relaxed his policy against the Palestinian Jews and he had given them various incentives. They had surrendered to the Seleucid administrative control, resultantly.

The Grecian Antiochus-VI [انٹی اووکس ششم] had assembled a formidable lashker in 130 B.C between the two rivers [بین النہرین] (*perhaps Euphrates and Tigris* (*Writer*) against his rival namely, Ferhad (*Phraates*) Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم]. He was received in the area with open arms just like Greek Demetrius. The Grecians had become united in large numbers under his leadership. He had fought three battles consecutively against Ferhad (*Phraates*) Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] and he was able to liberate Babylonia and Medea in a decisive victory. The same had resulted in reducing the Parat sultanate in size. The general perception at that time was that, Antiochus-VI [انٹی اووکس ششم] was likely to repeat the history of his forefathers but, his lashker was somewhat disconcerted and had also shown reluctance for onward march. Ferhad Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] (*Phraates*) had devised a military strategy in the wake of said situation and then, he had extended the hand of friendship to promote the reconciliation process. Antiochus-VI [انٹی ششم اووکس] had imposed very tough conditions of bargain. The first condition was that the Parat state was supposed to remain confined to the extent of Khurasan only and said state was supposed to have no concern whatsoever with the other territories. The second condition was that his brother Demetrius *détenu* was supposed to be released against the payment of ransom.

Antiochus committed suicide [انٹی اووکس کی خودکشی]:

Ferhad Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] (*Phraates*) had made a move at that time. He had released Demetrius as a counter strategy and he had assigned him the job of heading the troops against Antiochus to conquer Syria. The same was a move to bring parity during the temporary rapprochement period. The Medians had attacked them however, under the instructions of Antiochus as soon as his troops were able to reach Medea. Ferhad Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] (*Phraates*) had reached Hamadan [ہمدان] with reinforcement to strengthen the entrenched position of Antiochus. Then, they both had clashed against each other and the troops of Antiochus were defeated and Ferhad Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] (*Phraates*) had come out all victorious. Antiochus was injured very badly during said war and then he had jumped from a rock in desperation and had committed suicide. The insult of defeat was too much for him to handle.

Ferhad Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] (*Phraates*) had put the dead body of Antiochus in a silver casket and then he had sent it to Syria with royal protocol (***Justin, Iran Pastan*** [ایران پاستان] ***Page No.2241***). The said gesture of Ferhad Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] (*Phraates*) was always looked upon as a gesture *esprit de corps* of gentility. The historians were of the view that he was desirous to conquer Syria. The latent objective of said gesture was therefore, to win the hearts of the Syrians. The death of Antiochus had proved to be the beginning of the end of Seleucid rule.

Death of Demetrius:

Demetrius was able to reach Syria with his lashker and then he was able to take over the reign of administration but his rule had lasted for only a few days. When, he was in the process of settling down, the insurgencies had erupted in Antioch (*Antakya*) [انطاکیہ] as well as, in other cities. He had rushed to Sur [صور] (*Sur Baher is an Arab neighborhood on the southeastern outskirts of Jerusalem*) in order to quell down the same but, he was killed by the insurgents. The death of Demetrius had proved to be the last nail in the coffin of the Seleucid rule.

Attack against Parat by the Saka nation [ساکا قوم کا پارت پر حملہ]:

When, Ferhad Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] (*Phraates*) was engaged in war against Antiochus, he had requested the Saka tribes for some reinforcement. When, the Sakas were able to reach with reinforcement, the war was over by that time. The Sakas had demanded nevertheless, the due compensation. Since, the Sakas had not participated in the practical war therefore Ferhad Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] (*Phraates*) had turned down their demands. The said refusal had antagonized the Sakas and then they had ransacked many areas of Parat. Ferhad Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] (*Phraates*) had marched towards Parat in order to sort out the Sakas. The Grecians, who were apprehended at the death of Antiochus, had also supported him at that time. He had forgotten perhaps that, those Greeks had hatched a surprise of betrayal for him. When, the Sakas were able to prevail on the troops of Ferhad Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] (*Phraates*), the Greek captives had deserted Ferhad Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] (*Phraates*) and then, they had joined hands with the Saka people. The same desertion had not resulted only in the defeat of Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation but, Ferhad Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] (*Phraates*) was also killed during said political ruffle (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 242, Fry Page No.185)***.

ARSHAK-VIII OR ARDAWAN PANNI-II

[ارشک ہشتم اردون پنّی دوم]

127 B.C. to 124 B.C.

The uncle of Ferhad Panni-II [فرہاد پنّی دوم] (*Phraates*) namely, Ardawan Panni-II [ارداوان پنّی دوم] had assumed the title, as Arshak-VIII [ارشک ہشتم] on his death. He was enthroned in 127 B.C. He was the son of Ferhad Panni [فرہاد پنّی] or Feryapat [فریپت] (*Phraates*). There was no evidence available historically to prove that, Ferhad-II (*Phraates*) also had a son and even if he had one, said son was very young at that time. The council of lords was obliged therefore to enthrone Ardawan Panni-II [ارداوان پنّی دوم] as king according to the historian, Justin.

War against the tribes [قبائیل کے خلاف جنگ]:

The looting and plundering of the Sakas had set afloat many internal problems for the Panni reign. The one major problem was the Greeks who were likely to establish their rule in Parat in collaboration with the Saka people. There was no possibility to obtain any reinforcement from Babylonia in such eventuality to curb said move. Babylonia was under the Panni rule but, its ruler namely, Phermius was a very dishonest and obstinate person. He had plans to incite the ill-will among the people of Babylonia as well as, against the entire Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation. The biggest problem at that time was the threat of Yueh-Chi tribes which had surfaced from the northeastern side of Iran. They had moved like a ferocious wave with the help of the central Asian states or China, towards the south and the west. The onward march of those tribes and their domineering character had set afloat many changes in the world. The local population of the areas used to make adjustments in order to accommodate them wherever their expeditions used to be in action. There were many smaller states which had totally submerged in said process and there were many new states which had emerged, simultaneously. The emergence of those tribes had become a concern for Ardawan Panni-II [ارداوان پنّی دوم]. The expeditions of Yueh-Chi tribes had also continued even in many other countries, during different periods.

Ardawan Panni-II [ارداوان پنّی دوم] had organized the raids against the Takhari [طخاری] tribe which was the offshoot of the Saka people. They were a threat to the Panni rule in Parat as well. Ardawan Panni-II [ارداوان پنّی دوم] had received some fatal wounds on his arm during those raids which had resulted in his death and his lashker had lost ground as a consequence. The lashker had opted to retreat. He was the second Panni or Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) ruler who had died during the war against those tribes. The person who was enthroned on his death was deemed to be one of the most popular kings of Iran. The Panni rule had entered into a complete new phase as a result of the same (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 246 to 248, Fry Page No.146 to 185, Britannica Page No.434)***.

ARSHAK-IX (MITHRADATES) OR MAHERDAD PANNI-II

[ارشک نہم مہرداد پنّی دوم]

124 B.C. to 88 B.C.

Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] had assumed power in 124 B.C at the death of Ardawan Panni-II [ارداوان پنّی دوم]. He had assumed the title as Arshak-VIII [ارشک نہم]. He was cognizant of the fact that there were his two predecessor kings who were killed by the northern tribes. He had moved against the Sakas or Scythians right at the outset therefore, after assuming the reign of power. He had subjugated them and his victory had effaced the stigma of defeat of Ardawan Panni-II [ارداوان پنّی دوم], resultantly. The Saka people had never dared to enter the Iranian limits, thereafter. They had selected the weaker areas instead for their raids and they had marched into the present Afghanistan [افغانستان].

Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] had moved towards the east after sorting out the Sakas. He had included the area of the Himalayas into his sultanate. The Arshukani [اشکانی] Panni Princes had also ruled the Himalayas one after the other. The coins *fleur de coins* of said period were disinterred by the Shaiks according to the "History of Persia" *Page Volume No.1 Page No.235.* The numismatic study had proved that the Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation had ruled said area for some time. The Panni sultanate had also included the area of Kandahar according to the historian, Isador. The limits of the same were up to Hindustan. There was one large group of Panni people which had moved out and was able to reach Hindustan. They had become known then, as the Indo-Parthi people. They had helped the Sakas to settle down in the eastern part.

Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] had moved towards Armenia after the eastern expedition. Armenia was supposedly the new cradle of mankind after the flood of Noah [طوفانِ نوح], according to the ancient traditions and mythologies as well as, according to the history book by the Iranian historian namely, Hassan Pernia [حسن پرنیا]. The said book was captioned as "Iran Pastan" [ایران پاستان] *page No.2267*. The name of their legendry patriarch was Hayk Nahapet (*also known as Haig or Haik*) according to the Armenian version of history. He was the son of a person whose name was mentioned in Torah [تورۃ] as "Togarmah" [توگورمہ]. Armenia also had the designated name, as Haykistan [ہائکستان] just by virtue of the word Hayk. When, Antiochus-II

had launched the attack against Iran and in the areas in its vicinity, Armenia had become the Seleucid dominion. When, Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] was able to take back his territories from the Seleucid rulers i.e. Mad, Khuzestan, Babylonia then, Armenia was also liberated, simultaneously. The prince Wal Arshak or Wal Panni was the Armenian ruler, at that time and his reign had lasted from 150 B.C. to 148 B.C. He was related to the Panni rulers of Parat. The limits of his dominion were from Koh Kafqaz [کوہ قفقاز] to Naseebain [نصیبین] in those days and his son namely, Ardashush or Artashes Panni was enthroned after Wal Arshak or Wal Panni. He was the contemporary ruler of Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم]. The title Arshak [ارشک] was assigned to the names of the Armenian rulers as well which was the title of the Panni rulers of Parat.

Maherdad Panni-II and Armenia [مہرداد پنّی دوم]:

The king Artashes Panni had tried to reduce the influence of the Iranian Panni regime, during the reign of Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] with the intention to promote the autonomy. Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] had launched an attack against Armenia in 100 B.C, in the wake of said situation and then, he had defeated Aartawasa Panni. They had worked out some rapprochement agenda thereafter with the condition of committing Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی] the son of Artashes, as a hostage with the Panni ruler in Parat. He was depicted with a long cap or helmet on coinage, according to some numismatic evidence. The cap used to be studded with diamonds at both ends and with a star at the front and used to be the Parthian symbol.

Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی] was awarded the rule of Armenia on the death of his father Artashes Panni. He had consolidated his reign of power very intelligently. The limits of his kingdom were from the gulf of Elvis to the river Khazer (Hatra) [الحضر]. The influence of the administrators of the kingdom in the area was so overwhelming that even at the downfall of the Panni dynasty in Iran i.e. during the reign of their Sassanid [ساسانی] rulers those administrators were very much in power. (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 245, 246, Fry Page No.185)***. The people of Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation still exist, in said area (*Writer*).

Rule of Maherdad VI in Pontus [پونٹس میں مہرداد ششم کی حکومت]:

There was a person by the name of Maherdad VI [مہرداد ششم] who was not related to the Panni nation. He had appeared on the political horizon however, during the same period. He had claimed to be the Achaemenid from his paternal side and he was considered to be a Seleucid from his maternal side. He was able to establish a small state successfully, in Pontus. He had moved towards Armenia in order to expand his reign of power and he was able to conquer the area of lesser Armenia. Then, an armistice was arrived at between him and Tigranes Panni [پنّی تیرداد]. The reigning authority of Maherdad VI [مہرداد ششم] was acknowledged on lesser Armenia for the period, they were in the process to settle the terms of reconciliation of armistice. The border of lesser Armenia was contiguous with Parat or Khurasan.

Maherdad VI [مہرداد ششم] was not contended with the armistice therefore, he had decided to execute his expansion policy. The said expansion had favored Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] i.e. the ruler of Parat and the Roman governorates, due to their mutual interests. Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] was quite perturbed by the joint venture of Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی] and Maherdad VI [مہرداد ششم]. The perturbation was due to the reason that Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی] was able to get into power in Armenia with the aid of the rulers in Parat. Tigranes Panni [پنّی تیرداد] had entered into an agreement therefore, with Maherdad VI [مہرداد ششم] and he had parted with the portion of Armenia. He had backed out from said agreement, subsequently. Then, he had ravaged the Parat area which was in the middle of Arbel (*Arbel is Moshav in northern Israel located on Mount Arbel next to the seas of Galilee near Tiberius*) and Netofa (*Netofa is a religious communal settlement in the lower region of Galilee*) and Nineveh (*An ancient city on the eastern bank of river Tigris*).

Maherdad VI [مہرداد ششم] of Pontus had lacked the courage to confront the Roman viceroy. He had to give up therefore, the area of Uruk [ورکاء] (*Uruk an ancient city of Sumer and later Babylonia*). The Roman commander had opted to go past said area and he had marched up to the river Euphrates. The Roman lashker was able to reach the river Euphrates for the first time and it was declared thereafter as the extreme limit of the Roman Empire.

Roman and Panni alliance [رومی اور پنّی ارتباط]:

When, Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] had realized that the Roman clergy had sent his emissary to Uruk [ورکاء], he had also sent his envoy with the intention to sign some defense pact with the Parat and the Roman rulers. The Roman commander was disinclined to sign however, such pact and he had extended the excuse that the signing was not possible, in the absence of the requisite permission from the Roman senate. The said exercise had proved to be the stepping stone however, to form an alliance between the two states. The unsuccessful emissary of the Roman clergy had returned and then he was murdered just because he had failed to present the case of his state properly.

Alliance with Chinese [چنیوں سے ارتباط] (**120 B.C. to 88 B.C.**):

When, Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] had decided to form a coalition with the Greeks, the Chinese regime had also sent its envoy to Parat for the first time. The Chinese scholars had maintained the unanimous view that China had little knowledge about the western countries, till 140 B.C. When, the Hun Dynasty had come into power in China, they had sent several envoys to Parat. The main produce of Parat was rice, wheat and grapes according to those Chinese envoys. The cities had the fortified walls and Parat was a great country. The currency of Parat was silver coins, with embossed effigies of their rulers. The historians of Parat used to document the history by writing on the both sides of the tanned hides (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 248 to 251***, ***Fry Page No.65***).

ARSHAK-X OR SANTROK PANNI-II

[ارشک دہم سنتروک پنّی]

86 BC to 67 BC.

The death of Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] had brought the shadows of darkness in the history of Iran, from 86 BC to 67 BC. The historical facts had revealed that there were three rulers i.e. Santrok [سنتروک], Ferhad (*Phraates*)-III [فرہاد سوم] and Maherdad-III [مہرداد سوم] and all three of them had assumed power consecutively from 88 B.C. to 67 B.C i.e. prior to the

enthronement of Orodes-I [آرداول] and after the death of Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم]. There was a portion of the state of Parat which had remained without any ruler or governance for some time, according to Hassan Pernia [حسن پرنیا] ("***Iran Pastan***" [ایران پاستان] *Page No.2276-77*). Then, there was a chief by the name of Santrok Panni [سنتروک پنّی] who was enthroned, eventually. He was the brother of Ferhad-II (*Phraates*) according to some historians whereas according to some others, he was the brother of Arshak-VI [ارشک ششم]. He was a Panni prince and the Sakas had defeated the Panni people during his reign. He was also arrested by them. He had remained in their captivity for a very long time. The Sakas had supported him however to take back control of Parat. They had made available to him all the support of their troops in this regard and he was able to take his lost reign back as a result of the same. He was in his eighties at that time. When he had taken over the power, the political situation in Parat was in the manner, as below:

> Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] was desirous to send his emissary to the Greek commander which was a clear indicator of the fact that the governorate of Parat was weak as compared with the governorate of Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی] of Armenia. Maherdad-VI was the son-in law of Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی] and he was the king of Pontus. Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی] of Armenia was a brave ruler. He had conquered many areas and had also assumed the title as the Emperor.

The Parat governorate was insignificant historically during the period from 88 B.C till 69 B.C i.e. prior to the reign of Santrok Panni [سنتروک پنّی]. The king of Pontus namely Maherdad-VI was an ally of Santrok Panni [سنتروک پنّی]. The Roman commander, on the other hand, was inclined to remain in the reckoning and he had decided to call off his campaign therefore, against Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی] of Armenia. He had launched an attack instead against Parat and he was able to besiege the same. When, the ungainly siege had lasted for a longer time than required, the same was lifted and his troops had withdrawn. The lashker had taken the detour thereafter.

The aged Santrok Panni [سنتروک پنّی] had died in the meantime and Ferhad (Phraates) Panni-III was coroneted as the king in his place. There were many battles at the same time between the Romans and Maherdad-VI. Those battles had also created a great impact on the Iranian history (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 251 to 254***).

ARSHAK- XI OR FERHAD (PHRAATES) PANNI-III

[ارشک یاز دہم فرہاد پنّی سوم]

67 B.C. to 60 B.C.

When, Santrok Panni [سنتروک پنّی] had died in 67 B.C his son Ferhad (Phraates) Panni-III [فرہاد پنّی سوم] was enthroned as king with the title as Arshak- XI [ارشک یاز دہم].

Attack against Armenia [آرمینیا پر حملہ]:

When, the Roman General namely, Gnaeus Pompeius had entered in Asia Minor, in order to form a coalition for Rome, he had decided to negotiate terms with Ferhad (Phraates) Panni-III [فرہاد پنّی سوم]. He was willing to transfer Caappadocia (*Patara*) and Azerbaijan [آزربائیجان] to Ferhad (*Phraates*) Panni-III [فرہاد پنّی سوم] under said coalition, which were a part of the dominion of Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی] of Armenia. The said proposal was unacceptable in any case to Panni-III [فرہاد پنّی سوم]. The son of Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی] of Armenia was held *hors de combat* as a security hostage in those days to ensure the fidelity which was however the most opportune time for him to launch an attack against Armenia. Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی] had managed his escape from Artaxata (*Artashat*) i.e. the capital of Armenia and he had sought refuge into the mountains. Then, Ferhad (*Phraates*) Panni-III [فرہاد پنّی سوم] had realized that his expedition was likely to shake off the requisite impact therefore, he had handed over the administrative control of the siege of Artaxata (*Artashat*) to the Prince of Armenia and he had taken the detour. Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی] had made his return to the capital Artaxata (*Artashat*) and he had cleared it up from the insurgents as soon as, Ferhad (*Phraates*) Panni-III [فرہاد پنّی سوم] had taken the detour from Artaxata (*Artashat*). The Roman General Gnaeus Pompeius had initiated the negotiations with Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی] at that point of time and he was able to dictate all those terms which were suitable for him. Ferhad (*Phraates*) Panni-III [فرہاد پنّی سوم] had annexed the area of Azerbaijan, [آزربائیجان] with the Panni sultanate of Iran. He had planned to bring Artaxata (*Artashat*) therefore, into his own dominion as well. The viceroy of the Roman General Gnaeus Pompeius had not allowed him to enter Artaxata (*Artashat*) rather he had opted to return said disputed area to Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی]. The said move was an open deviation from the terms by the Romans which they had settled with Ferhad (*Phraates*) Panni-III [فرہاد پنّی

سوم] of Parat. The Roman General Gnaeus Pompeius had also refused to accept Ferhad (*Phraates*) Panni-III [فرہاد پنّی سوم] as an Emperor. The said standoff had invited resultantly animoisty of the Iranians against the Romans. The Roman General Gnaeus Pompeius was also prepared for an attack against the Panni sultanate of Parat but, the Roman senate had not sanctioned the permission for the same. The General Gnaeus Pompeius was convinced to launch perhaps an attack against Iran to invite greater troubles. He had made further assessment that the possibility of defeat was greater than the possibility of victory. He had given up his plans therefore because they were executable at the cost of his reputation. He had appointed an arbitrator then, to resolve the differences between Armenia and the sultanate of Parat or Iran and he had opted to go back home thereafter.

Death of Ferhad (Phraates) Panni-III [فرہاد بنی سوم کی موت]:

Ferhad Panni-III [فرہاد پنّی سوم] (*Phraates*) was poisoned by his two sons and he was killed in 60 B.C. The historians have not given any reason for said abhorrent act. He was the first ruler of Parat or the Iranian sultanate who was killed by his sons. The said ferocious act had resulted then into a series of fratricide and patricide instances in the Panni dynasty (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 254 to 255***).

ARSHAK- XII OR MAHERDAD PANNI-III

[ارشک دواز دہم مہرداد پنّی سوم]

60 B.C. to 55 B.C.

Maherdad Panni-III [مہرداد پنّی سوم] had become the ruler of Iran after the killing of his father. He had assumed the title as Arshak- XII [ارشک دواز دہم].

Attack against Armenia [آرمینیا پر حملہ]:

Maherdad Panni-III [مہرداد پنّی سوم] had no sooner taken over the reins of power in Armenia he had started preparations for the expansion of Armenian rule. He was desirous to take back the area of Kurdistan. He had waged a decisive war and he was able to take it back.

Removal from power [اقتدار سے محرومی]:

Since, Maherdad Panni-III [مہرداد پنّی سوم] was away from the capital therefore his brother Orode [آرد] had seized the administrative control of the reign in connivance with some lords of the sultanate and had acclaimed himself as a monarch. Maherdad Panni-III [مہرداد پنّی سوم] had rushed to Parat with his lashker as soon as he was able to learn about said takeover. He had deposed his brother and he was able to make him flee from Parat. Maherdad Panni-III [مہرداد پنّی سوم] had killed all those who had helped his brother Orodes [آرد] after regaining the power in Iran or Parat. He had also subjected the general public to persecution in order to reassert his lost authority which had resulted in the general resentment against him. The public *vox populi* had toppled his rule ultimately and they had invited Orodes [آرد] to retake the charge of his reign of power. Maherdad Panni-III [مہرداد پنّی سوم] was assigned however the administrative control of Medea and Qaladiza (*Qeladze*) (*Qeladze means, Castle of two Rivers and said town is located in Peshdar area)*. The said accommodation had not satisfied him therefore, he had revolted and Orodes [آرد] had launched an attack and he was able to defeat him. Then, Maherdad Panni-III [مہرداد پنّی سوم] had managed his escape to Syria, in 55 B.C. He had sought refuge and he had also sought help from the Roman ruler namely, Gabinus. He was able to convince Gabinus but, luck was not on his side. The Egyptian ruler namely, Ptolemy-XIII [بطلیموس] had also approached Gabinus at the same time. The Egyptian oligarchy had deprived him of his reign. The Egyptian ruler Ptolemy-XIII [بطلیموس] had offered two million and five hundred Pounds (Sterling) in order to secure the support of Gabinus. The said offer was too lucrative for Gabinus therefore he had turned his back towards Maherdad Panni-III [مہرداد پنّی سوم]. He had left him high and dry right in the middle of nowhere. Then, Maherdad Panni-III [مہرداد پنّی سوم] had sought refuge from the Arab tribes and thus, he was able to conquer Babylonia and Cilicia with their help (*Cilicia extends inland from the southeastern coast of Turkey to north and northeast of Cyprus*). He had made Babylonia as his permanent abode. Then, Orodes [آرد] Panni had launched an attack into Babylonia through his commander of Iran namely, Surena Panni [سورینا پنّی]. Maherdad Panni-III [مہرداد پنّی سوم] had failed miserably to defend his position and he was defeated all ends up. He was arrested and was made a prisoner by the soldiers of Surena Panni [سورینا پنّی]. He was killed in captivity thereafter. (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 255 to 256***).

ARSHAK- XIII OR ARDAWAN PANNI-I

[ارشک سیز دہم اردوان پنّی اول]

55 B.C. to 37 B.C.

Ardawan Panni [اردوان پنّی] was coroneted as king after Maherdad Panni-III [مہرداد پنّی سوم] in 55 B.C. He had assumed the title as Arshak- XIII [ارشک سیز دہم].

Orodes [آرد] was the first Iranian ruler. Iran was then at an open war against the Roman Empire. The brief reference of the historian namely, Plutarch with regard to said over pronounced war will follow in the pages below which was considered to be one of the greatest wars of the world according to the Greek historians.

Roman internal state of affairs [روم کے داخلی حالات]:

We have already mentioned above that Gnaeus Pompeius was placed in the west as ruler of Spain and the Roman Empire was divided among the commanders. Gaius Julius Caesar had conquered Gaul (*France*) therefore he was the ruler of said area. The Roman General Crassus of Sulla had taken over however, the governance of Syria, on the strength of his wealth. The aforementioned three Generals had the apparent similarity and according to the Triumvirate alliance *sotto voce* they were obliged to protect their land jointly and severally as strategic partners. Those Roman Generals had not recognized the suzerainty of the Parthian Panni rulers of their respective areas because they were the imminent threat for them from the east. Then, there was a long series of wars as a consequence thereof to create a political paralysis for the Parthian Panni rulers. Crassus was a Roman General and he was a politician. He was known by the title as "Dives" and he was also advisor to the Roman rulers and Gnaeus Pompeius (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 255 to 256, New Standard Encyclopedia Page No.337, 977, 1237***).

The Roman senate, although, had not granted permission to Crassus to launch the attack against Parthia yet, he was very keen to conquer Parthia according to the historian, Plutarch. The reason was that the greed had allured him to plunder the wealth of ancient Iran. He used to proclaim publically, in the manner as below:

> "The world will witness his victories which will be greater than the victories of Pompey and Gnaeus Pompeius when he will conquer Parat (*Iran*), Balkh and Hindustan. Then, the land and sea will also be his dominion".

General Crassus had opted to go to the port of Brundusium (*Now Brindisium is in southern Italy*). He had embarked upon a sea voyage hurriedly because there was an imminent threat of a rainstorm. He had lost many ships resultantly during said exasperated adventurism. He was able to disembark in Syria in the autumn of 54 B.C and then, he had relieved the local commander. Then, he had ventured out to conduct some minor conquests prior to embarking upon the major ones which had taken place in the following year. He had occupied a few Mesopotamian towns while crossing the Euphrates where he had decided to station his battalions. The local population of those towns had surrendered to the Romans voluntarily except the local Iranian ruler whom he had defeated at Zenodotia. The historian Plutarch had expressed his views in the manner that, Crassus had taken over everything by storm and he had plundered all the goods. Then, he had ordered his army to salute *viva* him as a Field-marshal. He had regarded all his victories as a matter of fact, as unprecedented achievements but what he had failed to marshal was the acceleration of his march to occupy the cities of Babylon and Seleucia [سلوکیا]. The same had a large Greek-speaking population which was unfriendly with their Parthian occupiers. He had launched an attack against Parthia in 53 B.C. The king of Armenia namely, Artavazd-II Panni (Ardawn Panni [اردوان پنّی]) had joined him with the assurance of providing sixteen thousand cavalry and thirty thousand infantry soldiers. He had advised him to attack Parat via Armenia. Crassus had adopted the route of Euphrates however because he was familiar with the same only (*The rulers of both Iran and Armenia were from the Panni nation at that time, Writer*).

Orodes [آرد] had anticipated that the attack of Crassus was bound to take place. He was also cognizant of the fact that, General Crassus was allured by his greed and he had an insatiable hunger for wealth. He had bribed the Syrian regime already in order to satiate said desire. Ardawn Panni [اردوان پنّی] had sent his emissary to Crassus however with the message that, should he launch an attack, he was ready to face him and if he was desirous to resolve the differences, the same was also possible provided his fellow countrymen were released who were held as prisoners. Crassus had sent back the emissary very arrogantly *exalté* with the massage to

prepare for a war at Seleucia [سلوکیا]. The old emissary had stretched his palm out on receiving said message according to the historian Plutarch and he had vowed that, the same was possible only when hair would grow on his palm and he had returned after uttering those words.

Haran war 53 B.C. [حران کی جنگ]:

General Crassus had crossed Euphrates and he had reached the shore of the Black Sea which was about thirty miles away from Haran [حران] Carrhae [کرہئے] and he had landed into the vast desert (*Haran is a village and district of Sanliurfa in the southeast of Turkey, near the Syrian border*). The Roman lashker was hungry and thirsty. When, the Romans had landed in the desert they had realized that, in case of an attack by the soldiers of the Panni rulers, their ally namely, Artavazd-II [اردوان دوم] was not in a position to send them any reinforcement. Then, the reality was further dawned upon them that, they were far away from any expected victory and said assessment had introduced a wave of complete dissonance among their ranks. The lashker of Parat (*Iran*) had already landed in said area. The legions of Crassus were defeated in the resultant war by a numerically inferior Parthian force. Those legions were mainly the infantry soldiers. They were not prepared to face the swift, cavalry and archer attacks for which the Parthian troops were known to have the special dexterity. The Parthian troops were entrenched to shower the barrage of arrows upon the troops of Crassus with a remarkable ability. They were also trained to return to the fallback position. They also had the expertise of turning around in the same stint of run and charge for another attack. They were even trained to slew left and right on the horse back to shoot skillfully backward while riding forward in full gallop. The said maneuver was the most popular move and was known as the “Panni Shot” or the “Parthian Shot”. The expression “Parthian Shot” is used contemptuously in the English language for someone who attacks on his retreat.

General Crassus had the command of seven legions. The estimated strength of the legions was 28,000 to 40,000 soldiers along-with 4,000 cavalry and light infantry soldiers. Then, the Gallo-Roman troops were there as well and were headed by Publius and his father. The sandy conditions were favorable for cavalry soldiers as against the infantry soldiers. The Gallo-Roman cavalry was known for its swift mobility and were the stationed paratroops and it was not a fighting force. The strength of Publius was the corps of 1,300 cavalry 500 archers and 400

soldiers of elite infantry to forestall any attempt of encirclement. The Panni troops had opted for a retreat apparently (*which was their traditional maneuver)* and they had pretended to have abandoned their attack and they had drifted away from the Gallo-Roman army. Publius was motivated to chase them and when they had travelled far enough and his troops were out of the sight and they had also lost the contact with the main army, the Panni troops had checked their retreat and then they had encircled Publius swiftly. Thus, they had killed him and had chopped his head off and had carried it around on a spearhead. The said scene had demoralized the Gallo-Romans. Then, General Crassus had no other choice but to surrender and he had addressed the Romans prior to surrendering in the manner, as below:

> Oh, the Romans I am responsible for the defeat and as long as you will live, the name of Rome will also remain alive because of you. No one can subjugate you. I can see the tears in your eyes because you see me as a bewailing father. If you wish to takeover my misery then step forward and deny the enemy, the joy of their victory which is horrifying. My misfortune should not be your distress. If someone has to achieve high goals then, one has to be ready to face the unfavorable circumstances. You know that many Romans were slaughtered just to defeat Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی] of Armenia. Our forefathers had lost four thousand ships in order to defeat their enemies and to bring honor to their country. All those sacrifices were essential. The present glorifying reputation of the Romans is not because of their victories but, was due to the gallantry and the chivalry which they had demonstrated and displayed at all crucial times.

The Romans had raised the slogans but, with a dejected voice on his address of encouragement and they had launched the attack with a dismal vigor. They could not withstand however, the light cavalry attack by the Panni troops. The said strategy was to force the Romans to regroup themselves in the middle and confront the major and a decisive onslaught. They had retreated to their base camps around sunset. The said night was very heavy for the Gallo-Roman troops and Crassus. They had chalked out the plans throughout said night to find the escape routes. They had moved out before dawn from the battlefield under the advice of Octavious and Cassius. Then, they were able to reach Haran [حران] and had left behind even their ailing and wounded soldiers.

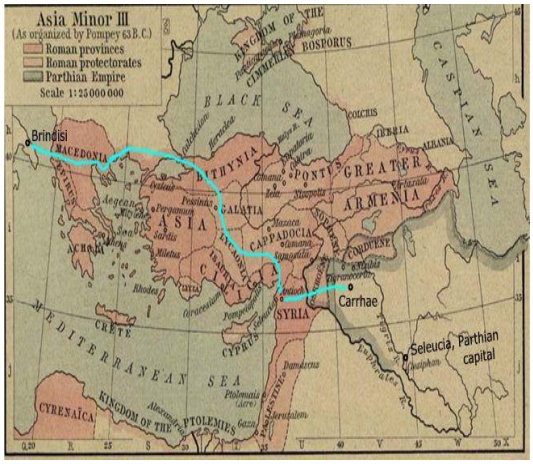
The Romans were so terrified that, they had marched incessantly instead of opting to stay in the fort at Haran [حران]. They had then landed at the foot of a mountain ultimately which was a desolate part in the desert and was away from the source of drinking water. The Parthian General namely, Surena Panni had defeated the Roman army decisively in the meantime which was under Crassus. The same was the first among many battles between Roman and Persian Empires which was also the battle in which the Romans had faced one of the most crushing defeats as described in the Roman military history.

Murder of Crassus:

General Crassus, who was a member of the First Triumvirate, was the wealthiest man in Rome. He was in complete delusion just because of the military achievements to his credit and because of his richness. He had decided to invade Parthia therefore, even without the official sanction from the Roman senate. The army of General Crassus had decided to collide with the entire prowess against the army of General Surena Panni at Carrhae [کرہئے] (*A small town in Turkey*). The cavalry force of Surena had outmaneuvered the Roman heavy infantry completely and they were able to kill most of the Roman soldiers. They had also made them prisoners despite being massively less in number. The Romans were slaughtered and their bodies were mutilated. The ones who were arrested were enslaved. General Crassus was compelled to enter into the truce negotiations but, he was killed when the negotiations had failed with regard to the temporary cessation of hostilities. He was decapitated and his head was displayed as a decoration piece *embarass de choix, richesses* at the banquet of the Parthian king. The death of General Crassus had proved to be the end of First Triumvirate whereas it had also became the cause of the outbreak of civil wars in the dominions which were under Julius Caesar and Pompey.

The historian Plutarch had culminated the descriptive account of the war at Carrhae [کرہئے] with the note that, “Surena Panni had played the instrumental role for the reinstatement of Orodes [آرد] in the Arsacid reign. He had emerged befittingly during said battle to establish his dynastic succession” (*Orodes-II had been deposed by Maherdad Panni-III* [مہرداد پنّی سوم]). The superior equipment and the smart tactics of the Panni army at Parthia had also sent the encouraging

message to the other Panni soldiers in the middle of the desert which had enabled them to defeat the numerically superior Roman army.



Consequences of Haran victory [حران جنگ کے نتائج]:

The victory at Haran [حران] had turned out to be a severe blow for the Roman troops. There were twenty thousand dead people and ten thousand people who were made prisoners according to historian, Plutarch. The said astounding victory had also resonated in the east resoundingly and had also brought about a decisive paradigm shift and change in the balance of power in all the eastern Roman governorates. The entire area of Euphrates was taken away from the Romans by the Panni rulers of Parthia. The Roman influence on Armenia was also tarnished and so much so the Jews, who had drifted away from Crassus due to his greed of maximizing his wealth, had also found it opportune to unite against the Romans. The victorious Panni people of Parthia had failed to exploit the advantage of their victory comprehensively because they had failed to conquer the entire Asia Minor. The reason was that Ardawn Panni [اردوان پنّی] had appeared to have lacked the true knack of being a great Iranian conqueror.

Murder of Surena Panni [سورینا پنّی کا قتل]:

The entire Rome was humiliated due to the defeat at Carrhae [کرہئے]. The king of Parthia had become resentful thereafter due to some very unfortunate reasons. He had envied the covetousness of the victory of Surena and he used to keep Surena awake constantly just out of

sheer jealousy. Then, he had killed him in captivity in order to satisfy his spiteful instinct. Surena was never allowed to dose off in prison and sleeplessness had caused him death.

This bronze statue is supposedly of Surena Panni [سورینا پنّی]

Attack against Syria [سوریا پر حملہ]:

Artavazd-II, Ardawn Panni [اردوان پنّی] had sent the young Pacarus as a commander to Syria in 51 B.C pursuant to the death of Surena Panni. He was accompanied by a Veteran General namely, Osak. The trajectory and dynamics of Carrhae [کرہئے] battle had become a myth for both Rome and Parthia. The same had remained mythical since then till today despite the fact that, the achievement of astounding victory was shelved in the archives of history. The said myth had retained its mysterious impact even when the Parthian capital was captured twice. Artavazd-II, Ardawn Panni [اردوان پنّی] had marched into Syria with a large army and he had defeated the Sakas who had played the role of second fiddle in the absence of Antony. He was summoned back to Rome. The Panni people of Parthia had conquered the middle territory of the Euphrates and Antioch [انطاکیہ] and they had conquered also other areas of Syria gradually. They had compelled the Sakas to flee to Calicia.

Orodes [آرد] had sent his young princely son namely, Pacorus Panni [پکارس پنّی] to head a large force which was under the command of an experienced Vattern soldier namely, Osaces. He was an officer of ripe age and had earned a worthy reputation in Syria. The army was able to cross the Euphrates without much resistance. The governor Gaius Cassius Longinus had about two legions of army at his disposal which was the fragmented part of Crassus army. He had not

considered himself to be powerful enough however to face the enemy in the open field. He had confined himself in a fort and he had decided to defend the town only. The entire country had resultantly become a free area to run over. Since, the natives of most parts were disenchanted therefore they were inclined to hail the Parthian Pacorus Panni [پکارس پنّی] as a brother and as a deliverer in distress. Cassius had decided to remain within the precincts of Antioch (*Antakya*) [انطاکیہ] and he had allowed the Parthian cavalry to pass by him. He had allowed them even to proceed beyond the boundaries of Syria to land into Cilicia. Pacorus Panni had subdued all the Syrians and the Phoenicia people (*Phoenicia was an ancient civilization centered in the north of ancient Canaan, with its heartland along the coastal region of Lebanon, Syria and northern Israel*) except the single city of Tyre [صور] (*Tyre a city in the south of Lebanon*) which, he was unable to capture because there was no trained naval force at his disposal.

Pacorus Panni [پکارس پنّی] had made the advancement into Palestine. He had found it very easily manageable, militarily. Hyrcanus and Antigonus, the two princes of the Asmonsean council, were contestants for the Jewish crown. Antigonus was expelled by Hyrcanus and he had decided to find common grounds with the invader namely, Pacorus Panni [پکارس پنّی]. He had offered Pacorus Panni [پکارس پنّی] one thousand expert soldiers and five hundred Jewish women. He had also assured to help him regain the reins of power. The said offer was embraced readily. Then, a revolution had erupted in Jerusalem with the insurmountable support of Parthians and Hyrcanus was deposed and he was humiliated publicly.

Defeat and killing of Pacorus 38 B.C. [پکارس کی شکست اور ہلاکت]:

Pacorus had started afresh all the war preparations as soon as, the winter season had come to an end. He had crossed the Euphrates to encounter the Romans. The Romans had dug up the trenches around the mounts where they had taken the entrenched position. Pacorus was under the impression that either, the Romans had insufficient army or they were very scared and resultantly they had rallied around small mountains. He had moved towards the mountains and no sooner, he had decided to climb the same, the Roman army had unleashed a massive attack. Since, the lashker of the Panni people was in the depression area therefore they had sustained the loss in

terms of causalities and so much so, even the army commander of Pacorus was killed. The defeated lashker had moved then towards the bridge which Pacorus had constructed for crossing the Euphrates. The Romans had destroyed said bridge and then they had exterminated almost half of the lashker. They had made the remaining half as prisoner of war thereafter.

The aforementioned defeat had demoralized the Panni rulers at Parthia. They had resultantly cast aside the idea of conquering Asia Minor and had decided to contain themselves within their territory (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 257 to 262***).

ARSHAK- XIV OR FARHAD (PHRAATES) PANNI-IV

[ارشک چہار دہم فرہاد پنّی چہارم]

B.C. 37 to B.C. 2

The death of Pacorus Panni [پکارس پنّی] had caused an intense grief to his aged father. He had decided to consider therefore the primogeniture of Farhad Panni (*Phraates*) [فرہاد پنّی] as his successor, in 37 BC.

Tyrannical rule of Phraates IV [فرہاد پنّی چہارم]:

Phraates-IV [فرہاد پنّی چہارم] was a tyrant ruler. He had killed all his brothers one by one after his enthronement as king. When, Orodes [آرد] the former monarch had disapproved his tyrannical acts, Phraates [فرہاد] had also committed parricide besides the fratricide. He had killed his aged father who had opted to live like an ordinary subject, subsequent to the abdication. The severities of perpetrated cruelties were less from any political necessity rather they were more from his mental disposition and detestation for his other likely successors. The same was neither justifiable nor, was pardonable. Phraates [فرہاد] had killed all his brothers as king in a very short span of time. He had also unleashed his fury against the Parthian nobles. Then, an unprecedented clamor had seized the order of the day and most of the *corps d' elite* nobles had decided to quit the country and they had opted to disappear in myriad directions. Phraates [فرہاد] was not a great king and all the conquests during his reign were just due to the skillfulness of his popular commanders. The Parat sultanate had become more popular in his reign than it was ever before.

The Romans had looked into said aspect quite dreadfully. The most significant event of said period was that, Medea [مدائن] or [طیسیفون] had become the capital for the country for the first time.

Second war between the Romans and the Panni rulers [پنّی اور رومی حکمرانوں کے درمیان دوسری جنگ]:

Phraates-IV [فرہاد پنّی چہارم] had decided to send for Monseses. Monseses was a nobleman of highest rank therefore he had deserved to be elevated, adequately. Monseses had accepted the offer but, very reluctantly and Antoney had also granted him the permission to return. The said permission was with the hope that, his return was likely to pave the way for the Roman attack against Parthia. Antoney had opted to enter into negotiations with Phraates-IV [فرہاد پنّی چہارم] for bilateral relationship as soon as, Monseses had landed in Parthia. He had sent a messenger to Monseses with the promise to grant him pardon and he had promised him other favors as well. Monseses had decided to negotiate readily and he had settled the terms. Antoney had engaged Parthia in fact in the negotiations just ostensibly to launch a bigger assault against Iran. Then, there were about sixty thousand infantry, ten thousand Gallic cavalry and thirty thousand Roman Asiatic light cavalry allies which had accompanied Antoney. There were altogether more than hundred thousand soldiers. The Romans were instructed to demand nothing from Phraates-IV [فرہاد پنّی چہارم] except, the restoration of Roman standards. The same were taken away from Crassus during the victory at Haran [حران] along-with the release of the detained soldiers.

Antony had stepped out to march forward with more than one hundred thousand soldiers in 36 BC, according to the historians. He was determined to cross Euphrates but, the Panni lashker had also made the adequate counter war preparations. The number of army of Antony had reached about 100,000 men and coupled with the Armenian contingent, his entire force was about 113,000 soldiers. The original plan was to cross the Euphrates but when, he had reached at the banks of the river (*Midsummer 37 B.C.*) and was able to witness the tremendous counter preparations against him, he had abandoned his strategy of attack. He had halted his onward march forthwith and he had turned northwards to enter into Armenia, by using the pretext of his

alliance with Artavasdes Panni [اردوان پنّی]. Artavasdes Panni [اردوان پنّی] had received him with open arms and he had made him the offer to work on the plan of attacking Azerbaijan [آزربائیجان].

He had persuaded him to abandon the military adventure in Parthia and had advised him instead to direct his arms against the territory of a Parthian subject ally i.e. the king of Media Atropatene [آذربائیجان]. The territories of which were contiguous with Armenia on the southeastern side. He had instigated him further to capture the city of Praaspa [تحت سلیمان] (*Now called Takht-i-Suleiman, Throne of Solomon*). Those prospects were very encouraging and enticing for Antony. He had divided his troops at once and had given the orders to Oppius Statianus, to follow him leisurely with the unwieldy part of the army along-with the baggage-train *fourgon* and with the large range batteries which were used to lay the siege. The Panni (*Arshukani*) [اشکانی] lashker had also chased said unwieldy part of the Raman army and they had encircled them when the time was opportune. Then, they had carried out a massive genocide and had also seized all their equipment and Artavasdes Panni [اردوان پنّی] had detached his contingent from the Roman army. He had opted to move towards Armenia, after when the genocide of the Romans was over.

The Roman General Antony had found himself trapped amidst many field difficulties. He had all the prospects of conquering the immediate neighborhood of Praaspa [تحت سلیمان] but, he had dropped the idea because his food supplies were regularly intercepted. He had lost almost eight thousand troops due to the autumn rains. He was resultantly obliged to send his foragers into the remote areas in search of food. He had already lost his siege-train and had found it impossible to construct another one. The main problem which he had confronted was the unexpected sallies and the escape of the captive soldiers. He was forced to punish the cowardice of his soldiers and he had even awarded them a death penalty, in some cases. Antony was ultimately compelled to escape into the mountains of Tabriz [تبریز]. The Panni (*Arshukani*) [اشکانی] lashker was constantly taking cognizance of the situation and they had left the Euphrates bank to track down the foe. Praaspa [تحت سلیمان] was situated at a distance of nearly three hundred miles from the Armenian frontier. The Panni Arshukani [اشکانی پنّی] lashker had killed about eight thousand Romans during the genocide. Then, they had captured all the baggage-wagons *fourgon* and engines of war. The most horrible result of said assault was the desertion of Artavasdes Panni [ارتاواسد پنّی] i.e. the Armenian ruler.

The Panni Arshukani [اشکانی پنّی] lashker had chased Antony everywhere amidst autumn rains, simultaneously. The weather was very cold. The Medes and Parthians had impeded the movements of Antony under their respective commanders but, without engaging him in any practical encounter. They had cut off his stragglers for three months and resultantly, all his assaults had almost failed and about eight thousand of his soldiers had died in said process. The situation had not permitted Antony to admit his failure. The Panni Arshukani [اشکانی پنّی] had thrown Antony across his path and they had disrupted him at every inch of his retreat. The sufferings of the Roman army were unparallel in the military history during said period, according to a modern historian. The intense cold, heavy snow and driving sleet and requirement of the other provisions and water and the use of poisonous herbs and hovering attacks by the cavalry soldiers of the enemies and archers, which were not defendable by maintaining the dense array of phalanx or the tortoise, all of them were insurmountable. Those sufferings had reduced the number of the retreating army to one-third. The Roman soldiers were able to reach river Araxes [ارکسا] after a long march of 300 Roman or 277 British miles. They had covered said distance at one stretch and had probably landed at the Julfa Ferry and had crossed into Armenia from there. There were altogether about one hundred thousand men who were able to trudge towards Media Atropatene [آذربائیجان] along-with Antony and less than seventy thousand had survived when they had reached there. Then, Antony had also died ultimately before he was able to reach the land of comfortable climatic conditions.

Insurrection of Phraates and the escape of Ferhad [تیرداد کی بغاوت اورفرہار کا فرار]:

Phraates-IV [فرہاد پنّی چہارم] was a tyrant ruler and all his achievements abroad had also sent the negative impressions back home. Since, he was elated by his victories and due to his strong position in Parthia therefore he had reinitiated the series of brutalities against his subjects. He had pushed them to such an extent that, a successful insurrection had forced him to quit the country in 33 B.C. The revolt was headed by Tiridates [امیر تیرداد] who was made as king by the insurgents. Phraates-IV [فرہاد پنّی چہارم] had fled to Scythia where he had persuaded the Scythians or the Sakas to fight for his case.

Murder of Phraates-IV [فرہاد پنّی کا قتل]:

The son of Tiridates [امیر تیرداد] namely, Phraates-IV [فرہاد پنّی چہارم] had poisoned his father on the instigation of his Italian mother, in 4 BC. Phraates-IV [فرہاد پنّی چہارم] was a tyrant and revengeful person but, there was no doubt that he was able to secure the land of Iran against the Roman incursions (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 276 to 279***).

ARSHAK- XV OR FARHADAK (PHRAATES) PANNI-V

[ارشک پانز دہم فرہادک پنّی پنچم (فرہادک پنّی)]

B.C. 2 to A.D. 4

Treaty with the Romans [روما سے معاھدہ]:

Farhadak Panni-V [فرہادک پنّی پنچم] had also promoted the relations with the Romans, in 2 B.C just like his father after the assassination of Phraates-IV [فرہاد پنّی چہارم]. He had sent his emissary to Rome as gesture of good will to promote the cordial relationship and with the request to send back his brothers to Iran. He used to consider the Roman Emperor as a big adventurer. He was desirous to see one of the princes who were in Rome to be the king of Iran. The Roman Emperor had not accommodated however, the request of the Iranian emissary because the rule of Farhadak Panni-V [فرہادک پنّی پنچم] was illegitimate according him. He had sent back his emissary with the message to the Iranian ruler to withdraw his troops from Armenia, forthwith. He had reacted even more strongly and had announced preparations to wage a war. He had nominated his grandson namely Caius in this regard and then, Caius had moved out in the spring of 1 A.D along-with a huge lashker to wage a war against Iran.

Farhadak Panni-V [فرہادک پنّی پنچم] was taken aback as soon as he had received the news regarding the advancement of the Roman army. He had sent another emissary to negotiate the terms of relations between the two Empires. Then, the armies of two chiefs had faced each other. They were drawn well upon the opposite banks of the river Euphrates. The prince Caius and Farhadak Panni-IV [فرہادک پنّی] (*Phraates*) had entertained each other on the borders of their respective dominions. Then, they had entered into satisfactory pledges and promises. Caius had

returned to Syria thereafter when he was able to obtain the commitment from Farhadak Panni-IV [فرہادک پنّی] (*Phraates*) to abstain from any further interference in the Armenian affairs.

VONONES PHRAATES-V [فرہاد پنّی پنجم] AND ARTAVASDES PANNI III [اردوان پنّی سوم]

The state of affairs of the country had deteriorated considerably during the reign of Phraates-V [فرہاد پنّی پنجم]. The people used to look down upon the king due to many reasons. There was one reason that the king was from a Roman prized woman. The nobility *corps d' elite* and the people used to criticize Phraates-V [فرہاد پنّی پنجم], not only for the murder of his father but because of his parentage from an Italian mother as well. They also used to subject Phraates-V [فرہاد پنّی پنجم] to criticism due to his favors and accommodations which he used to grant to the prized woman i.e. his mother namely, Musa. He had affixed the effigy of Musa (*Thermusa and she was also known as Thea Urania (Astarte*) upon the nummery of his era. He had validated said act with impunity and thus, he had glorified Musa preposterously. Musa was depicted on the coins not as a "Queen" but, as if she was a heavenly goddess. Phraates-V [فرہاد پنّی پنجم] had perhaps apotheosized Musa fictitiously just to cover up the *mésalliance* marriage of his father. Phraates-V [فرہاد پنّی پنجم] was not a brave person. The Panni ruler of Iran had lost the rule in Armenia just because of his cowardice. The proud Parthian *corps d' elite* nobles were also offended by his attempt of deifying his mother. They were determined to rid themselves of a monarch who was hated and despised by his people. Then, an insurrection had erupted within a few years of his enthronement and he was deprived of his crown after a brief struggle. He was put to death, in 4 A.D.

The most noteworthy *mirabile dictu* temporal event of said era was the birth of Christ which must have created some impact for the reigns of the subsequent Panni rulers in Iran (*Writer*) (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 279 to 280***).

ARSHAK- XVI ORODES PANNI II

[ارشک شانز دہم ارد پنّی دوم]

B. A. 4 to A.D. 8

The nobility *corps d' elite* of Iran had elected Orodes Panni II [ارد پنّی دوم] as their king after the death of Phraates-V [فرہاد پنّی پنجم]. He was from an Arsacid (*Arshukani*) [اشکانی] or Panni [پنّی] origin. He had emerged to the political horizon from obscurity but, he had perpetrated many atrocities after assuming power. The people used to despise him for the same. The nobility *corps d' elite* had also conspired against him and then they had him murdered in 8 A. D. (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 281***).

ARSHAK- XVII VONONES PANNI I

[ارشک ہفدہم وونن پنّی اول]

A. D. 8 to A.D. 16

A carefree ruler [ایک آزاد منش حکمران]:

The death of Orodes Panni II [ارد پنّی دوم] had created a vacuum. There was no Arsacid (*Arshukani*) [اشکانی] or Panni [پنّی] prince in Iran, to replace him as a ruler. The Parat council of elders had sent an emissary to Rome and they had requested Augustus to allow Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] i.e. the eldest son of Phraates-IV [فرہاد پنّی چہارم] to return to Parat for his appointment as a king. The Emperor Augustus had accepted the proposal readily because he had regarded it as a step to advance his own dignity. He was confident that since Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] had lived the most part of his youth in Rome therefore he was likely to introduce the Roman culture in Parat. The people of Parat had welcomed said choice with joy but, very soon there was a total transformation in their sentiment, which was just due to the fact that the young prince was brought up in Rome and he was not accustomed to observe the regal mannerism which he was expected to have for his rule. He used to neglect the worthy commitments towards his subjects and was the objective for which he was accepted as a monarch. He used to be unavailable for his duty for the state affairs. He used to focus more instead on the petty pleasures like horse riding etc. When he used to pass through the streets, he used to show more interest in liquor and he used to dislike the traditional and local festivities. The same practice had become the order of the

day gradually, even at state level (***Iran Pastan*** [ایران پاستان] ***Volume No. II Page No. 2392***). Then there were a number of his Greek companions who had accompanied him from the place where he used to live in exile. The people of Parat used to despise his company and they used to ridicule them. The people used to criticize with rage, the favors which he used to bestow on those foreign interlopers. The virtues and the norms of grace with which the nation was familiar hitherto, were not considered as the approved values by him. The same were considered rather, as demerits by him. The people had developed a great dislike for Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] and they used to repent their decision of seeking his return. Since, all the euphoria had evaporated in the literal sense which had overwhelmed the people after when they had destroyed Crassus and they had replaced Antony therefore, a general impression had developed that the country was ruled by a bonded slave of Caesar. The Parthians had turned against Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] in 16 A.D in the wake of such state of affairs. They had approached Artabanus [اردوان], who was an Arsacid, to take charge of their country. The first attack of Artabanus [اردوان] had failed in achieving the requisite results but he was able to turn Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] out of Parat in his second attack. Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] had sought refuge in Seleucia [سلوکیا]. Then, he had become the ruler of Armenia in 16 A.D (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 281 to 282***).

ARSHAK- XVIII ARTABANUS PANNI III

[ارشک ہجدہم اردوان پنّی سوم]

A. D. 12 to A.D. 40

Friendship with the Romans [رومیوں سے دوستی]:

When, Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] had assumed power, Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] was enthroned in Armenia simultaneously. Artabanus had entered Ctesiphon [طیسفون] [مدائن] in triumph and he was immediately proclaimed as a king. (*Ctesiphon* [مدائن] *was one of the greatest cities of ancient Mesopotamia and was the imperial Capital of Arsacid*). Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] had refused to acknowledge his deadly enemy i.e. Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] as a king in his neighboring country. Since, he was sponsored by the Romans as king therefore he had developed disgust for both Armenia as well as, for Rome. He had sent his emissary to Tiberius of Rome and he had challenged the investiture of Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] as a ruler of Armenia. Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] had also threatened to wage war, in case the rule of Vonones

Panni [وونن پنّی] was officially recognized. Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] had asserted his claim on Armenia at the same time. He had proposed the name of one of his sons namely, Orodes as a candidate to hold the reins of power. The Romans had withdrawn their support for Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] to maintain their relations with Iran. When, Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] had realized that it was difficult for him to hold the reins of power and had decided to step down as a ruler. Then, he had sought refuge in Syria from the Romans.

The Roman Emperor Tiberius, who had just succeeded Augustus, showed his resolve and he had decided to dispatch a person of importance to the east. He had selected his nephew Germanicus in this regard in order to represent Rome. He had assigned Germanicus no usual title or any province but, he had strengthened him with an extraordinary command in the east of Hellespont (*Abydos*) (*Hellespont was an ancient city of Mysia in Asia Minor and was situated at Nara or Nagra point*) [درۂ دانیال]. Thus, he had assigned him the command of the entire Asia Minor. Germanicus was able to march up to Armenia and he had landed in its capital and had selected a non-resident as its local ruler. He had given him the title as Artaxias. Then, he had personally arranged his coronation.

Germanicus had opted to go to Syria after the coronation, where he had received the emissary of Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] who had delivered the message to him from the Panni ruler of Iran. The said message had revealed that the insistence on the reinstatement of Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] was much offending for the Armenians. They had expelled him after a very hard struggle. The reinstatement was also likely to provoke the Panni administration of Parat. They were not ready to tolerate an imposter in the position of power in their neighborhood. Then notwithstanding the same even to allow Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] to accept the candidature of his son namely, Orodes was also considered to undermine the Iranian authority. Germanicus had avoided the extreme approach however in either case and he had adopted the middle course.

Heir of Gjeorgjia in Armenia [والیء گرجستان آرمینیاء میں]:

Polemo was murdered in 35 A.D and Arshak Panni [ارشک پنّی] i.e. the son of Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] had come into power in Armenia. Then, Germanicus had found a way out of his

difficulties at Artaxata, which was the main seat of governorate. He had coronated the favored prince with the consent and approval of principal nobility. He had declared him as the king with the new title as "Artaxias". He had returned to Syria thereafter and he had received the ambassadors of Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم], who had already moved out his son Orodes [ارد], to launch an attack against Armenia. He had failed in his attempt however in taking back the Armenian throne.

Attack against Armenia and escape [آرمینیہ پرحملہ اورفرار]:

Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] had taken out the entire force of the Empire right into the field in the spring of 36 A.D, pursuant to the defeat of his son. The same was with the intention of waging a war against Armenia. He was determined to take the revenge from Iberians but, he had received the news that the ruler of Syria namely Vitellius, who was appointed by Rome, had initiated the march towards Euphrates with the intention to conquer all the dominions of the Iranian Panni rulers which were between two rivers. Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] was placed thus between the devil and the deep sea. He had no choice but to wind up his expedition in Armenia. He had decided to return to defend his own territories which were temptingly open for the enemy to invade in his absence. The return of Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] had also compelled Vitellius to change his strategy. He had opted for the tactics of intrigue therefore, through the Iranian elite instead of measuring his strength against Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم].

Successfully regaining the lost reign [تخت کے حصول میں کامیابی]:

The appointed Roman ruler of Syria namely, Vitellius had received the news that Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] had left Iran and he had crossed river Euphrates to bring Tiridates to Media. Tiridates Panni [تیردار پنّی] was raised in Rome. Ornospades, the Satrap of Mesopotamia was the first one who had welcomed Tiridates as a king. He was followed by the conspirator namely, Sinnaces and his father Abdageses. Then, the treasurer of the king Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] and other high rank personals had also joined him. The gates of Mesopotamian cities were thrown open for Tiridates Panni [تیردار پنّی] voluntarily. They had expected the politeness and the refined approach from him but the tide of time had suddenly changed and

most of the members of nobles club *corps d' elite* had displayed their total resentment against the popular decision. They had sent an emissary to Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] with the request to rejoin them.

Agreement with the Romans [رومیوں سے مصالحت]:

The Roman Emperor Tiberius was still willful to work out a rapprochement plan with Iran. He had deputed Vitellius, the ruler of Syria, to make the arrangements for a détente. Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] was also desirous of such arrangement therefore, they both had met at the banks of Euphrates. They had decided that Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] was supposed to abandon his adventures for Armenia and he was also supposed to commit his son in the Roman custody as a measure of honoring the détente.

The nobility of Parat was unhappy due to said despicable détente with Rome. They had compelled Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم] resultantly, to step down as a ruler. He was able to retain however, the control of power indirectly despite the fact that he had complied with their desire. He had not lived long thereafter and he died in 40 A.D, after reigning for about thirty years. (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 282 to 286***).

ARSHAK- XIX VARDANES PANNI

[ارشک نوازدہم وردان پنّی]

A.D. 40 to A.D. 46

The succession of Artabanus Panni III [اردوان پنّی سوم], in the absence of Vardanes [وردان پنّی], had devolved upon his younger son namely Gotarzes Panni [گودرز پنّی] initially. He was proclaimed as king however on the return of Vardanes [وردان پنّی]. Vardanes [وردان پنّی] was a cynical ruler and his subjects were not very happy with him. When, he was out on a hunting spree one day, he was hunted down by some members of his nobility *corps d' elite* and he was murdered. (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 286***).

ARSHAK- XX GOTARZES PANNI

[ارشک بیستم گودرز پنّی]

A.D. 46 to A.D. 51

The nobility *corps d' elite* of the state had enthroned Gotarzes Panni [گودرز پنّی] as king, in A.D.46 after the murder of Vardanes [وردان پنّی]. He had the propensities to commit fratricide just like his forefathers. He had killed all his brothers and nephews, one by one. Gotarzes Panni [گودرز پنّی] had also focused on reducing some other Seleucids in shape and size. The series of nummery had presented his appearance amazingly with his two reigns. The numismatic evidence had not provided any trace of the first reign of Gotarzes Panni [گودرز پنّی] which was in 42 A.D. The coins had revealed that Vardanes [وردان پنّی] had stayed in power from September 43 to 46 A.D. The kingdom was committed thereafter in the hands of Vardanes [وردان پنّی].

Gotarzes Panni [گودرز پنّی] had decided to document his achievements, differently instead of minting new coins of his era. He had used a rock-tablet for the same. The rock-tablet was engraved on the sacred mountain of Baghistan [بیستون]. He had enjoyed the title as "Satrap of Satraps" (*"King of Kings*"). Gotarzes Panni [گودرز پنّی] was not a prince of remarkable *geist* talent. He was perhaps more cruel than the rest of the Arsacid [اشکیان] kings (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 286***).

Rock-tablet engraved on the sacred mountain of Baghistan by Gotarzes Panni [گودرز پنّی]

ARSHAK- XX I VOLAGASES PANNI-II

[ارشک بیست ویکم وونن پنی دوم]

A.D. 51 to A.D. 51

The death of Gotarzes Panni [گودرز پنّی] brought Volagases Panni-II [ارشک بیست ویکم وونن پنی دوم] to power, who was the ruler of Azerbaijan [آزربائیجان], whereas Gotarzes Panni [گودرز پنّی] had killed all the expected heirs to the throne, in his lifetime. The whereabouts of Gotarzes Panni [گودرز پنّی] were therefore not traceable. The previous history however, revealed that Volagases Panni-II [ارشک بیست ویکم وونن پنی دوم] was his some distant relative resultantly he ruled for only a few months there was no quotable historical event of his time.

ARSHAK- XX II VOLAGASES PANNI-I

[ارشک بیست ودوم بلاش پنّی اول]

A.D. 51 to A.D. 77

Volagases Panni I [بلاش پنّی اول] was enthroned after the death of Vonones Panni II [وونن پنّی دوم]. He was the last eminent ruler of the Panni dynasty and said dynasty had perished after him. He had attacked Armenia quite frequently and had conducted a series of wars against the Romans which had resulted in an armistice ultimately and thus, a peaceful enjoyment of the Armenian reign was secured by Tiridates Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] through the same. The reason for which Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] had made his first attack against Armenia was Pharasmanes of Iberia whose brother, namely, Mithradates whom the Romans had replaced for the Armenian reign in A.D. 47, he had a son by the name of Rhadamistus. He was power hungry in the literal sense. The attack of Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] was to preempt him from executing his motives.

Tiridates Panni [تیردار پنّی] had enjoyed the administrative control in his kingdom just for a few months. Then, the severe winter had brought about a terrible pestilence which had resulted in the scarcity of proper provisions. Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] was obliged to relinquish his conquest just after a brief period only. The Armenians had opposed Rhadamistus with arms in the meantime but, he was not only able to stage his return rather, he had contrived to re-establish

his old glory, differently. Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] had not reviewed however, his efforts with regard to Armenia. Tiridates Panni [تیردار پنّی] had taken perhaps the full control and he was left to enjoy the quiet possession of the Armenian kingdom for three years.

Reconciliatory efforts of Nero [قصرروم نیرو کی مصالحانہ کوشش]:

Nero was proclaimed as the Emperor by Rome, in 55 A.D. He was not ready to tolerate the hostile Panni rule in Armenia and had assigned expeditions to Corbulo therefore, towards Armenia. Then, he had assigned the control of Syria to Ummidius simultaneously with the direction to collaborate with Corbulo against Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] who was the ruler of Parat at that time. The Romans were fully prepared for a war and Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] had also adopted an open and belligerent approach. The advisors had advised Nero to avoid the war and Corbulo and Ummidius had also advised him on the same lines and they had suggested to, firstly initiate the measures for a détente with the Panni kingdom of Iran. The said effort was likely, to resolve the Armenian issue amicably. The Roman Empire in this regard had sent its emissary to Iran and had made an offer to work out a plan for some rapprochement. Then, an agreement was reached with the terms and conditions that Rome was supposed to refrain from exercising its influence in the affairs of Armenia. Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] was supposed to withdraw his troops from Armenia and Tiridates Panni [تیردار پنّی] was supposed to be left in the undisturbed possession of Armenia. Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] was also supposed to commit one member of his close relations into the Roman custody just, to ensure the fulfillment of the terms of rapprochement. Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] had no other option but, to subscribe to the terms of agreement just because of the fact that, his son Vardanes Panni [وردان پنّی] had declared the rebellion.

Battle of Tiridates Panni against the Romans [تیر داد پنّی کا رومیوں سے مقابلہ]:

The struggle for power between Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] and his son Vardanes Panni [وردان پنّی] had lasted for three years i.e. from 55 to 58 A.D. Vardanes Panni [وردان پنّی] was killed however during said struggle and then the issue of Armenia had cropped up once again. Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] demanded Armenia to be a part of Parat. The Roman Empire was disinclined to accept the same therefore the standoff had pushed the situation towards an

open war. The Roman General Corbulo had just moved his troops towards Armenia at that time and the situation had worsened further for Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول]. Then, the ruler of Hyricania or Gorgan [گرگان] had declared an open revolt which had remained unsuppressed for over two years. The Hyricanian revolt had disengaged Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] from Armenia. Since, Vardanes Panni [وردان پنّی] was engaged in the revolt therefore his brother namely, Tiridates Panni [تیردار پنّی] had fought for Armenia against General Corbulo. He had lost his capital Artaxata in 58 A.D. He had lost Tigranocerta thereafter in 60 A.D. Thus, the Panni rulers had lost the control of Armenia.

Demand of Volagases Panni-I for Armenia [حصول آرمینہ کے لیے بلاش پنّی اول کا تقا ضہ]:

Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] had not confronted the Romans directly till that time and had brought the issue of Armenia into the limelight and had placed his troops between the Taurus range and the river Euphrates (*Taurus is a complex mountain range in southern Turkey from which the Euphrates and Tigris descend into Iraq. It divides the Mediterranean coastal region of southern Turkey from the central Anatolian plateau).* Then, there was a cessation of hostilities for some months and the Romans had made an offer of rapprochement during said time. Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] had however, refused to accept and the negotiations had failed, without reaching any agreement.

Then, Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] had sent his emissary to Corbulo for fresh negotiations, which had also failed. The Roman senate had given the full authority to Corbulo in the wake of such situation to initiate a war against Iranians. Corbulo had moved his troops into Armenia and then the third round of negotiations was arranged between the two sides, prior to the initiation of war. Corbulo had held the administrative control of an Armenian district as a buffer zone for negotiating the amicable terms of settlement. Then, an agreement was secured in 23 A.D and according to which Tiridates Panni [تیردار پنّی] was supposed to go to Rome in person to receive his crown from Nero, directly. Tiridates Panni [تیردار پنّی] had never ventured out to Rome however in compliance with the terms of arrangement, till 66 A.D.

Raid of the Alani tribes on the Panni kingdom [پنّی مملکت پر آلانی قبائل کی یلغار]:

Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] was confronted with an extraordinary situation, in 75 A.D. The Alani tribes (*Scythian people*), which had dwelt once near the Tanais and at the lake Mseotis or at the sea of Azof, had initiated a great predatory invasion in Azerbaijan [آزربائیجان] in collaboration with the Gerji (Hyrcanians) tribes. The Azerbaijan [آزربائیجان] area was then under the influence of the Panni rulers. The local ruler had failed to withstand however the assault of those tribes and he had fled into the mountains. The Alani tribes (*Scythian people*) had ransacked different areas and they had destroyed the green pastures. Then, they had landed into Armenia where they were able to overpower Tiridates Panni [تیردار پنّی] and then they had arrested him.

The humiliating defeat of Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] at the hands of Alani tribes had made him directly vulnerable in Iran. The invader Alani tribes (*Scythian people*) had disappeared however, after ravaging and harassing the entire Media and Armenia. Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] had died soon thereafter in 77 A.D. The overall reign of Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] was quite successful but, the Panni rule of Iran was exposed to a threat of invasion from the northern side for the first time because of those tribes. The said threat had remained unchecked but had proved that the Panni rule had entered into the phase of disintegration (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 287 to 292***).

ARSHAK- XX III PACORUS PANNI II

[ارشک بیست وسوم پیکارس پنّی دوم]

A.D. 77 to A.D. 105

Anarchism [طوائف الملوکی]:

Pacorus Panni II [پیکارس پنّی دوم] had assumed the reign as successor of Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] and his reign was a complete anarchy [طوائف الملوکی]. The kingdom was divided into several parts and each part had an independent ruler who had assumed the title as Emperor. The ruler of each area had minted the nummery with his name as Emperor. The nummery of his era had contained the name of Mithradates besides the name of Pacorus Panni II [پیکارس پنّی دوم] according to Iran Pastan" [ایران پاستان] (*Volume II Page No.2465*). The same had established the

fact that they were the rulers of their areas independently. There was no authentic proof available however with regard to their respective areas which were under their rule.

The reign of Pacorus Panni II [پیکارس پنّی دوم] was almost uneventful. He had ruled for about thirty two years and he had died, in 105 A.D. The relationship between Iran and Rome had also remained very cordial. The Greek historians had not written much therefore, about his reign.

ARSHAK- XX IV CHOSROES PANNI

[ارشک بیست وچہارم خسرو پنّی]

A.D. 105 to A.D. 130

The general state of affairs in 100 A.D was that the same was the most sensitive period when Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی] had taken over the control of power, according to one version of Iranian history. Pacorus had enthroned one of his sons namely, Exedares Panni or Axidares Panni in Armenia after the demise of Tiridates, in 100 A.D. The said prince had reigned as an autocrat king without caring much for any recognition from the Romans. Thus, he had denied any right to the Romans to interfere in the Armenian succession. Trajan, who was the Emperor of Rome, was preoccupied in the west (against Romenians) from 101 A.D to 107 A.D. The political situation had not permitted him to concentrate on the Iranian affairs. He had decided to initiate the expeditions against Parat after almost seven years of subjugating Dacia which was due to the reason that the ruler of Armenia had enthroned his son Exedares Panni or Axidares Panni, as a ruler. The said enthronement was in violation of the agreement between Iran and Rome.

War against Trajan [ٹراجن سے جنگ]:

Trajan was an adventurer. He was also aspirant, to conquer the other countries, just like Alexander the great. He had prepared a great lashker therefore, under the pretext to rule Armenia. He had moved his troops into the eastern countries and was able to reach Athens, in 117 A.D.

Then, Trajan was able to reach Antaqia in the autumn season to inspect the preparations of war. The rulers of the allied countries had also sent him the gifts and presents as a gesture of

goodwill. He had met the envoys from the son of Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی] namely, Parthamarsiris. He had made the offer of negotiations through a letter. He had addressed himself in said letter as the Emperor of Armenia according to Iran Pastan" [ایران پاستان] (*Volume II Page No.2474*). He had not received the reply of said letter. Then, he had sent another letter without assigning himself any title and the same was replied duly. He had requested through said letter to be appointed as the king of Armenia. Parthamasiris Panni was persuaded pursuant to said letter to present himself at the Roman camp. He was given the understanding to receive the emblem of sovereignty from Trajan along-with the permission to rule Armenia, in the manner Nero had awarded the same to Tiridates.

Murder of Parthamasiris Panni [پارتھا مازی رس کا قتل]:

Trajan had commenced his eastern expedition in 115 A.D after conducting the war exercises, which was eight years subsequent to the Dacian war. The encampment of his troops had taken place at Euphrates where he had waited for the arrival of Parthamasiris [پارتھا مازی رس]. The prince, who was able to ride into the Roman camp, was attended by a small retinue. The meeting was arranged with Parthamasiris [پارتھا مازی رس] in front of a large contingent of the Roman army, according to Iran Pastan" [ایران پاستان] (*Volume II Page No.2475*). The prince had taken off the diadem from his head and he had placed it at the feet of the Roman Emperor. He had expected to have it restored to him at once but *badinage* the intentions of Trajan were defiant. When, the diadem was not restored to him, Parthamasiris [پارتھا مازی رس] had sensed that he had fallen into a trap. He had tried to take a detour for an escape but, he had found himself surrounded by the Roman troops. There was no escape route for him, virtually. He had requested for one to one meeting with Trajan in the wake of said situation therefore he was conducted into the tent of the Emperor. Then, his crown was declared to have been confiscated but, he was allowed to go out. When, he had come out from the tent, he was made to run for life *danse macabre* by the soldiers of Trajan. Then, they had killed him mercilessly. The said tyrannical act was looked down upon by the Romans however, with a great abhorrence. Trajan had not stopped after the conquest of the area from Euphrates to Samosata, as per Iran Pastan" [ایران پاستان] (*Volume II Page No.2479*). He had continued the advancement and many semi-independent dynasts and princes had succumbed to his progression in trepidation as a consequence of his

incessant march. The Roman senate had awarded him, the title as “Parthicus” i.e. the conqueror of Parat. He had also minted the nummery with his name.

Defeat of Trajan [ٹراجن شکست]:

Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی] had watched Trajan on the quiet and he had initiated a campaign against him without any confrontation. Trajan had decided to return after regionalizing the rivalries but, the tides of time had determined his course of life in a most challenging manner. He was exposed to face new tribulations. He had to confront the revolts which had erupted everywhere in the conquered areas. The native people had taken up the arms at Seleucia [سلوکیا] (***Seleucia*** *is also known as Seleucia. It is in Mesopotamia, on the west bank of Tigris River*) Hatra [الحضر] (***Hatra*** *is an ancient city in Al-Jazira region of Iraq)* Nisibis ***(Nusaybin*** *(classical)* ***Nisibis*** *is a city in Mardin Province of Turkey)* Edessa ***(Edessa*** *is the historical name of an Assyrian Syriac)* and his entire line of retreat was beset with foes. The chances of his return had become very bleak all of a sudden and he was destined to perish in the land which he had invaded. Trajan had tried to retrace his transit footsteps hurriedly and he had sent his Generals in all directions to curtail the proliferation of insurrections. Erucius Clarus and Julius Alexander were able to recover Seleucia [سلوکیا] and they had tried to quell the rebellion in such a way that they had pushed those cities into the flames. Lucius Quietus had taken back Nisibis and then, he had plundered it and had set Edessa on fire. Maximus was defeated, on the contrary, and then a battle had taken place at Alkhzer [الخزر] and most of the Roman army was destroyed completely.

Trajan had realized pursuant to the insurrections that, how fragile was his hold upon the conquered areas. He was compelled to revisit his policy and instead of converting the Lower Mesopotamia into the Roman provinces, he had opted for upper Mesopotamia and Adiabene (*or Assyria* [أشور]) to pacify the growing discontent. He had declared it as an independent state under the Roman Empire. He had selected Parthamaspates Panni over Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی] because he was a member of the Arsacid (*Arshukani*) [اشکانی] family and he had previously sided with Rome. He had made him ruler for the southern area between the two rivers.

When, Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی] had learnt about the retreat of the Romans, he had decided to make his return in the following year to Ctesiphon [طیسفون] [مدائن] ***(Ctesiphon***, [مدائن] *the imperial capital of Parthian Arsacid and of Persian Sassanid)* and then, he had expelled Parthamaspates Panni. He was able to re-establish his administrative control in Susiana [شوش] (***Susa*** *was an ancient city of the Parthian Empire of Iran*) as well as, in the southern Mesopotamia which had left the Romans to retain the hold in Assyria [أشور] (*Adiabene*) and upper Mesopotamia and in Armenia only.

Roman expulsion from the area between the two rivers [آرمینیا اور بین النہرین سے رومیوں کا اخراج]:

Trajan had died in August 117 A.D and Hadrian had become the Roman Emperor, as his successor. He was convinced that the conquests of Trajan were impolitic and the Roman limits, which Augutus had chalked out, were the adequate eastern frontiers. Hadrian had relinquished three provinces i.e. Assyria [أشور] (Adiabene), upper Mesopotamia and Armenia initially which Trajan had annexed with the Empire. Then, he had withdrawn the legions from Euphrates. He had worked on the policy to maintain the cordial relationship with Parat. The status quo ante was restored in Assyria [أشور] and Mesopotamia and were handed over to the Panni rulers of Parat and their autonomous rule was also given due recognition in the area between the two rivers. Hadrian had handed over Armenia to Parthamaspates. Osrhoene (*A Syriac speaking kingdom*), like the other Mesopotamian countries, had come once again under the domineering control of the Arsacid [اشکانی] rulers. The Romans had gained nothing by their great excursions. The relations of the two Empires had remained normal for another half-century. The voluntary withdrawal of Hadrian from Assyria [أشور] and Mesopotamia had placed him on very amiable terms with Parat and thus, peace was restored. Hadrian had met Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی] on his eastern frontier, in 122 A.D. He had returned the daughter of Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی], in 130 A.D. Trajan had captured her as a prisoner according to Iran Pastan" [ایران پاستان] (*Volume II Page No.2488*). Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی] was able to live for a few years thereafter and he had died, in 130 A.D. (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 292 to 297***). The name of Trajan had remained alive ironically in the history books but the name of Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی], who had defeated him in wars, was consigned into oblivion. The world had remained unfamiliar with his very name even until recently

ARSHAK- XXV VOLAGASES PANNI-I

[ارشک بیست وپنجم بلاش پنّی دوم]

A.D. 130 to A.D. 149

Attack of the Alani Tribes [آلانی قبائل کا حملہ]:

Volagases Panni-II [بلاش پنّی دوم] was enthroned after the death of Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی] with the title name, as Arshak-XXV [ارشک بیست وپنجم]. He was a ruler of some area in Iran at that time. The historians had not identified Volagases Panni-II [بلاش پنّی دوم] in the history with some tenable references. There were some historians who had maintained the view that, he was the son of Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی] whereas the others were of the view that he was the same person who had proclaimed to be the heir in waiting for the Panni or Arsacid [اشکانی] rule, in 78 A.D. When, he had acclaimed to be the alleged heir, he was twenty years old and if said version was correct then, the age of Arshak-XXV [ارشک بیست وپنجم] was around 78 years at the time when he had taken the reins of power. The entire reign of Arshak-XXV [ارشک بیست وپنجم] was tranquil in its all manifestations. He was the first one who had become the real king of Parat, according to the numismatic evidence of 130 to 149 A.D. There was a strong possibility that he was one of the sons of Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی].

The reign of Arshak-XXV [ارشک بیست وپنجم] was disturbed only when the Alani tribes (*Scythian people*) had passed through the Azof [قفقاز] mountains and they had initiated a great predatory invasion in Azerbaijan [آزربائیجان] which was the dependency of Parat. They had also ravaged other areas of Parat and Armenia. Volagases Panni-II [بلاش پنّی دوم] had to pay a huge sum for their return which was the indicator of the fact that he was on the defensive. Antonus Piius was enthroned in Rome, in 138 A.D. Volagases Panni-II [بلاش پنّی دوم] had sent an emissary to Rome with a crown of gold as a present for the Emperor which had also affirmed the fact that the Parat sultanate had weakened by that time. The said fact was established from the nummery which was minted by Antonius Pius, during his first year in power. The coinage of said period had contained the image of the Emperor on one side whereas there was an image of a woman on the other side. The woman was depicted to have held an arch and an arrow in the left hand and her right extended hand had held a crown for presentation. The name of the Panni sultanate was also

inscribed as "Parat" on those coins. Volagases Panni-II [بلاش پنّی دوم] had died, in 1498 A.D (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 297 to 299***).

ARSHAK- XXVI VOLAGASES PANNI-III

[ارشک بیست وششم بلاش پنّی سوم]

A.D. 149 to A.D. 191

Volagases Panni-III [بلاش پنّی سوم] had assumed the title as Arshak- XXVI [ارشک بیست وششم] after the death of Volagases Panni-II [بلاش پنّی دوم]. The state relations between Iran and Rome had remained very tense during his reign. When, Aurelius Markus had become the Roman Emperor, Volagases Panni-III [بلاش پنّی سوم] had cast aside the rapprochement agreement with the Romans and he had declared war. There were two reasons, one of which was that the then ruler of Armenia was not from the Arshukani [اشکانی پنّی] (*Arshukani*) origin and he was a sponsored appointee of Rome. The second reason was the demand of Volagases Panni-III [بلاش پنّی سوم] for the return of the gold throne which Rome had declined.

ARSHAK- XXVII VOLAGASES PANNI-IV

[ارشک بیست وہفتم بلاش پنّی چہارم]

A.D. 191 to A.D. 209

The reign of Parat had devolved upon Volagases Panni-IV [بلاش پنّی چہارم] on the demise of Volagases Panni-III [بلاش پنّی سوم]. He had died, in 191 A.D which was the time when the Romans had murdered their Emperor namely, Pertinax. The successor of Pertinax was not even proclaimed when three legionaries had raised arms at three different quarters simultaneously i.e. Clodius Albinus, in Britain, Severus, in Pannonia and Pescennius Niger, in Syria. They had proclaimed their autonomous rule in their respective areas.

Volagases Panni-IV [بلاش پنّی چہارم] had sent the congratulatory message to the new Emperor on his succession. He had offered him support with his contingents. Since, Niger was hopeful to be accepted as the sovereign without much ado therefore he had declined said offer very politely. The Roman senate had appointed Severus on the contrary, as the Emperor of Rome and pursuant thereto Niger had requested Volagases Panni-IV [بلاش پنّی چہارم] to support him with his

contingents. Volagases Panni-IV [بلاش پنّی چہارم] was in a position by that time to weigh the request. Volagases Panni-IV [بلاش پنّی چہارم] had encouraged one of his dependent monarchs of Hatra [الحضر] however to monitor the bickering. He had opted to abstain thus, from direct interference in the contest between the two Roman field-marshals. (*Hatra* [الحضر] *was the capital of Arabian community at that time and was considered to be the main city of central Mesopotamia or the tract between the Sinjar and the Babylonian alluvium*).

The struggle between the two marshals had gained momentum in the early months of 194 A.D. The Roman interference beyond the Euphrates had lashed back with a great impact by that time. The newly subjected Mesopotamians had taken up the arms and they had massacred most of the detachments of the Roman soldiers which were stationed around their country.

ARSHAK- XXVIII ARTABANUS PANNI

[ارشک بیست وہشتم اردوان پنّی]

A.D. 209 to A.D. 226

Volagases Panni-IV [بلاش پنّی چہارم] had died in 208 A.D. He had two sons namely, Artabanus Panni [اردوان پنّی] and Volagases Panni-V [بلاش پنّی پنجم]. They both were engaged in the contest to acquire the throne of Parat which had culminated ultimately in the manner that, Volagases Panni-V [بلاش پنّی پنجم] was appointed to rule Mesopotamia whereas Artabanus Panni [اردوان پنّی] was appointed as the sovereign ruler of Parat according to the classical version of history. The Arsacid (*Arshukani*) [اشکانی] Empire *in extremis* was ruled thus by the two Emperors instead of one. The coins of Parat had reflected that, both brothers had exercised the sovereign status in the entire term of about seventeen or eighteen years of their respective reigns.

End of the Panni rule in Iran [ایران میں پنّی حکومت کا خاتمہ]:

Artaxerxes [*اردشیر*], the king of Persia under Parat (*Southern province, Writer*), had taken up arms against the principal seat in or about 220 A.D. Artabanus Panni VI [اردوان پنّی پنجم] was in the process to focus however on the internal dissensions. He was able to establish the independence of Persia Proper (*modern province of Farus*) within no time. Artabanus Panni [پنّی اردوان] had made some hectic efforts pursuant thereto to crush the rebellion and for re-

establishing the authority over his revolted vassal states. He had entered the field in person and he had fought three great battles against the rebellious contender for the reign. The last battle had taken place between Bebahan [*بهبهان*] and Shuster in the fields of Hormuz [هرمز مضیق] where Artabanus Panni [اردوان پنّی] was killed. We have already discussed those wars very briefly in the context of Shahnama Firdausi (*Writer*).

Artavasdes Panni [ارتاواسد پنّی]:

The son of Artabanus Panni [اردوان پنّی] namely, Artavasdes Panni [ارتاواسد پنّی] had succeeded him and his reign had only lasted for a few days. The factual position was that, the battles at Hormuz [هرمز مضیق] had decided the case of Artavasdes Panni [ارتاواسد پنّی] for all times to come. The rule of 475 years of the Panni (Parthian) dynasty had reached its termination point in Iran as a consequence of those battles. The battles at Hormuz [هرمز مضیق] had also proved to have laid the foundation of the Sassanid Empire (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 303 to 306***). The Arsacid (*Arshukani*) [اشکانی reign had persisted nonetheless in Armenia. *The account of the same in extenso will follow later*.

Federation and causes of downfall of the Panni reign [حکومت کے زوال کا باعث، فڈریشن]:

There were many nations in the history which had played their powerful role in the world for many centuries. Then, they had become extinct ultimately and they had left behind their vestigial traces only. There was no reign therefore which was powerful enough to eternalize itself in this world and if the disintegration of the Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation had also passed through the same phase of extinction then, the same was also in accordance with the law of nature. The center of power of the Panni nation had weakened during the last century of its rule in ancient Iran. There were seven main dynasties among them however which were able to survive. They had enjoyed the full autonomy during the course of their stay in power. The political struggle to take the freedom from the center had never come to an end. Thus, there were indicators of disintegration of the Panni kingdom initially but, the causes and effects had taken such a turn with the passage of time that, the kingdom was divided into many parts. Then, there were two types of states which had emerged resultantly i.e. one was the set of dynast states whereas the other type was vassal states. The pattern of said division also had a further split of

multiple units in the form of city states. The eleven units of were called the upper units whereas the other seven units were called as the lower units. The said process had brought forth very strong sub-principalities and all those states had configured as the federating units in the practical terms. The same had resulted in the gradual weakening of the centrality of the federation, due to its magnitude and vastness. The decline of the federation in said manner was conducive for the Sassanids to make the upsurge. There was a Sassanid individual by the name of Artaxerxes [*اردشیر یکم*] and he was able to exploit the internal schism of the weakening Panni kingdom. H*e was able to defeat* Artabanus Panni [اردوان پنّی] in 226 A.D. Artabanus Panni [اردوان پنّی] was the ruler of Iran only at that time. Volagases Panni-V [بلاش پنّی پنجم] had segregated his region by that time, as ruler of Mesopotamia [بابل]. The Sassanid [ساسانی] rulers had worked out a comprehensive strategy of replacing the crumbling reign of Arsacid (*Arshukani*) [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) rulers. They had also decided to construct the edifice of their own reign in Iran (***Fry Page No.189 to 192***). The Sassanids had taken quick practical measures as soon as they were in a position to consolidate their rule of power. Then, they had effaced the history of their predecessors i.e. the Arsacids (*Arshukani*) [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*).

Duration of reign [حکمرانی کی مدت]:

The Panni Arsacid (*Arshukani*) [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) rule had lasted in Iran for about four hundred eighty four years, in accordance with chapter 34 of the book which was captioned as "Bundahishn" i.e. Primal Creation, (***Fry Page No.179)***. The said duration had started from 247 A.D and had continued till 226 A.D, according to the research of modern historians. The rule of the Panni Arsacid (*Arshukani*) [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) had lasted, as a matter of fact, for about 575 years in Armenia. *The in extensor account will be given later*. The same had included probably the initial eleven years of governorship of the first ruler.

Volagases Panni-V, ruler of Mesopotamia [بلاش پنّی پنجم حاکم بابل]:

We have already discussed above that in 209 A.D, the throne of Parat had become the bone of contention between the two sons of Volagases Panni-IV [بلاش پنّی چہارم] namely, Artabanus Panni [اردوان پنّی] and Volagases Panni-V [بلاش پنّی پنجم]. Iran was divided into two parts as a result of said tussle for power. Artabanus Panni [اردوان پنّی] had become the ruler of the Persian dominant

area exclusively whereas Volagases Panni-V [بلاش پنّی پنجم] was the ruler of Mesopotamia [بابل]. We have already discussed the ultimate fate of Artabanus Panni [اردوان پنّی] but, we have not been able to discover much about Volagases Panni-V [بلاش پنّی پنجم]. There was no historical evidence available to determine the full duration of the reign of his descendants and besides that, who was the successor of Mesopotamia [بابل].

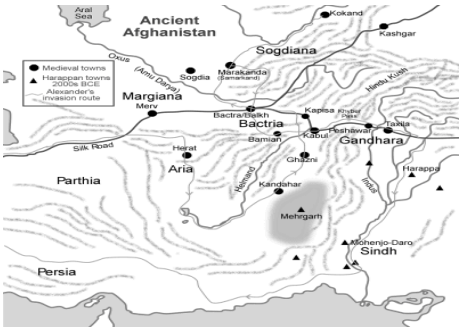
We will examine very briefly, the rule of the Panni nation in Armenia where they were able to imprint their foot to compile new chapters of history despite losing their reign of power in Iran.

PANNI CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION [پنّی تہزیب وتمدن]

Frontiers of the Panni sultanate [پنّی حکومت کی سرحدیں]:

The map of the ancient Panni or the Arsacid (*Arshukani*) [اشکانی] sultanate was not available in the Atlas to determine the boundaries of their sultanate. The Greek, Armenian and the Jewish historians had determined those boundaries however on the strength of their respective history books which were handed down to us through the English and Persian sources (*Those sources had also included, the antiques, ruins which were discovered over many years, Writer*). The Panni sultanate used to consist of states according to aforementioned books of history in the manner, as below:

> Parat (Khurasan [خراسان]), Damghan [دامغان], Samnan [سمنان], Iraq [عراق], Aajam [عجم], Hamadan Gerdus [ہمدان گردس], Kirmanishan [کرمانشاہاں], Nihawand [نہاوند], Toseerkan [تویسرکان], Iraq (Sultanabad) [عراق سلطان آباد], Maad Minor [ماد کوچک], Azerbaijan [آزربائیجان], Adyaban [ادیابن] (Aasor Ancient) [آسور قدیم], Kirdistan [کردستان], Armenia [آرمینیہ] and Armenia Minor [آرمینہ کوچک], Qazodeen [قزودین], Ray City [رے], Asfhan [اصفہان], Buzd [بزد], Khawansar [خوانسار], Gulpaeghan [گلپائگاں], Vakrah [وکرہ], Hatra [الحضر] (Athra) [ہترہ], Kalah Ancient [کلاۂ قدیم], Meopotameia [بابل] to the Persian Gulf [خلیج فارس], Khozistan [خوزستان], Pharis [فارس], Kirman [کرمان], Seistan [سیستان], Sagarti [ساگارتی], Mountain Range of northern Hindh [سلسلۂ کوہ شمالی ہند] and Paunjab [پنجاب] from Khurasan [خراسان] to the Oxus [جیحوں] river.



Bactria or Bactriana, Persian Bakhter **(**باختر) was called later on as Tukharistan whereas Tokharistan or Tocharistan was the ancient name of the region in the central Asia which was located in between the Hindu Kush range and Oxus (Amu River). The same was a part of the northeastern periphery of Iran which was a part of present Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan as well as, a smaller part of Turkmenistan. The said region was the walkthrough door of Zoroastrianism and Buddhism in the past.

Capital of the Panni state [پنّی دارالحکومت]:

The Panni rulers had made the famous city Ctesiphon [طیسفون] [مدائن] as their state capital after the expansion of their state limits up to the Euphrates and Tigris. The historians had identified Asmak اسماک] (Astan [استان]), as the central places or the capital of their state prior to the same which was the present Quchan [قوچان]. **(***Quchan is an Iranian district in the northern part of Razavi Khorasan province, in northeastern Iran and is located in the south of the border city of Ashgabat*) or Bojnurd [بجنورد] (*Bojnurd is the capital city of north Khorasan province Iran*). There were some other historians who had identified their capital as Nicae [نسا] *İznik (which derives itself from the former Greek name Nikaia or Nicaea*). The same is a city in Turkey which is located between Askabad [اشک آباد] and Feroza [فیروزہ]. The area of Nicae [نسا] had remained under the Soviet Union prior to its disintegration. There were several relics which were discovered during the excavation in said area some years ago which had included a temple [معبد], *reflet* pottery, some articles and other tools which had pertained to the Panni era. The said area was the state capital of the Panni sultanate according to the archeologists and had remained buried for centuries until the modern archeologists were able to unearth the same after the

incessant quest for years. They had also discovered a tunnel which was a channel between the temple [معبد] and palace. The temple [معبد] had contained two architraves and the fenestrate of the Panni era. The radius of said city was about four and half miles. There were some stone pillars and roof tops as well, which were decorated with mosaic art. Then, there were some encaustic patterns on the walls which were also uncovered during the excavation.

The historians of the Islamic era were of the view that, the capital of the Panni state used to be the Ray city [شہرِ ری]. The Iranian historian Hassan Pernia [حسن پرنیا] had disagreed however with the same. The Panni kings used to stay at the Ray city [شہرِ ری] according to him but for a brief period only.

The Panni rulers had made Ctesiphon [طیسفون] [مدائن] as their state capital. Seleucia [سلوکیا] (***Seleucia*** *is also known as Seleucia*) and Ctesiphon [طیسفون] [مدائن], which is on the left and right side of the Tigris, had merged into each other and had become one city. The Arab historians had called it as Madian [مدائن] i.e. twin cities. The said city had become the Sassanid [ساسانی] capital, subsequently. The Greek historians were also of the view that the Panni rulers never used to have a permanent state capital. They had always maintained a shuttling capital from one city to another and their power was centralized more at Ctesiphon [طیسفون] or at Madian [مدائن].

State administration [نظام حکومت]:

The Panni sultanate had included Parat (*Iran*) as well as, the vassal or the dynast states. The vassal states were of two types:

The administrators of the occupied states, which were part of the Panni sultanate, were appointed by the Panni rulers. The state heads among the other dynast states were not appointed however by those rulers rather, they used to give the sanction of their appointment only. Those state heads used to enjoy the autonomy in their internal affairs and used to owe some responsibility however to the Panni sultanate. The same was obligatory for them as state heads.

> The appointed king used to be totally independent yet, there were three apex executive councils of power. The king was obliged to seek their advice to run the affairs of the kingdom. There used to be a dynasty to head each council and each prince was appointed automatically, as member of said council at his maturity. The second council used to consist of religious scholars and used to be called as council of "Mughistan" [مغِستان]. The third council used to be called as the council of "Mahistan" [مہستاں], which used to be the common body of the first two councils.

The council of the Mahistan [مہستاں] was empowered to appoint the king from amongst the royal family members. The eldest son used to be the crown prince usually but, if the crown prince used to be a minor at the death of any king or ineligible to be appointed as a king then, the council of Mahistan [مہستاں] used to have the powers to appoint the brother or the uncle of the deceased as king. The king used to enjoy the imperial patronage and authority. The act of causing any injury to any royal member used to be considered as a punishable sin. The king was not approachable directly by the general public. The complaints used to be sent to the king through his courtiers. Then, the decisions with regard to the complaints used to be remitted back through the same channel to forward the complainants. (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 302 to 308***).

Seven Royal families [سات شاہی خاندان]:

Since, there were seven royal families which used to rule and conduct the administrative affairs in every nook and corner of the sultanate therefore, the compiler of Qissus Alquran [قصص القران] (*Volume No.3 Page No.149*) and other historians which had also included the Muslim historians, had misinterpreted the entire period of the Panni era as an anarchic [طوائف الملوکی] age historically. The classical Arabic writings had proved that there was a group of seven subordinate dynasties of the nobles under the Panni rulers. They were the apex ruling elite *corps d' elite* and their ruling domains were in different parts of the kingdom. They used to enjoy a privileged status as princes and Nawabs and the king was always obliged to exercise his prerogative to select his wife(s) from amongst those *corps d' elite* dynasties only. The members of those dynasties were duty bound to extend the services to their king especially when there used to be any war other than curbing the state exigencies. The dynasties used to maintain their

personal troops to fulfill said obligation. There was one dynasty which was known as “Karen” (*House of Karen was an aristocratic feudal family of Hycania, Gorgan*) among those seven renowned dynasties during said era which had its center at Medea which used to be the northwestern Iran in those days. The remaining western part used to be called as Farus [فارس]. The center of Sureen tribe was Seistan [سیستان]. The centre of Mithran tribes was the Ray city [شهر ری] which was near Tabran [تبران]. There was another tribe by the name of “Spadiyad” which was known as “Spahpat” in common parlance. They had their center at Gorgan. The Spahpat tribe was perhaps the deputy of “Gev” dynasty which was more popular as “Zek”. The sixth dynasty was placed in the city of Merv according to the historian, Ansy Dore, which was known by the name of “Sanabares” whereas their most popular ruler was from the Panni dynasty. The protégé deputy dynasty was allowed to maintain its own army. The same fact was proved when the army of Surena Panni [سورینا پنّی] had fought side by side with the army of the ruling king at the time of the historical Carrhae [کرہئے] war in 35 B.C. Surena Panni [سورینا پنّی] was able to earn the historical victory. The historical battle at Carrhae [کرہئے] had eternalized the name of Surena Panni [سورینا پنّی] in the history (***Qisus*** [قصص] ***Volume No.3 Page No.150, Fry Page No.192-193***). There was a somewhat similar pattern of administration in the Subcontinent during the reign of the Muslim rulers. The Nobles *corps d’ elite* and the feudal clique were obliged to provide their *arriere-ban* soldiers to the rulers, according to said system. There were some historians who had maintained the view that the system, which had consisted of princes and Nawab, had culminated into confederation in a gradual manner. The same had ultimately become, as a matter of fact, the cause of the collapse of their kingdom. The name of one of the Nawabs was “Gondapheres” ***(Fry Page No.185***). The aforementioned historical view was correct presumably therefore the number of the seven dynasties was complete with the inclusion of “Gondapheres” who are known as Gandahpuri [گنڈاپوری] nowadays. The distribution of the Jagirs amongst the relatives used to be quite common in Iran during the Panni era. The ruler dynasty used to marry in the families of their nobles *corps d’ elite* and the titles like “Nawab” [نواب] used to be awarded to the qualified families only as a result. The privilege of marriage was not approved for the Nawab families of some areas ***(Fry Page No.92-93***). The province as a whole used to be called as “Satrapy” just due to the bestowal of the title as Satrap.

Commander [شپہ سلار]:

The commander used to be called as “Surena” and said post used to be very important. The post of Surena used to be the second most important post in the administrative set-up. The primary duty of “Surena” used to be to arrange and perform the coronation ceremony of the king (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.308***).

Gradation of officers and coining of the word “King” [افسروں کی درجہ بندی، لفظ بادشاہ کی اختراع]:

We were able to discover some terms from across Caucasia which were called “Bataxs” and “Pitiaxsi” and “Vitaxa” and said terminology was known as “Durabatisa” initially. This had pertained to the ruling elite of a subservient grade. The term “Bataxs” used to be assigned to the ranks of the lowest grades but, the officers of superior grades used to be called as “Nohodar” whereas the officers with such a title used to hold the top official posts. Then, there were other higher and lower ranks which had the categorization and were awarded to the *corps d’ elite* nobles. The “Nohodar” used to be the highest rank. The said rank was used in Armenia as “Naxrarar” for a Nawab or for a chieftain. The rank which was above “Nicae” and “Satrap” and used to be called as “Margrane” whereas, the rank which was lower than that used to be called as “Dyzpty”. The same was however the highest rank in a village or in the town army. The word “Dyzpty” was used for the custodian (*The word “Deputy” was derived possibly from the same word, Writer*). The other name for “Margrane” used to be as “Patikospan” ***(Fry Page No.194-195***).

There was yet another rank which used to be known as “Bataxs” and the nobles *corps d’ elite* used to club the terminology of “Bataxs with their names. They used to enjoy it for general recognition, instead of their real names ***(Fry Page No.194***). The apparent etymology and the clolloquial use of the word Badshah [بادشاہ] for the word “King” was apparently derived from the word “Bataxs” ***(Fry Page No.279***).

The Panni nation had used the terminology as the “Satrap of Satrap” [ساتراپ] for its coins after conquering western Iran, in 139 B.C. The said terminological impression means, the “Elder of Elders or the Chief of Chieftains”. When, the Great Daryush Azam [داریوش اعظم] had taken over

the reign in Iran and had appointed Darius as governor of Balkh, he had adopted the title of Strapada for himself which was recognized as the Satraps [ساتراپس] in the Greek language whereas, it was written as Satrap [ساتراپ] in the English language. The said trend had changed in the province of Prasus [اسطخر] and the coinage of said province had contained the original shape with the addition of the word "MLK" only ***(Fry Page No.205***). The same was perhaps the evolutionary base of the Persian word Malik [ملک]. The terminology of Batesa [بتسیا] was derived from the word "Bataxs" and had culminated its shape subsequently as Badshah [بادشاہ] i.e. the king ***(Fry Page No.279***). The source of aforementioned information was the ancient Greek epigraphs ***(Fry Page No.195***). The Kashan people had adopted the terminology of "Shaomano" from the Parthian title "Basileos Basileom" according to Professor Dani which had become known subsequently as Shahanshahi [سہنشاہی] or Shahanshah [شہنشاہ] (***Dani*** [دانی] ***Page No.48***). There was a collection of antiquity which had come to the surface at the time of excavation at "Pura-e-Ropas" near river Euphrates which is a part of Syria at present. The said collection of antiquity had established the valuable nexus with regard to the relations between the Greeks and the Panni nation. The ancient Greek epigraphs had also endorsed said fact. The aforementioned sources had also identified the hierarchical order of nobles of high and low ranks ***(Fry Page No.194***).

Army [فوج]:

There used to be no national army but, in the case of war, the deputy rulers of the vassal and the dynast states used to be obliged to provide the combatants for any war. The said army used to consist of infantry and cavalry troops. The historical events had revealed that the infantry troops used to have an insignificant role during the war. The real army used to be the cavalry troops and the Panni rulers used to maintain it very sanctimoniously. The light infantry troops used to be equipped with arches and arrows whereas the remaining army used to consist of fully equipped soldiers which used to be called as "Colib-Ba-Mari". The troops used to be equipped with spears and snickersneés other than arches and arrows. The same type of contingent was deployed as a potential deterrent against the Romans. We have already explained, in this regard, their pattern of warfare *in medias res* in the context of the "Parthian Shot" ***(Fry Page No. 96***). The Panni rulers had fought several other battles against the Armenians at Syria and Mesopotamia. Those battles were discussed with historical significance in the pages of history along-with the names of the

General Crassus of Sulla, the Emperor Trajan, Octavia (*Plebeian*), Mark Anthony (*Marcus Antonius*) and Augustus (*Gaius Julius Caesar*), Tiberius Claudian Nero and Gnaeus Pompeius etc. ***(Fry Page No. 187, Encyclopedia Page No.337***). The world had amazingly remained unfamiliar with the names of those professional Generals and gallant soldiers who had fought against the aforementioned Roman Generals. The very name of the opponents of the Romans i.e. the Panni nation was completely expunged from the annals of history. The reason behind the same was the ill-will of the Sassanid nation which had desecrated the history. They had unpaged the portion of history which had pertained to the Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation. We have already discussed this above *in medias res* in the context of Khuda-e-namic [خدائے نامک] under the heading of "Injustice of Noshirwan" [نوشیروان کی بے انصافی].

Armor [زرہ بکتر]:

The soldiers used to put on the proper fighting hauberks. The saddle of their horses used to be decorated *soigné* with very expensive gold work. The straight arches used to be their main weapon. The dagger and snickersneé were in use among the common people. The main weapon of cavalry used to be the lance. There was no historical reference available however with regard to the naval force of the Panni (Parthian) nation. The aforementioned facts had proved that, somehow or the other, the naval fleet was not a priority in any war (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.309***).

Equestrianism [شہسواری کا ذوق]:

The Panni nation was popular for its *haute école* equestrian skills at its zenith and their horse riding dress used to include the jodhpurs like riding breech and riding sabots. The said horse riding dress had also become popular in the east during the first two centuries A.D. This was the innovation of the Panni nation which had depicted their nomadic way of life. The same dress had remained very popular for a very long time because of its extra smartness and because it used to help promote the equestrian skill. The chivalrous way of life of the Panni (*Parthian*) nation was also reflected in their art, linguistics as well as, in the overall discipline of their social life. The Persian language was indebted to the Panni nation for the word "Pahlwan" [پہلوان] i.e. the

wrestler ***(Fry Page No.197-198***). *The account in extenso, with regard to the same will follow later*.

The people of Parat [پارت کے عوام]:

The references with regard to the general way of life of the people during the Panni era of Iran were not available in any real elaborate terms in history. There was at least this much that was evident that the public used to prefer adopting the combating skills as a profession in their general life. The animal hunting *battue* used to be their favorite hobby and they used to relish the food which they used to prepare from the hunted animals. The use of liquor was quite common and used to be made from grapes and dates. The flute and drums used to be their favorite musical instruments whereas the group dance used to be their favorite social festivity (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.309***). There was yet another archeological trace from said era which had pertained to the bones of a male person which were buried in a clay pot ***(Fry Page No.126 and 283***). The use of liquor is still permissible amongst the Zoroastrians who had migrated into the Subcontinent from Iran. This was perhaps one of the remainder societal traditions of said era. The traditional group dance, which is in vogue amongst the latitudinous Pathans, was also originated probably in Iran during the era of the Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation.

Dress and general features [لباس اور وضع قطع]:

The common dress of the people of Parat used to be the long cloak with deep pockets which used to be in different colors and some of their dresses used to be embellished with gold. The people used to maintain their look generally with *coiffure* curly hair and with bearded face (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.309***). The present cultural Pathan dresses also had the reflection of said era.

Religion [مذہب]:

The people of Parat, or the ancient people of Iran, used to worship nature. They used to eulogize the patriarchal virtues whereas the practice of sorcery also used to be very common. The names

of their idols were “Saper” [سپر] [*sky*], “Khursheed” [خورشید] [*sun*], “Mah” [ماہ] [*moon*], “Maeti” [مائتی] [*land*], “Aab” [آب] [*water*] and “Bad” [باد] [*air*] etc. The word “Matti” [مٹی] i.e. soil, which is used in the Urdu language, had acquired its ultimate shape probably from the word “Maeti” [مائتی]. The Greek historian Herodotus (424 to 484 B.C.) was of the view that the Iranian used to worship the above named idols as their gods in the fifth century B.C. The historian Strabo 63/64 B.C had also endorsed the view that the Iranians were worshippers of fire and water. The word “Suria” [سوریہ] is used in the Sanskrit language for Sun which was called as “Hurr” [حور] in the ancient Iranian language but said word was converted into the Persian language as “Khor” [خور]. Then it had developed its shape as Khursheed [خورشید] subsequently. The word “Khursheed” [خورشید] is still used to convey the meaning of the word “Sun” in the Persian language. The aforementioned idol worship and other practices of the Parthians were the result of the overwhelming influence of Zoroastrianism. The Idol Mithras [متھرا] i.e. Surea (*Sun*) used to be worshiped as an image of god. The Panni nation then and/or the people of Iran, by and large, also used to follow such beliefs ***(Fry Page No.201***). The Panni nation used to be a pantheist nation prior to landing in Parat. The “Sun” was deemed to be the family guard and was called as “Mehr” [مہر]. They used to bow their heads venerably at dusk. They also used to organize the public consecration ceremonies. They used to organize *en massse* slaughter *battue* of animals. Then, they were integrated with the Iranians and had started worshiping Hormuzd [ہرمزد] which was the greatest god for them whereas the other gods were subservient gods and thus their religion resembled Zoroastrianism. They used to cremate the dead bodies unlike Zoroastrians. The Zoroastrianism had overwhelmed all their practices comprehensively, as the end result. Volagases Panni-III [بلاش پنّی سوم] (*191 to A.D.184*) was constrained to recompile the burnt original script of Zend-Avesta [ژند اوستا] under the overwhelming impact of Zoroastrianism which was the religious book of Zoroastrians. The original script of Zend-Avesta [ژند اوستا] was burned by Alexander the Great (***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.310***). The Panni nation, besides worshiping the gods and goddesses, had the belief in the incarnation of Messiah [*Savior*] (*Writer*) and their belief was somewhat like the Jewish belief. The comprehensive study of their societal structure had revealed that they were not much inclined towards any religion. They used to sacrifice the horses in accordance with the ancient Iranian traditions. The Jews were in majority, in their kingdom, and they used to enjoy complete religious freedom ***(Fry Page No.199-200***). The Sun used to be called as Mithras [متھرا] and its worship was called as Mithraism [مترائت]. The Persian word “Mehr” [مہر] is an abbreviation of Mithras [متھرا] but,

Mithras [متھرا] was described differently in Vedas and was called as "Miter" [متر] (*Vedas, any or all of the collections of Aryan hymns, originally transmitted orally but was incorporated in the sacred books since the 6th century BC)*. Mithras [متھرا] was not a very significant idol. The Iranian traditions had also mingled into the Mithraism [مترائت] extensively at the climax of the Panni era. Mithras [متھرا] was used therefore with various individual names e.g. Mithras Bozani [متھرا بوزانی], Mithras Dyke [متھرا ڈائک] Mithras Faran [متھرا فارن] and as the Panni rulers had gained the administrative control of Asia Minor [ایشیا کوچک] and there were colonies in Parat therefore they had also adopted the worship of different Mithraea [متھرا]. The concept of Mithraea [متھرا] had also penetrated into the west and had become popular after the death of Alexander the Great. When the Panni nation was mighty and strong, during the first century A.D, said concept had travelled to Rome. When, the Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation was faced with its downfall (*A.D.226*) in the following two centuries, the entire Rome was virtually overwhelmed by said concept (*Mithras was considered by the Roman worshippers as 'Sol invictus' or the invincible sun)*. The Mithraism [مترائت] had also become popular in Rome just like Manichaeism [مانویت] (***Nigar Khuda*** [نگار خدا] ***Page No.109***, ***Fry Page No.199-200-201)***. Mithras [متھرا] was depicted as an idol of a handsome young man who was busy in slaughtering a bull. (*Mithra Das* [متھرا داس] *or Mithras Davi* [متھرا دیوی] *i.e. slave of Mithras* [متھرا], *is very much popular among Hindus. There is a city in India near Aghrah by the name of Mithras* [متھرا] *which was named as such, because of a Mithras* [متھرا] *Temple, Writer*).

Zoroastrianism and preservation of the traditions [زرتشتی مذھب اور روایات کی حفاظت]:

The aforementioned religious concepts of the Panni nation had also created an impact on Zoroastrianism [زرتشتی مذھب]. The Sassanids, who had usurped the reign of power from the Panni nation, were also enchanted to accept the common beliefs of the Panni nation subsequently. The religion and art, as well as, the literature had passed through its natural course of general adaptation and modification during the Sassanid reign which had helped the history resultantly to rise above the mundane antediluvian age. This was exactly the progressive difference between the primitive Panni rulers and the rulers of later stages (***Nigar Khuda*** [نگار خدا] ***Page No.109***, ***Fry Page No.199-200-205)***. The factual position was that they had revived the Iranian culture and civilization and had supportively preserved the Zoroastrianism. The Panni rulers used to worship Mithras [متھرا] initially but they had started worshiping an idol, which had

subsequently become known as Hormuzd [ہرمزد] which was the biggest god. They were also comprehensively enchanted by Zoroastrianism [زرتشتی مذهب]. They had also made the legislation to preserve the traditions of Zoroastrianism [زرتشتی مذهب], besides making the efforts for the restoration of the religious book i.e. Avestan [اوستا]. The Panni rulers were quite liberal with regard to religion, during their reign. The religious factions were allowed to preserve their values with full freedom. The nations like Indo-Parthi, Sakai, Sufnyani, Armeni, Jewish, Iranian and the Panni-Parthi nation resultantly, used to practice their religions with complete freedom during said period of history. They had also built their royal fire temple ***(Fry Page No. 200-201, 310-311)***. The said reality had come to surface when a stamp was discovered at Nicae [نسا] ***(Fry Page No. 283)***. There was a possibility that the fire temple, which was unearthed at Taxilla, was also perhaps constructed during the reign of the Panni nation because Taxilla was very much within the outer limits of their governance at that time.

Constructions and development [تعمیروترقی]:

The Panni Parthi rulers of Iran had also carried out extensive civil works, besides their conquests for the expansion of territory. They had built their camps in the areas which were previously under the Hellenistic Seleucid kingdom [رومن سلوکس] which were free from any evanescent Grecian interference after the conquest of those regions. They had converted those regions into the cities and towns. They had restored besides that, the ancient Achaemenid [اشامینی] (Satrap) administrative system, which was considered at that time, as a discarded and abandoned chapter. They had developed and promoted the Hellenistic culture during their initial period and they had promoted the civic life in their cities and towns on the same pattern ***(Fry Page No. 192)***. The Romans had not given recognition to the eastern part of the Panni rule till 53 BC after their defeat in the war at Carrhae [کرہئے] (*A small town in Turkey*). The Panni nation was able to create a great impact in the world after winning said war. The world was divided into two well-defined and well recognized empires i.e. Parthia (Iran) and Rome pursuant to the war of Carrhae [کرہئے]. Those Empire were at par in terms of co-existence. The Panni nation had also enriched the world in various fields of life by introducing their own social norms. They had earned a significant place thus, in the Iranian history. The Sassanid rulers had expunged however the very name "Panni" from the Iranian history subsequently and thus they had effaced the very identity of the Panni nation at least to the extent of Iran.

Buried features and antiquities [آثارونوادر]:

The Panni rulers had stretched the limits of their kingdom up to the Euphrates. They had made Ctesiphon [طیسفون] [مدائن] as their state capital. Nicae [نسا] was their state capital previously which was also called as Partha-Nicae [پارتھہ نیسا] whereas their second biggest center was "Hecatom Pylos" which was located between Ashkabad [اشک آباد] and Feroza [فیروزہ] ***(****Hecatompylos was an ancient city in the west of Khurasan Iran which was the capital of the Parthian Arsacid Dynasty by 200 BC).* The said area was under the Soviet Union (*Russia*) until recently ***(Fry Page No. 183***, ***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.306-307***).

There were two cities i.e. new Nicae [نسا] and the ancient Nicae [نسا] which were unearthed at said location ***(Fry Page No. 183-189)***. There were several valuable articles and tools, pots, ruins and temples which were unearthed after the first world war when excavation was carried out at the same location ***(Fry Page No. 181***, ***Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.307***). Then, there were some big halls which were also dug out to the surface which had reflected, among other things, the affluent lifestyle pattern of the Panni rulers. There was a treasure of ivory articles which was also discovered from a seven meter square hall. The said treasure had also contained a woman statue and an animal or idol shape object which had also included a "Rhyton" (تکوک) which was perhaps used for drinking water. There were some articles which had contained the effigies of Grecian gods. The same was reflective of Hellenic art in the east. There were also many other unique pieces of art which were as tall as man height, in size. There were other relics of said era which were discovered at Toprakkale and at an ancient Chinese (*Kashan*) Temple at Khawarzam. Then, there were some Syros-mosaic statues in bronze mold ***(Fry Page No. 181-183{Plate No.74)***. There were some other remains other than the remains of a city in Seistan [سیستان]. Professor Fry had printed those remains at plate No.120, in his book ***(Fry Page No. 126, Plate No.74, 115, 120)***.

The most useful and informative antiquities were those documents which were as old as two millennia B.C approximately which were discovered at a tavern in the city of Nicae [نسا]. Those documents were preserved in the head sealed pots. The same were in fact, the property title documents. Those documents had provided valuable information about the Panni rulers. The names which were written in those documents had resemblance with the bucolic names which

are in used presently in Iran. Those names were somewhat like the Iranian names in the order of sonic gradation. The sound of the same was as, Zora shera ['زوراشری] or Zoroaster [زردشتی]. The plausible inference was drawn that the fire worshiping cult was prevalent even in said era. The years mentioned on those documents had also pertained to the Panni era and had thus excluded the reign of any other ruler. The dates mentioned in those documents had reflected however the Zoroastrian era. The oldest date was one century BC and the last date had pertained to the period of the thirteen century A.D. Those remains had included the buried features of a theater of Hellenic era. There were remains of a city of the Panni era with a well fortified wall which was also unearthed in the north of Susa [سوسا]. The remains of a city of the Panni era, which were in the vicinity of Seistan [سیستان] and which had submerged into the sandy land, were also unearthed by the archeologists ***(Fry Page No. 126-183)***. The aforementioned discoveries had opened up a great possibility of more comprehensive study. The comprehensive research can provide more information about the erstwhile Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation.

The remains at Hamdan [آثار ہمدان]:

The buried features of a temple of the Arshukani [اشکانی پنّی] (*Arshukani*) era were unearthed at Hamdan [ہمدان]. There was a temple at Naheed [ناہید] which was known as Rab-Al-Nogh (‘’ رب النوع’’). This was the place where people usually used to offer their sacrifices. Antiochus II [انٹی اوکس دوم] (*286 B.C to 246 B.C.*), a Seleucid ruler, had ravaged said area. He had plundered all the amassed treasures which were stacked up as religious offerings.

Town of Sirbal Zahab [قصبہ سربل زہاب]:

The town of Sirbal Zahab [قصبہ سربل زہاب] is located at the cleft on the road side. The vestiges in the area had proved that said town used to be a regular habitat. There was an epigraph on which the name of Ardawn [اردوان] was engraved but had not revealed the period in which Ardawn Panni [اردوان پنّی] was in power.

Epigraph at Baghistan [بیسیتون کا کتبہ]:

There was an epigraph of Gotarzes Panni [ارشک بیستم گودرز پنّی] (*A.D. 46 to A.D. 51*) which was discovered at the mount Baghistan [بیسیتون]. The mount was about six Farsang [فرسنگ] from Kirman Shah [کرمان شاہ]. Gotarzes Panni [گودرز پنّی] had placed it in commemoration of his triumph against the Casiaus of Rome. The said epigraph had invited the researchers to carry out more research. There was a kingly person who had the appearance of a horse rider with a lance in his hand and Rab-Al-Nogh (‘’رب النوع’’) and the same was depicted as a flier over his head which was the general depiction of epigraph.

Monuments at Saaolak [آثاردرہ سااولک]:

There was an engraved effigy of a queen at the Bakhtyari Mountain. The queen appeared to have been surrounded by three people. The two people out of the three had spears with them whereas the third one was depicted as a fire worshiper [مُغ]. The hands of all three of them were raised up for prayer. The one plausible interpretation was that the king was out on a hunting spree and the worried queen was waiting for his return very desperately and the two standing by guards had also joined the queen in her prayer for the safe return of the king. The effigy of the worshiper [مُغ] was quite prominent and even the pleats of his dress were depicted noticeably.

There was another statue of the Panni era which was available in the Berlin Museum. The head of the statue was made of copper and the nose of the statue was broken. The said statue was alleged to be of Orodes Panni-I [آرد پنّی اول] (*A.D. 214- A.D.196*) according to the archeologists.

Architectural remains at Hatra [الحضر] [آثارمہترا]

There was a city between Euphrates and Tigris, according to Sir Persy Sykus which was known as Mehtra city [مہترا شہر]. The unearthed features of an ancient building had pertained to the Arshukani [اشکانی پنّی] (*Arshukani*) era because said city had no historical significance prior to 200 B.C. The Mehtra city [مہترا شہر] or Hatra [الحضر] (*Hatra* [الحضر] *is an ancient city in Al-Jazira region of Iraq)* was surrounded by a thick roundish wall and with nicely perched check posts [برج] at an equal distance. The wall was surrounded by a deep and wide graft of three miles

circumference. There were some buried features of a royal palace which were also unearthed inside said wall. There were halls adjacent to the building and were 20 X 30 to 40 X 90 ft in measurement. These were constructed parallel with each other. The halls were varying in height. Since, the opening for light was designed from the eastern side therefore all the halls had uniform light from the same side. The columns were raised from the eastern wall for beautification and to ensure the strength of the halls. The door arches were decorated with the portrayal of human heads and said wall was approximately three hundred feet in length.

There was a square building behind the halls and the access was through one of the covered halls. This was a temple and the walls were decorated with lattice work murals. The source of light was through a midway opening door only. There were many other buried features of the Panni era besides that, which were yearning for more archeological research work ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.313-315***).

Remains at Nicae [نسا کے آثار]

Nicae [نیسا] or Nicae [نسا] (*İznik (which is derived from the former Greek name Nikaia or Nicaea*) was the stronghold of the Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation. This was the name of a city in Turkey and it was located between Askabad [اشک آباد] and Feroza [فیروزہ]. There were several antiques which were discovered just a few years ago during an excavation in said area. These had included a temple [معبد], tools of craftsman and terracotta *reflet* pottery of the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni era. The said area was the center of the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] state according to the archeologists. The archeologists had carried out the research which was coupled with a vigorous quest of many years to discover said area. Then, they were able to unearth the same, ultimately and a tunnel which had connected the temple [معبد] with the palace was also excavated. There were two architraves fenestrate of the temple [معبد] as well which were also unearthed along-with murals of the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] era. The radius of said city was four and a half miles. Then, some stone pillars and roof tops were also unearthed which were apparently decorated with the mosaic art whereas the walls were decorated with the encaustic patterns ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.307***).

Masonry work and sculpture [معماری اور سنگ تراشی]:

The Iranians used to prefer the dwellings historically with high walls in order to ensure their privacy. The same pattern *leitmotiv* of construction was also popular in the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] era. Those dwellings used to have a big lawn in the middle. The buildings which they used to build in those days were dissimilar to the buildings of their predecessors in terms of scientific techniques etc. Their architecture used to include the pointed crowned or mango like or oval shape arches. The shape of the arches used to be like an upside down mango which was known therefore as mango like buildings in the common parlance. Those arches used to be made to support the building and were in fact, the Greek style of architecture which was improved and modified from time to time in accordance with the demands of the habitants ***(Fry Page No. 126 Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.200***). The Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] rulers were although inspired by the Hellenic architecture yet, the murals and other paintings and decorations were eastern in nature virtuously. The same was the peculiar innovative experimentation of the then ruling elite. The innovations had also included the columns which were raised on the angular or arch like walls and besides that, the creation of the lintels basements was also one of their monolithic innovations. The columns construction, which was prevalent in eastern Iran, had become more popular in Mesopotamia. The Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] rulers were more instrumental as a matter of fact, in popularizing the same ***(Fry Page No. 198-281).*** If we take said version as correct then we may also have to examine the various aspects of Islamic architecture in the east and west. The parameters of contemplation in this regard should be to ascertain the quantum effect which the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] era had brought on the eastern and western architecture.

Art:

The art of the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] rulers was dissimilar to their Sassanid successors which had appeared to have a reflection of the early Hellenic art. The same was visible manifestly on the antiques which were discovered at Nicae [نسا]. The indigenous art had replaced seemingly the evanescent Hellenic techniques over the years. Thus, the indigenously admixed art had become the art nouveau *beaux art* which was coupled with the ancient Iranian

techniques. The local art had two very specific aspects i.e. one was the frontal position which was retained in the portraits whereas the second was based in the overall portrayal of generating and depicting the energy in life with movement. The second aspect of art *chef d' œuvre* was maintained in the sculptures and in murals more specifically. They used to depict the "Flying Gallop" in the same manner, the way a picture of a deer is painted nowadays on the oil reservoir of a petrol company. The depictions of said art used to usually involve the hunting and party scenes. Then, there used to be the scenes of warfare which used to be coupled with wholesale animal slaughter *battue* celebrations. The Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] nation had also promoted the industry of the assorted colors and decorations through their mosaic and artwork along-with their lattice painting techniques ***(Fry Page No. 175-198).***

Traditions, lifestyle and calligraphy [رسوم، اطواراوررسم الخط]:

The Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] nomads had landed in Parat, shortly after the death of Alexander the Great. They had influenced the locals by practicing their beliefs of pantheism and idolatry. The said mythological effect of the communization had channelized the local society into a grand transformation. The epigraphs and the documents of said era had indicated the mythological influences of said newly landed Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] nation. The aforementioned fact was evident even from the alphabets which were used in the calligraphy which was elaborated with the help of ancient orthography. The Arshukani Panni [اشکانی پنّی] people appeared in this regard, to have generally been more conservative in protecting and preserving their language and the script ***(Fry Page No.50).*** The words of Manieshi Parthi [منیشی پارتهی] script were also seemingly included in the expressions of their own language other than the archaic scripts of the Panni Parthi nation. They had introduced these into the areas which they were able to subjugate. They had although adopted the local language(s) yet, they had also progressively introduced the words of their own language into the spoken local language(s). Then, they had obviously carried along the amalgam language(s) wherever they had opted to move and so much so that, they had influenced greatly the Manieshi [منیشی] and Armani [آرمینی] languages. They had introduced their language even into the remotest areas. The language of the Panni nation was not used commonly because it was written in homograph which was mixed with the Aramaic words. There were some words of the Armenian Parthi Manieshi [آرمینی پارتهی منیشی] scripts which were described as the words from the language of the

Parni [پرنی] nation. There were many numismatic proofs in the context that, the Panni rulers and the general public were well acquainted with obviously Greek language ***(Fry Page No. 180-191)*** which had proved the fact, the archaic scripts of the Panni Parthi nation and the words of Manieshi Parthi [منیشی پارتھی] script were in the spoken language of the common people. Those words were inscribed on the official nummery as well ***(Fry Page No. 197).*** The modern scholars were of the view that the spoken language was the Pahlavi [پہلوی] language during the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] era. The same was however a provincial tongue initially and the Pahlavi [پہلوی] language had also flourished and with the passage of time, it had become a widely spoken language of the entire kingdom.

The northern Pahlavi [پہلوی] language was although different from the southern language yet, the difference was not such to call them as two different languages. The Grecian script was in vogue in those days. The Pahlavi [پہلوی] language was written from right to left ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.310***). The creation and progress of the Pashto language in comparison with the pace of although evolutional journey of the Pahlavi [پہلوی] language had always invited us to carry out a comparative study so as to understand better, the lingual journey of both languages.

The main Persian [پہلوی وسطی] or the Pahlavi [پہلوی] language was the same language which was prevalent during the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] era which was the spoken language of northern Iran. Professor Edward Brown had expressed his views with reference to a researcher namely Mr. Olshauson, in the book which was captioned as "A Literary History of Persia" (*Volume No.1 Page No.49*) that, the Pahlavi [پہلوی] language was the language of the Parat [پارت] or Parto [پرتو] province. The said area was also known as Parthia [پارتھیا]. The metamorphic process had changed the word Parto [پرتو] from Parto [پرتو] many a time and had become Partava [پرتوا] or Parhao [پرہاو]. Then it had become Palhao [پلہاو] from Parhao [پرہاو]. Then, it had become Phalao [پہلاو] with the sonic change and by virtue of said connotation, the name of the language of the area had also become known as Pahlavi [پہلوی]. The etymological source of Pahlavi [پہلوی] language was the word "Parto" [پرتو] in factual terms but, the Pahlavi [پہلوی] language had become so popular that, the same had become the common language for the entire area in Iran. The Pahlavi [پہلوی] language was written from right to left whereas, the Greek ideograph was also in vogue during the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] era ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.311***). The said language was used commonly from Parat [پارت]

to Azerbaijan [آزربائیجان]. It was also known as Farsi Miana [فارسی میانہ] i.e. Median Persian. The Farsi Miana [فارسی میانہ] was the bridge between the Achaemenid ancient Persian and the Persian of the Islamic era according to Professor Brown ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.577***).

Pahlavi ideograph, Pahlavi language and Pahlvan [خط پہلوی، پہلوی زبان اور پہلوان]:

The ideograph which was used during the reign of Farhad Panni-IV [فرہاد پنّی چہارم] (*Phraates*) (B.C. 37 to B.C.2) was known as Pahlavi [پہلوی], according to the historians. The said language was written in the same manner as it is written nowadays. The said language was known as "Farsi Miyana" [فارسی میانہ] i.e. Median Persian ***(Fry Page No.7)***. The rulers of said period had promoted the epical [رزمیہ] and rhapsodic lyrics through the medium of said language and with the help of their poets and singers who were called "Gosani" [گوسانی]. Those Gosani [گوسانی] or the singers used to sing the epic songs in the Durbars (*darbâr* (دربار) of their kings to invigorate the hearts of the *corps d' elite* nobles. Those epic songs were also a source of invigoration for the youth and Pahlvans [پہلوان] i.e. the wrestlers. The sentiment of bravery and chivalry used to be personified with the help of epic songs to bring the intellectual discipline in the imagination of the masses ***(Fry Page No.187)***. This was actually the intellectual poise of said nation which had promoted and emblematized the heroics for the people in the east. They had introduced the literary renaissance through the tales and stories of kings and legendaries of eastern Iran by making the same public through epic poetry. They had also embellished it with the oriental literary tinge and thus, they had promoted it to new heights in their literature. They had promoted the Pahlvans [پہلوان] i.e. the wrestlers and the wrestling skills to such an extent that their wrestling dexterity had earned the worldwide recognition, just like their language. The language of Iran had become known then as the "Pahlvanik" [پہلوانک] i.e. Pahlavi [پہلوی] language. The king himself and most of the people had also become known resultantly as the Pahlvan [پہلوان] i.e. the wrestler(s) ***(Fry Page No.50)***. The tales of the fictitious characters like Rustum [رستم] and Asfandyar [اسفند یار] and other Iranian wrestlers had attained the everlasting recognition in said era. The illustriousness of the same is deemed to be the indispensable part of Iranian ligature even today. Since, every nation in the world likes to create its own narrative of history therefore the spirit of the Shahnama [شاہنامہ] of Firdausi [فردوسی] with reference to its source i.e. Khudaienamic [خدائے نامک] was also grangerized *arrièr-pensée* by those rulers with the same mindset (*Writer*). The Gosan [گوسان], although had the linkage with the priests of Zoroastrians of

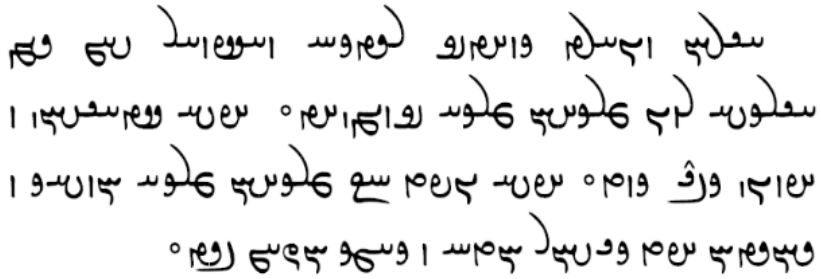
the ancient eastern Iran yet, the Panni rulers had popularized the same by giving a personal tinge to their regal traditions. They had learnt for instance about the chivalrous tales of Hercules from their Greek subjects and then they had juxtaposed the equally chivalrous character of Rustum [رستم] in the Iranian allegories and they were able to introduce thus the chivalrous parallel of Hercules. There were some common perceptions that, it was the Saka people i.e. the consanguine brethrens of the Panni nation who had promoted the parables of chivalrous Rustum [رستم] in the Iranian folklores.

There was an irrefutable fact that, the Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation had also rendered its major contribution to keep alive those narratives and the word Pahlvan [پہلوان] i.e. the wrestler during their reigning period. The fact was that the way the word Pahlvan [پہلوان] was used in the Persian language, had owed its very raison d'être to the manipulative efforts of the Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation which had remained unaltered even during the Sassanid era ***(Fry Page No.167-198)***.

The Saka nation had no business in said region. They were concentrated mostly in the far-east and in the southeast of Iran, according to the historians. The main thrust and the emphasis of bringing the general awareness through the folklores, with regard to the depiction of gallantry and invigorating the sentiment of chivalry was propelled therefore by the Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation in accordance with the historical references. Those tales and stories were further promoted by the Sassanids and then they were ultimately able to pass it over to Firdausi [فردوسی] (*Writer*). Since, their language was written in the homographic style, in which the Aramaic and Manashi words were also used therefore, the literature of their period was also accessible, frequently. The folklores, which had travelled from mouth to mouth, were awarded however a very special significance by the courtiers. Thus, the same had gradually gathered the public acceptance through their common literature ***(Fry Page No.197)***.

The words in the Pahlavi [پہلوی] ideograph are written in the Sami [سامی] way of writing mostly (*Sami is frequently and erroneously believed to be a single language. Several names are used for the Sami languages: i.e. Saami, Sámi, Saame, Samic, Saamic*). These are read however in the Persian phoneme e.g. they write the word "Eie" [عی] in the Sami [سامی] language and they pronounce it as "Dus" [دس]. They write similarly, "Malkan Malk" [ملکان ملک] and pronounce it

as “Shahnshah” [شہنشاہ]. The words of the Pahlavi [پہلوی] language, which are written in the Sami [سامی] style but, are pronounced in the Persian phoneme are called as “Hazwarish” [ہزوارش] ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.313***).



Ancient Pahlavi Ideography

The monetary pictograms, which had remained in use for exchange of money through the written instruments until recent past and particularly during the reign of Muslim rulers in the Subcontinent, were based on the Sami [سامی] pictography, in accordance with the aforementioned writing arrangement. The said monetary pictograms which were prevalent in the business community, were somewhat in the order as [عصر] for one Rupee, [عا] for two Rupees, [ے] for three Rupees, [للعہ] for four Rupees, [صہ] for four Rupees, [لے] for five Rupees, [اللعہ] for six Rupees, [اللے] for seven Rupees, [لعہ] for eight Rupees, [نو] for nine Rupees, [عت] for ten Rupees. The aforementioned form of Sami [سامی] pictograph is obsolete now (*Writer*).

The nummery [سکے]:

The name of the ruler was not used on the coins during the reigns of the Panni rulers. The title “Arshak” [ارشک] used to be inscribed however as a matter of practice during their entire reigning era. The same was the reason that, there was a difficulty in identifying the individual period of each ruler. The effigy of the “Arshak-I” [ارشک اول], sitting on a conic rock with an arch in his hand, was the general pattern *leitmotif* on most of the coins. Then, an eagle sitting on one hand of “Arshak” [ارشک] and he was holding the pastoral royal baton with the other hand, was the second pattern on the coins. There were some coins which had the effigies of supposed gods. The numismatists had made the praiseworthy efforts however by constructing the history with the help of coinage. The result of their efforts had also come out in the published form. The most

significant contribution with regard to *fleur de coins* coinage was rendered in the recent past by a team of seven French numismatists.

The coins in the Panni Parthi era used to be minted with silver, copper and bronze ores. The coins of the initial period of their reign had the inscription of Greek alphabets. The names of the kings were also engraved on the coins of the subsequent periods besides other Armenian words ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.310***). There were somewhat similar coins which were also discovered and one side was engraved with the official title as "Arshak" [ارشک] or Arses. The other side was embossed with the effigy of a king (***Encyclopedia Page No.434***). The metals used for such coinage had indicated the nomadic lifestyle of people. The words "Strap of Strap" i.e. the King of kings was also engraved on some coins along-with the effigy of Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] (*Mithradates*) (*124 to 88 B.C.*). Then, there were some coins with the inscribed names of the Emperor(s) Aligar, Ely Mais and Edesh etc. The first Sassanid ruler namely, Ardsher [اردشیر] had also imitated the same style other than some Indo-Parthian rulers (***Fry Page No.185***). The Panni rulers had retained the shape of their coins even when they had conquered the eastern Iran. They had made the addition of "MLK" however on their coinage. This was in fact the rudimentary shape of word "Malik" [ملک] (***Fry Page No.205***). Professor Fry had given the pictures of various coins of Ferhad (*Phraates*) [فرہاد] or Feryapat [فریپت] (*Phriapatius*) era in his book. The best catalogue of those coins was prepared in Vienna in 1904. The catalogue of sub-rulers was prepared by G.F. Hill which was published in London in 1932 (***Fry Page No.300***). There were some coins of the same series which were discovered at Kandahar [قندھار] as well.

Reminisce of the Pahlavi Language [آثار زبان پہلوی]:

The historians had referred to some books of the Panni Parthi era. There were seventy books of said era and just four of them were available according to page No.93-94 of Mahmil Altwareekh [محمل التوریخ] which was printed in Iran. The four books were captioned as: Kitab Mazdak [کتاب مزدک], Kitab Sindbad [کتاب سند باد], Kitab Yousefas [کتاب یوسیفاس] and Kitab Seemas [کتاب سیماس] respectively. There was one periodical besides that which had pertained to the dialogue of Nakhl and Buz [نخل و بز] (Bee and goat) which was in both prose and poetry. The book which was known as Drekhat Aswarek [درخت اسوریک], was in the Pahlavi language [زبان پہلوی], according to

Hertasfield. Then, there was an epigraph of Ardawan Panni-V [اردوان پنّی] (*Artabanus*) era who was the last Panni ruler. The said epigraph was also unearthed and the ideograph was also in the Pahlavi [پہلوی] language. The Panni kingdom was established in northern Iran therefore, the language of said area had become known as the northeastern Pahlavi [شمال مشرقی پہلوی] language ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.312***).

Tax:

The study of Talmud, which was the Jewish book of canons, had revealed that agricultural tax used to be levied in Mesopotamia and was called as "Taska". The other tax used to be the pool-tax which was called as "Keraga". The nobility *corps d' elite* were exempt from the payment of "Keraga" and it was also not applicable to the soldiers, religious scholars and other affluent classes. There used to be a third form of taxation which was called as "Korvee" which was applicable to the governmental schemes and projects and was also known as "Axigaya" (***Fry Page No.92***).

Trade [تجارت]:

There was a tremendously flourished trade activity during the reign of the Arshukani Panni [اشکانی پنّی] rulers in accordance with the numismatic evidence. The evidentiary proof was that the coins of said era were also discovered from far-flung areas. There were some antiques which were discovered at Olbia (*Olbi {Terranoa} is a town and commune in the northeastern Sardinia {Italy}. The same was called "Civita in the Roman era*) which had revealed that the Arshukani Panni [اشکانی پنّی] also used to carry their trade activity into said area as well (***Fry Page No.281***). The coins which were discovered from Cacalia, in Turkistan in the vicinity of Volga, had also proved their business interaction with the Chinese people. The Kushan people had however, taken over said trade activity after the downfall of those sultanates (***Fry Page No.196-197***).

Dramas and Theater [ڈرامہ اور تھیٹر]:

The Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] rulers had promoted the Greek drama and theater as well. The same fact had come to the surface when the buried features and remnants of some

constructions were unearthed at Nicae [نسا]. The Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] rulers had also worked for the revival of ancient Iranian *beaux art* culture and civilization. The Sassanid rulers, who were also associated with the same culture and civilization, had not made however any historic effort for the renaissance of the same. They had remained submerged rather, into the overriding effects of Greek culture and civilization (***Fry Page No.176***). The Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] rulers had kept alive, on the contrary, some of the Hellenistic traditions and they had also promoted traditional Greek drama in the process. The said study was established among other things from the form of buried features and remnants of a theater and costumes and the cosmetic boxes of comedians, which were discovered at Nicae [نسا] (***Fry Page No.197***) which had established the practice of strengthening the ancient Iranian traditions. The same practice was however handed down to their Sassanid successors (***Fry Page No.179-187***). The tradition of theatrical or melodrama had remained alive resultantly just due to their efforts (***Fry Page No.187***). The keen interest of the Parsi [پارسی] nation in melodrama and in the theater was indebted in fact, to the efforts of the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] rulers. The religious traditions of the Parsi [پارسی] nation were also a legacy which was handed down by Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] rulers. The culture of the Panni nation was transformed in the first century BC and they were able to abandon resultantly the evanescent Greek culture. They had adopted instead the Parthi Armenian mottos on their coinage. The said change was radicalized during the reign of Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] (*51 to 77 A.D*). The Greek names of the eastern cities were also transformed with said change and were renamed in the local languages e.g. Antiocia-Margirane was changed to Merv [مرو] (***Fry Page No.190***).

We have explained so much about the historical nation of a departed civilization which was known as the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] yet there were obscure areas which demanded some more research. These were also required to be dilated upon to understand the historical metamorphosis of the nations and civilizations in a more appropriate manner. There was one fact which was established at least that, the different narratives about the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] nation that they were “Pathans” etc. all were nullified practically in the light of aforementioned historical studies and by virtue of those unearthed archeological repositories. The same had surfaced as a tangible and vivid proof.

Neuter (spado) [خواجہ سرا]:

The services of the neuters or spado were used to be acquired as messengers during the reign of the Arshukani Panni [اشکانی پنّی] rulers. They were allowed to move frequently among the male and the female folks. (*This was the indicator of the fact that there were Pardah observing ladies as well, Writer*). The neuter (spado) used to be called as "Arzabed' in their native language (***Fry Page No.279***). There was an Achaemenid [اشامینی] ruler namely, Artaxerxes [اردشیر یکم] and he was murdered in 338 B.C by a neuter [خواجہ سرا]. The name of the neuter [خواجہ سرا] was "Bag" (***Fry Page No.123***).

Herm Shahi [حرم شاہی]:

The Arshukani Panni [اشکانی پنّی] rulers had the tradition of establishing the royal herms [حرم شاہی]. There used to be many women in the royal palace however, there used to be only one queen. She used to be from the royal family. The other ladies used to be her subordinates (***Fry Page No.310***).

Slaves [غلام]:

There used to be complete freedom and independence for the people under the Arshukani (Arshukani) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] rulers according to a Greek scholar namely, Plutarch (*122 to 48 A.D*). There were many slave subjects as well. The slaves used to be called as "Azatan" and had also included some self-reliant and nobles *corps d' elite* and the state officers. The said type of slaves used to be known as "Vuzdarkan" in accordance with the expression of the Persian language of the middle ages (***Fry Page No.193***). There used to be two methods of enslaving the people according to the Sassanid sources. The first practice used to be to capture the people as prisoners during any war and enslave them. Those slaves used to be called as "Anshsrik" i.e. the alien. The second type used to be those groups of people who used to offer themselves as slaves for the kingdom. They used to adopt the slavery voluntarily just for the sake of money. They were called as "Dandak" (***Fry Page No.195***). The historian Plutarch had identified however a third category of slaves which used to consist of the army battalions of the kings. They were known as "Pelati" which means the clients or the mercenaries. The landlords, farmers and some

factions of the nobility *corps d' elite* used to enjoy the protective status in somewhat similar manner which is prevalent nowadays. The Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] rulers had helped about ten thousand enslaved prisoners settle down in the city of Merv [مرو] (***Fry Page No.196-197***).

Timeline [سنہ]:

The Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] rulers had developed their own Timeline system to calculate the time and duration. The starting point of said Timeline was about 247 A.D when "Arsacid" had started the liberation movement against the Seleucid rulers and against the successors of Alexander the Great.

TWENTY ONE ARMENIAN PANNI RULERS

The Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] rulers since 440 to 150 A.D were able to consolidate their foothold in Armenia in successive intervals. The region of Armenia as quoted by the Iranian historian, Hassan Pernia [حسن پرنیا] used to be the centre of the world as per ancient allegories (***Iran Pastan*** [ایران پاستان] (***page No.2267***). The name of the same was known throughout in the history, as "Nairi" which means, the "Land of lakes and rivers" and the largest river of Armenia is Araks, [ارس] which was also known in the history, as Araks, Arax, Araxi, Araxes, Araz, or Yeraskh. The said river passes through Armenia as well as, along the Turkey, Iran and Azerbaijan areas. The total length of the river is about 1,072 kilometers (665 miles) and is one of the largest rivers of Caucaus.

The largest rivers in the northwestern part of Armenia are "Debed" and "Aghstev" whereas the smaller ones include "Dzoraget" and "Pambak" as well. Armenia was considered, according to the folklores, as the second cradle of mankind after the flood of Noah [طوفانِ نوح]. The name of their legendry patriarch was Hayk Nahapet (*also known as Haig or Haik*). He was the son of a person whose name was mentioned in the Torah [تورة] as "Togarmah" [توگورمہ]. Armenia also had the self-designated name as Haykistan [ہائکستان] just after the word Hayk ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.247***). There was an individual by the name of Tigranes of the Hayk dynasty in

the mid sixth century. He was enthroned as a ruler and was able to liberate Armenia from the clutches of foreign occupation. Armenia had lost its independent status however after Tigranes and then, the same was amalgamated into Parus [پارس]. Antigonus-II [انٹی اوکس دوم] ''Arshak Panni'' [ارشک پنّی] had waged war in the vicinity of Iran thereafter and Armenia was also liberated resultantly from the Seleucid administrative control. When, Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] had taken back his territory i.e. Merv [مرو], Khuzestan, Babylonia from the Seleucids with the help of the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] people, he was also able to liberate Armenia. This was because of the fact that the then ruler of Armenia was Prince Wal Arshak who was related to the Panni people of Parat. Wal Arshak or Wal Panni had ruled from 150 B.C to 148 B.C. The boundaries of his dominion were from Koh Kafqaz [کوہ قفقاز] to the Naseebain [نصیبین].

Ardashush or Artashes Panni [آرداشش یا آرتاواسدس پنّی]:

Wal Arshak was succeeded by his son Ardashush or Artashes Panni who was the contemporary of Mithradates or Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] (*124 to 88 B.C.*). He was the ruler of Parat. The title of Arshak [ارشک] was also designated to the names of the Armenian rulers which was the title of the Panni rulers of Parat. The Arshak Panni had tried to do away with the Panni suzerainty of Parat during the reign of Mithradates or Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] with the intention of proclaiming and consolidating the independent status. Mithradates or Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] had waged a war in 100 B.C however against Armenia and Ardashush or Artashes Panni [آرداشش یا آرتاواسدس پنّی] was defeated. The reconciliation process was initiated thereafter just on the condition that Tigranes Panni [تیرداد پنّی], the son of Artashes i.e. the Panni ruler of Parat, was supposed to be committed as *hors de combat* hostage to ensure the absolute fidelity.

Emperor Tigranes Panni [ٹگرینس شہنشاہ پنّی]:

The kingdom of Armenia was passed onto Tigranes Panni [ٹگرینس پنّی] after the death of Ardashush or Artashes Panni [آرداشش یا آرتاواسدس پنّی]. Tigranes (*140 to 55 B.C*) was also spelled as Tigran or Dikran. Tigranes Panni [ٹگرینس پنّی] was king of Armenia from 95 to 55 B.C. The sultanate had emerged as the strongest state under him. The periphery of the same was from

Asus Bay [خلیج ایسوس] (*Iskendern Bay: in the eastern part of Mediterranean Sea i.e. bay of Turkey near the Syrian Turkish border*) up to the Khazer Sea [بحیرۂ خزر] (Hatra) [الحضر] (*Caspian*). Then, there was a person whose name was Mithradates -VI [مہرداد ششم] and he was not from the Panni origin. He was able to establish his rule in Pontus which had included the area of the southern port of the Black Sea up to Batumi [باطوم] (*Batumi, a Black Sea resort and port city, is the capital of the Georgian republic of Adjara*). He was able to conquer gradually the eastern and northern areas of the Black Sea. The aspiration of conquering more and more areas had pushed him towards Armenia. He was able to conquer then, Armenia Minor [آرمینہ کوچک] as well. He had entered into a rapprochement arrangement with Tigranes Panni [ٹگرینس پنّی] who was the ruler of Armenia. This had annoyed the Iranian Empire because Armenia was then under the influence of Iran. The rule of Armenia was won over as a matter of fact, by Tigranes Panni [ٹگرینس پنّی] with the help of Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم]. Tigranes Panni [ٹگرینس پنّی] had agreed as a matter of fact, under an adjustment promise of handing over a portion of his empire to Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] but, he had backed out from his promise. The circumstance had taken a turn then and had proved that the rulers of Iran were somewhat weak in asserting their claim against Tigranes Panni [ٹگرینس پنّی] of Armenia.

Tigranes Panni [ٹگرینس پنّی] was a brave person. He was able to conquer the adjoining areas of Armenia and had defeated the ruler of Armenia Minor namely, Artavasdes [آرتاواسدس]. He had annexed his kingdom with his sultanate and thus, he had expanded his kingdom from Kirdistan [کردستان] to Black Sea. Then he had conquered Atropatene (*Azerbaijan* [آزربائیجان]) and he was able to exploit the internal rift of the Romans in the south which had helped him conquer the Greek towns of Cappadocia, Cilicia and Syria up to Osroene. Those conquests had taken place in between 75 to 74 B.C. The kingdom of Armenia, which was just a small state then, had turned out to be a big kingdom just because of those conquests. Tigranes Panni [ٹگرینس پنّی] had assumed the title as "King of kings" and he had built Tigranocerta as a new royal city on the borders of Armenia. The coinage of his era had contained the inscription as “King of kings”.

The Roman Empire had remained engaged in the wars between Pontus and Armenia since 69 to 88 B.C. Arshak or Santrok Panni [ارشک سنتروک پنّی] of Iran had remained aloof and disengaged in the meantime and he had died in 68 B.C. When, the Roman General Pompey had entered into Asia Minor [ایشیائے کوچک] he made an offer to Ferhad (Phraates) Panni-III [فرہاد پنّی سوم] to enter

into a rapprochement arrangement with Tigranes Panni [ٹگرینس پنّی] of Armenia, then the areas of Gordyene (*Gordyene: was an ancient region located in northern Mesopotamia present-day south-eastern Turkey and northern Iraq*) and Atropatene (*Azerbaijan* [آزربائیجان]) which Tigranes Panni [ٹگرینس پنّی] had annexed with his kingdom which were supposed to be handed over to Ferhad (Phraates) Panni-III [فرہاد پنّی سوم].

Artavasdes [آرتاواسدس]:

The Parthian king Orodes-I [آرد پنّی اول] of Iran (37 to 55 B.C) had invaded Armenia. The objective with which he had waged war was to preempt Artavasdes Panni [آرتاواسدس پنّی] from taking the support from Creasus. He was able to achieve his objective and then the reconciliation process had started between the two sides. Artavasdes Panni [آرتاواسدس پنّی] had also married his daughter in the process with the son of Pacorus Panni [پکارس پنّی] which had helped consolidate the reconciliation process even deeper ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.248, 249, 252, 254, 269***).

Phraates Panni-IV [فرہاد پنّی چہارم] (2 to 37 B.C) of Iran had waged a war against Armenia and he had conquered the same. The eldest son of Artavasdes Panni [آرتاواسدس پنّی] namely, Artashes Panni had accompanied him. Thus, Armenia had drifted under the influence of Iran, once again ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.276***).

The relationship between Rome and Iran had entered into a phase of cordiality by that time. Had the issue of Armenia been not involved, the said cordial relationship was likely to last for a very long period.

Artashes Panni-II: [آرتاواسدس پنّی دوم**]**

The people of Parat had assigned the rule of Armenia to Artashes Panni-II (*also called Artaxes or Artashes, Armenian*) (*34–20 B.C*) on the death of his father Artavasdes Panni [آرتاواسدس پنّی]. He was the eldest son of Artavasdes Panni-II [آرتاواسدس پنّی دوم]. Caesar Augustus had sent Tebritus to Armenia when Artashes Panni-II had died in 20 B.C. He was given the assignment to

enthrone Tigrinus in Armenia. He was the brother of Artashes Panni-II and thus, he was assigned the reign of power in Armenia. When, Tigrinus had died in 6 B.C, the Roman nobility had enthroned his son as king of Armenia without any consent of the Roman Emperor. The said act had annoyed the Emperor and he had sent therefore the Roman army into Armenia. The same had enthroned a person by the name of Artavasdes [آرتاواسدس] to rule Armenia. He was from an unknown background therefore the people of Armenia had disliked his appointment. Thus, they had become more inclined towards Parat. They had initiated a revolution in Armenia and against the Rome resultantly and then, they had deposed Artavasdes [آرتاواسدس] instead they had appointed Tigranes Panni-II [تیرداد پنّی دوم] as their ruler.

Tigranes Panni-II [تیرداد پنّی ثانی]:

The Armenians were cognizant of the fact that Rome was unlikely to tolerate its insult and Rome was also likely to wage a war against Armenia. They were also cognizant of the fact that the Panni rulers of Parat (Iran) were also unlikely to abstain from taking any stance with regard to the situation in Armenia because they were under the influence of Iran ever since 124 to 88 B.C i.e. from the reigning period of Maherdad Panni-II [مہرداد پنّی دوم] (*Mithradates*). The Armenians had sought the support of Phraates Panni-IV [فرہاد پنّی چہارم] of Iran in preempting the expected attack of Romans. Phraates Panni-IV [فرہاد پنّی چہارم] was also all set to help out the Armenians even at the cost of severing the relationship with Rome ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.278***). The Armenian issue had remained unresolved however till the period of Phraates Panni-V [فرہاد پنّی پنجم]. He was an incompetent and a coward ruler. The cowardice of Phraates Panni-V [فرہاد پنّی پنجم] had resulted, as a matter of fact, in the loss of the Iranian hegemony in Armenia. They had ultimately lost the control over Armenia ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.280***).

Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی]:

Artabanus Panni [اردوان پنّی] had taken over the kingdom of Iran in 16 A.D. He had deposed Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] and he had banished him from Iran. Then, Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] had opted to go to Armenia and he was chosen as the king of Armenia with the help of Romans. Then, Artabanus Panni-III [اردوان پنّی سوم] (*16 to 40 A.D*) had withdrawn his support gradually

from Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] at the instigation of the Emperor Tiberius Julius Caesar Augustus. Vonones Panni [وونن پنّی] had to bid farewell to the kingdom in Armenia in the wake of said situation and he had opted to go to Syria where he had obtained asylum from the Romans. The Romans had declared him to be the king of Armenia and they had granted him the title, as Artaxia. Artabanus Panni-III [اردوان پنّی سوم] was able to conquer Armenia later on and then his son was enthroned as Arshak Panni-I [ارشک پنّی اول] after his death ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.282-283***).

Arshak Panni-I [ارشک پنّی اول].

The ruler of Gjeorgjia [گرجستان] namely, Fers Manus had made however a maneuver and he was able to have Arshak Panni-I [ارشک پنّی اول] assassinated in 35 A.D. Thus, he was able to capture the capital of Armenia. The said incident had compelled Artabanus Panni-III [اردوان پنّی سوم] to send his son Orodes Panni-I [آرد پنّی اول] to wage war against Armenia but, he had failed to meet success. Then, Artabanus Panni-III [اردوان پنّی سوم] had planned to attack Armenia in the spring of 36 A.D pursuant to his failure. The Roman Emperor namely, Vitellius had bribed the subjects and they had staged the opposition rallies against Artabanus Panni-III [اردوان پنّی سوم]. Then, Artabanus Panni-III [اردوان پنّی سوم] had sought refuge all dejectedly from the Darhae tribes [داہائے] ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.283-284***). Volagases Panni I [بلاش پنّی اول] 51 to 77 A.D was desirous to conquer Armenia after his enthronement. He was also desirous to appoint his brother Tiridates Panni [تیردار پنّی] as a ruler, pursuant to the change in the public sentiment. Volagases Panni-I [بلاش پنّی اول] had waged a war against Armenia immediately after his enthronement, in 51 A.D. Then, there was a terrible pestilence and the same had foiled the attack of Volagases Panni I [بلاش پنّی اول] ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.287***). Volagases Panni I [بلاش پنّی اول] had attacked Armenia once again after three years and he had succeeded in his second attempt. He was able to capture Armenia. He had helped his brother Tiridates Panni [تیردار پنّی] to establish his reign and had opted to go back thereafter.

Tiridates Panni-I [تیردار پنّی اول]:

The Romans had intervened to escalate the regional tensions in 58 A.D. They had waged a war against Tiridates Panni-I [تیردار پنّی اول] and he had lost his capital Artaxata (*Artashat*), resultantly. Then, he had lost the remaining Armenia just within next two years ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.286-289***). The rule of Armenia was a constant bone of contention between the Romans and the Panni people of Parat therefore both sides had decided to resolve the dispute through a reconciliation pact. They had decided that, Tiridates Panni-I [تیردار پنّی اول] had to receive his crown as king of Armenia in Rome from Nero, who was the Emperor of Rome. Tiridates Panni-I [تیردار پنّی اول] had not opted to go to Rome however till 66 A.D. Then, he had embarked on a journey for Rome in the same year which was the time when his grand reputation had touched the peak. He had his whole retinue of servants with him during the journey along-with the other paraphernalia. There were three thousand Iranian horsemen, other than many Romans, who had followed his cavalcade. The people had received him in the nicely decorated cities and they had greeted him with slogans. The cost of travelling arrangements and the provisions, which were furnished for him, were around 800,000 sesterces (*four thousand Pounds*) daily which were paid for about nine months incessantly from the Roman Public Treasury. Tiridates Panni-I [تیردار پنّی اول] had covered the distance up to the confines of Italy on the horse-back with his wife who was wearing a golden hamlet and a yashmak which was a traditional symbol of her country. This had reflected that the tradition of observing the veil was very much prevalent at that time. He was escorted by two-horse carriages in Italy. Nero had sent these for his reception. He had met the Emperor at Neapolis where he was crowned and he had returned to Armenia thereafter. He had ruled in accordance with the Iranian way of administration. Thus, the new chapter of friendly relations between the two countries was auspicated which lasted for about fifty years just because of Tiridates Panni-I [تیردار پنّی اول].

Axidares Panni:

Tiridates Panni-I [تیردار پنّی اول] the ruler of Armenia died in 100 A.D. Iran or Parat was divided into many smaller kingdoms by that time. The king Pacorus Panni II [پیکارس پنّی دوم] (*Enthroned 77 A.D*) had enthroned his son namely, Axidares Panni as king of Armenia. Axidares Panni had ruled as an autocrat and he had never bothered to seek any permission from the Roman Emperor.

The said attitude was never approbated by Trajan, who was the Roman Emperor. The open defiance of Axidares Panni was treated as a breach in the sphere of Roman influence which was also looked down upon as an act of compromising the peace process which was in place for about half a century i.e. since the time of the Emperor Nero. Axidares Panni had started a new war thus, against the new Roman Emperor. Trajan had amassed a huge army in this regard in 117 A.D1 and he was able to reach Athens for his onward journey into the eastern countries. The emissaries of Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی] (*105 to 130 AD*) had approached Trajan with the message that, Axidares Panni was ready to abdicate the throne of Armenia. They had proposed further that Parthamasiris, the elder brother of Axidares, was supposed to be granted the reign of power with the consent of the Roman Empire. He was ready to be crowned in Rome as king of Armenia. Trajan had declined their proposal because he was on the move to make even Iran as the vassal state of Rome. He was also desirous to move towards Hindh thereafter. Trajan had returned their gifts and he had deferred his decision till his arrival in Syria. Parthamasiris, who was the king of Armenia, had also sent the letters one after the other and then, he had received the reply ultimately. Trajan was able to have him killed, in a very mysterious way. ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No. 292-294***). Trajan had brought about the unification of Armenia Minor thereafter and he had declared the entire Armenia as a single province ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.292-294***).

Parthamaspates Panni:

The Emperor Trajan had died in 117 A.D and Publius Aelius Hadrianus had become the Emperor of Rome. He had granted the rule of Armenia to Parthamaspates Panni to establish friendly relations with Iran or Parat. The Emperor of Iran namely, Volagases Panni-III [بلاش پنّی سوم] had attacked Armenia and he had deposed the king. Then, he had crowned one of his family members namely, Tigranes as king.

Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی]:

When, the Sassanid Ardsher [اردشیر] (*Ardashes*) was able to defeat Ardawan [اردوان] who was the

last king of Iran and Ardsher [اردشیر] (*Ardashes*) was able to establish his own rule in 327 B.C then he was also able to wrest power in some other Armenian areas according to the Arab historian namely, Tabari [طبری]. The ruler of those areas was Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی], at that time. He had defended the onslaught of Ardsher [اردشیر] (*Ardashes*). Ardsher [اردشیر] had failed to achieve any significant success in the mountainous areas resultantly. Ardsher [اردشیر] had bribed then one of the confidants of Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی] to change his itinerary. The ploy had worked out fine and thus, Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی] was assassinated. The spread of the news of his assassination had left the Armenians with no other option but to surrender. The son of Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی] was able to escape however from the area ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.338 and History of Persia, volume No.1, page No.396*)*.**

Tiridates Panni-II [تیردار پنّی دوم]:

Armenia was the bone of contention between Rome and Iran since long and said mountainous country had remained under the Sassanid rule. The Armenians had never accepted their hegemony however because the Sassanid rulers had usurped their religious freedom by design. They had imposed ban on the practices of their ancient religious rites and traditions which were permissible during the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] era. The Sassanids had destroyed the sacred statues of Moon and Sun which Arshak Panni [ارشک پنّی] had built for about four hundred years prior to the start of Sassanid era. There was a complete unrest among the Armenians during the Sassanid despotic rule. Ardsher [اردشیر] (*Ardashes*) had allowed them the practice of Zoroastrian belief but, he had assassinated all the Panni princes and *corps d' elite* nobles. Those who were able to survive the assassination attempts were able to escape into Afghanistan [افغانستان] and into other parts of Hindh. There were just a very few of them who were able to find the hideouts and they had stayed back. Diocletion had also exploited the uneasiness among Armenians, in 286 B.C after when the Roman senate had elected him as the Roman Emperor. He was also in league with Tiridates Panni-II [تیردار پنّی دوم] son of Chosroes Panni [خسرو پنّی] to maintain the Armenian reign with the support of Rome ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.364-367-368*)**.

Tiridates Panni-II [تیردار پنّی دوم] was a brave and hefty person. He was able to demonstrate his chivalry in the Roman army on various occasions. He was a member of the ancient Panni family of Iran and was able to build up an army of the dispersed Panni people. The Emperor Diocletion had also provided him the reinforcement. He had entered Armenia all equipped but, when the Armenians were able to learn that, Tiridates Panni-II [تیردار پنّی دوم] had set out to attain the Armenian reign of power with the Roman patronage they had welcomed him in throngs. Then, they had pushed out the deployed Sassanid troops. Tiridates Panni-II [تیردار پنّی دوم] was able to acquire the Armenian reign thus, without waging any war. He had not kept himself aloof only from the Iranian hegemony but, he had frequently launched the attacks in the Sassanid border areas ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.364-365***).

Chosroes Panni-II [خسرو پنّی دوم]:

The Iranians and Romans had signed a détente, in 384 B.C with regard to the Armenian issue. The Armenian state was divided into two parts according to the same. The eastern Armenia was agreed to remain under the Iranian influence whereas the western Armenia was committed under the Roman hegemony. The rulers of both parts were however from the Panni origin. The said division had compromised the independent status of Armenia. The ruler of eastern Armenia namely, Chosroes Panni-II [خسرو پنّی دوم] was under the influence of Iran. The Romans had started enticing him so as to bring the eastern part of Armenia under the Roman suzerainty. The Roman Emperor namely, Diocletion had succeeded in his maneuvering ultimately and then, Chosroes Panni-II [خسرو پنّی دوم] was able to cast aside the yoke of Iranian hegemony. Bahram-IV Zerdashti [بہرام چہارم زردشتی] (*388 to 399 B.C*) was in power in Iran at that time. He was all agitated by the Roman maneuvers therefore he had launched the attack against Armenia. Chosroes Panni-II [خسرو پنّی دوم] had sided with the Romans in defending his position. The Romans had double crossed him and they had not provided him the requisite reinforcement at the time when it was much needed. Chosroes Panni-II [خسرو پنّی دوم] was exposed thus, to the perilous situation and as a result Bahram-IV Zerdashti [بہرام چہارم زردشتی] was able to arrest him physically. He had imprisoned him in Qila Feramosh [قلعہ فراموش], which was constructed in Qila Gulgerd [قلعہ گل گرد] (*The political prisoners were kept in Qila Feramosh* [قلعہ فراموش] *and*

anyone sent into said prison was never produced before the king so much so even pronouncing the name of the prisoner used to be prohibited) ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.401***).

Warm Shahpur Panni [ورم شاہپور پنّی]:

Bahram-IV Zerdashti [بہرام چہارم زردشتی] had appointed his brother namely, Warm Shahpur Panni [ورم شاہپور پنّی] as ruler of eastern Armenia after sending Chosroes Panni-II [خسرو پنّی دوم] into Qila Feramosh [قلعہ فراموش]. Warm Shahpur [ورم شاہپور] was the Omani synonym for Bahram Shahpur [بہرام شاہپور]. The archives of history were quiet seemingly about the actual names of the Panni rulers of western Armenia ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.399, 402***). The reason was that the history of Armenia had remained in a state of comatose for a longtime after Bahram Shahpur [بہرام شاہپور].

Ardsher Panni [اردشیر پنّی]:

Shahpur [شاہپور] son of Yezd Ghanhgaz [یزدگنہگاز] (*399 to 420 A.D*) and brother of Behram Ghor [بہرامگور] (*420 to 440 A.D*) was the ruler of the eastern part after the aforementioned division of Armenia. He had died but as long as he was in power, he was obliged to pay the tribute money to Iran. The Iranian *corps d' elite* nobility had selected Ardsher Panni [اردشیر پنّی] as king of Armenia after the death of Shahpur [شاہپور]. Ardsher Panni [اردشیر پنّی] was a member of Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] dynasty. He was given the due recognition by Bahram [بہرام] of Iran. Ardsher Panni [اردشیر پنّی] had ruled for about one decade but, the *corps d' elite* nobility was never satisfied with his way of governance. They had requested Bahram [بہرام] of Iran, after the long deliberations, to appoint some Iranian as king of Armenia. Bahram [بہرام] of Iran had appointed Mehr Shahpur [مہرشاہپور] resultantly, as king of Armenia. He was picked up from amongst the *corps d' elite* nobility thus, the eastern part of Armenia was ultimately merged into the Iranian kingdom. Armenia had lost its independent status in the wake of said pick and choose, exercise. The portion of Armenia, which was contiguous with Iran, was declared therefore as the Iranian province ***(Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.399, 402, 415***). The whereabouts of the eastern or the western Panni rulers were extinct although from the archives of

history yet, this much was proved that the rule of the Panni kings had lasted intermittently for about six centuries before it was ultimately terminated.

The abovementioned narrative, with regard to the Panni rulers of Iran and Armenia, was based on a thorough research which was carried out by the renowned occidental and oriental researchers. The world was generally not familiar with the abovementioned chapters of history which had pertained to Iran and Armenia till the time the correlated history with numismatic evidence was published. The world was also unfamiliar with the fact that in the lost but golden periods as mentioned above, it was the Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation which had punctuated the history of the Subcontinent with their unprecedented achievements. The said nation had always played a role of the frontline nation and nowadays said Panni nation is known as Pathans. The people of said nation exist in millions. They are placed nicely from Ghazni [غزنی] to Ras Cumari [راس کماری] and from Armenia [آرمینیا] to Chitagong [چٹاگانگ].

RULE OF TURKISTAN [ترکستان پر حکومت]

We have already explained above that, Alexander the Great had lost his grip on the newly conquered eastern areas when he had decided to return to his native land i.e. Macedonea [مقدونیہ]. When, he was able to take the advantage of said situation, there were many tribes of the conquered areas of Turkistan [ترکستان] which had ventured out to ravage and ransack the adjoining areas. There were many check posts of the conquered areas which were destroyed as a consequence of said rampage. The people of the Panni nation were also associated with those tribes and some of their individuals had also moved towards Khurasan [خراسان] to promote the movement against the Roman hegemonic designs. They had structured their own rule in the wake of said radicalized drive to ensure the practical eastern dominance. The rule and the dominance of said Panni nation had penetrated just within no time in the east and in the west besides in the southeastern parts of Khurasan [خراسان]. Then the movement which was initiated in 249 A.D had ushered into a period of driving out the Romans from the east. The Sassanids were able to capitalize and they were able to exterminate the rule of the Panni Parthi nation in 226 A.D, ultimately.

Rule of the offshoot "Noon" [شاخ "ن" کا اقتدار]:

When, Turkistan [ترکستان] was cleansed from the Greeks, the Protochori Turkish tribe of said area was able to seize the administrative control. Then, there were some other tribes thereafter which were able to establish the rule of "Buzerg Qaani" [بزرگ قاآنی] in collaboration with Protochori Turkish tribe according to a historian. When, the Panni rule of Iran had come to an end in the beginning of third century then, they had the administrative control of Armenia on the one side and they were able to establish their administrative rule in Turkistan [ترکستان] on the other side. There was an excerpt in this regard from the Persian translation of Tatar history of Turkistan [ترکستان] which was in the manner, as below:

[در اوائیل غصر سوم میلادی ہونہاد، خاتمہ یافتہ ملت ترک را تااتاران (جوجہ ن-سیاپنّی) بقدر پنج عصراداره نمودند]

Translation: (*When, in the beginning of the third century, their rule had come to an end, Tatars i.e. the Panni people were in big numbers and their largest tribe had ruled Turkistan* [ترکستان] *for about five hundred years*).

The word [سیا] was the abbreviation of [سیاه] which also means "multitudes or throngs". The Turks of Koh Altaie [کوه التائی] had migrated into said area at the end of the sixth year during the Syapanni [سیاپنّی] era. They had moved out under the name of Tokbo [توکبو] or Aogoz [اوغوز]. Then, they were able to establish their own rule under the name of "Qaani Buzerg Aogoz" [قاآنی بزرگ اوغوز] (***Persian Translation of Tartar History of Turkistan*** [تاتاری تاریخ ترکستان] ***page No.54***).

The aforementioned facts of history had revealed that there were many migrants of the Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation after when they had lost their reign in Iran in 226 A.D. They had moved towards the east and west as well as, towards the southeastern areas in order to avert the Sassanid scourge. Then, those who were otherwise stable, they had moved towards Turkistan [ترکستان] where they were able to establish their own sultanate in collaboration with their allies and aides. The said sultanate had lasted for about five hundred years, according to the historians. The research of the historians had proved in this regard that Turkistan [ترکستان], besides Iran and Armenia, was the third ruling area under the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] nation. The historians had also declared them as "Tatars" [تااتاران] despite addressing

the Arshukani (*Arshukani*) Panni [اشکانی پنّی] nation as (جوجہ ن-سیاپنّی) i.e. the Panni throngs or multitudes as per abovementioned excerpt. The historians had also maintained the view regarding the Tatars [تااتاران] that those people used to live in the vicinity of the river Tat [دریاے تات] therefore they were called as "Tatars" [تااتاران]. Since, there were divergent views of the historians therefore the reference of the "Tatars" [تااتاران] tribes was always considered as a transient reference only. Those tribes consisted of the Ghobi [غوبی] or Maghol [ماغول] Turks which were in abundance in Central Asia at that time. The "Tatars" [تااتاران] were also called as Maghol [ماغول]. The meaning of the word "Tatar" [تااتار] was taken as "Stranger" in the Chinese language. The Chinese used to dislike the submission of the Turk tribes to the Maghol [ماغول], who used to live in the wilderness of Mongolia [منگولیا], in ancient times. They used to call them therefore as the Tatar [تاتاری] i.e. the strangers (***Persian Translation of Tatar History of Turkistan*** [تاتاری تاریخ ترکستان] ***page No.41-46***).

We feel that it will not be out of place to explain the word (جوجہ ن-سیاپنّی). The word "جوجہ" means a chick or an offshoot or the fragmented part of something big. The word [سیا] means as throngs or multitudes. The word (جوجہ ن-سیاپنّی) therefore means, the big nation Panni [پنّی] and [سیا] means, the throngs whereas the word "جوجہ" means an offshoot but, the middle alphabet "ن" [*Noon*] is a deaf and dumb aliquot part which had perhaps its own unaltered historical significance with such placement.

Indo-Parthians [انڈوپارتھی]:

We have already mentioned above that we were not able to discover the detail historical account from the archives of history with regard to the multitudes of the Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation which had migrated into the Subcontinent. They were known in the history as the Indo-Parthians [انڈوپارتھی]. They were in fact the people who were able to occupy the present Afghanistan [افغانستان] and Ghandaharah [گندھارا] in a gradual manner. *The in extenso account of the same will come, later*.

REIGN IN AFGHANISTAN AND GHANDAHARAH [افغانستان اور گندھارا پر حکومت]:

Sureen Panni [سرین پنّی]:

We have already explained in detail that the people of the Saka nation had migrated from across the River Oxus [دریاے جیحوں]. They had moved towards the south after when they were debarred from landing back in Iran. The Bactrian sultanate had come to an end by the first century. We have also explained that the Saka people were influenced greatly by the culture and civilization and by the language of the Iranian Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation. They had ruled the area of Ghandaharah [گندھارا] till the fifth century. There were four names of rulers only which had come to the surface according to the numismatic evidence, i.e. the Mavaiz [ماویز], Assize First [آسز اول], Aizi Laiz [ازی لائز] and Assize Second [آسز دوم]. The last ruler of said nation was defeated by a group of the Parthi nation which was called as "Sureen" [سرین]. The members of said group had migrated from the northern side and they were able to establish their rule in the Ghandaharah [گندھارا] region. The Sureen [سرین] people were in fact, from the Panni tribe which had hailed from Sakistan [ساکستان] or Sujistan (سجستان). They had made their emergence from the same area to launch their subsequent assaults. The Sureen [سرین] tribe was one of the seven traditional Nawab dynasties to whom the Iranian administrative control was assigned. The said tribe was the bravest and more popular among seven tribes. The people who had fought gallantly at the time of Carrhae [کراہے] battle in 53 B.C, against the Roman First Triumvirate, (*Political Alliance*) which Gnaeus Pompeius had pioneered were the people of the Sureen [سرین] tribe. They were called as the Indo-Parthians [انڈوپارتھی] after when they had landed in Hindustan. The advent of the Sureen [سرین] tribe in the area had kept the western influence alive. There were some antiques of said era which were discovered by John Marshal at Sercape and Taxilla other than from the area of Charsada [چارسدہ].

The Sureen [سرین] tribe was popular with regard to the particular skills and expertise in the Panni Parthi way of warfare. They were very gallant and chivalrous people. There were some Iranian rulers who were keen to expand their sultanate. They were pushed into the Ghandaharah [گندھارا] region in said process. The banishment of those people was on the style of their Manaishy [منیشی]

predecessors. The advent of the Sureen [سرین] tribes in the area, after the Saka people, was the main source of influence with regard to the Iranian culture and civilization which was in fact the result of the historical cycle through which the Iranian Empire was stretched from Madian [مدائن] Euphrates up to the River Sindh [سندھ] (***Dani*** [دانی]) ***Page No.43 and Kero Page No.72***). The Sureen Panni [سرین پنّی] tribe had brought about a great revolution in the Ghandaharah [گندھارا] valley. They had consolidated further the Iranian impact through the Saka people who had already overwhelmed the entire area. They had promoted the collective recognition of the Pathan folks. Thus, they had set afloat some great traditions on the currents of history. They had also introduced the concept of armored units in the Ghandaharah [گندھارا] region which was known as "Cataphract" (*Literal meaning of "Cataphract" is "armored" or "completely enclosed" in history. The cataphract was a very heavily armored horseman and both rider and steed used to be draped from head-to-toe, in scale armor, while wielding a kontos or lance as their weapon*). They were the pioneers with regard to the concept of light cavalry units which was called "Sagittarii" (*The term sagittariorum in the title of an infantry or cavalry unit used to indicate a specialized archer regiment*). They were otherwise very popular for their combating skills. The Panni Parthi people had the reputation of attacking their enemy with the lightening swiftness of their arrows, according to a historian. The epic description of the famous Greek poet, writer and soldier namely, Horace (*65 to 08 B.C.*) had remained quite popular with regard to their combating skills. The historians had referred to the Carrhae [کرہئے] (*Haran* [حران]) war very frequently in this regard which was fought in 53 BC between the legions of Crassus and the Panni Parthi rulers. The same had involved the onslaught of archers who used to pretend making their horses runaway at full gallop *ventre á terre* and then each one of them used to skew his body backwards on the horseback to unleash the arrows at the chasing enemy. They used to shower the arrows adroitly from arches backwardly from the corner of their respective shoulders. The Greek and the Roman historians had quoted said descriptive account of historical maneuver repeatedly. They have depicted the scenes of collective shooting attacks of one thousand horsemen with their ostensible running away maneuvers right through the maladroit and dusty clouds of battlefield. Those horrifying combat maneuvers used to present perhaps the comparable scenes of our present day armored vehicle movements in the battlefield. The historians had also highlighted their views with regard to the genocide of the Romans which was carried out during the war of Carrhae [کرہئے] (*Haran* [حران]). The said war was considered as one of those decisive wars of the world which had marked the indelible beginning of a new age and

had also marked the beginning of the end of the Roman Empire. There was another noteworthy *mirabile dictu* event that those people of the Sureen Panni [سرین پنّی] tribe were able to stay in power at different places even after the downfall of the Iranian Panni rulers by the Sassanids, in 226 A.D (***Kero Page No.72***). The said downfall had also included their rule in Armenia.

We may also point out that there was a large area in Lahore prior to the division of Hindustan which was known as "Sureen Mohallah" [سرین محلہ]. The same was adjacent to the Kashmiri Bazaar Lahore and said Mohallah was the native place of the writer (*of this book*) as well. There were only eight or nine houses in said Mohallah [محلہ] which were owned by Muslims whereas the rest of the area was owned by the Hindus. The said area was bulldozed later on and a huge business center was raised at the site of the "Sureen Mohallah" [سرین محلہ] which is known as Azam Cloth Market [اعظم مارکیٹ] presently. There was some Hindu or some elder of the area who was perhaps from the Sureen [سرین] tribe according to the local blether. Thus, said place had become known as "Sureen Mohallah" [سرین محلہ] just by virtue of his presence.

Gandaferi Panni [گنڈافری پنّی]:

There was an individual by the name of Gandaferi [گنڈافری] who had emerged from the tribe of the same name. He was able to establish his rule in the area after the downfall of the Sureen Panni [سرین پنّی] tribe. Gandaferi [گنڈافری] was a chieftain of the Panni tribe in Asfhan [اصفہان]. The frontiers of his dominion were up to the Punjab periphery other than in the northern areas. The said factual discovery had come to surface through an epigraph which was excavated at Takhtbie [تخت بائی] (*Mardan*). The actual name of Takhtbie [تخت بائی] was Takhtbahie [تخت باہی] which means the "Spring Throne" [تخت بہار]. The period of Gandaferi [گنڈافری] rule had started in 19 BC and continued up to 48 B.C which was the year when said individual Gandaferi [گنڈافری] had died. The people of the Panni Parthi or Saka or the Scythe nations had conquered Hindustan, according to the Indian sources (*That means, Iranian Panni ruler and Sureen Panni* [سرین پنّی] *and Gandaferi Panni* [گنڈافری پنّی] *of Ghandaharah* [گندھارا] *Writer*). The same fact was also confirmed from the coins which had contained the names of the rulers of Iran as well as, the rulers from the Ghandaharah region. Those coins had also proved that the word "Shahnshah"

[شہنشاہ] (*Emperor*) was written with the names of the Gandaferi [گنڈافری] rulers (***Dani*** [دانی] ***Page No.2, Kero Page No.71, 72, Fry Page No.186***). There were some historians who were of the view that the Sureen Panni [سرین پنّی] people of Ghandaharah [گندھارا] were under the Panni rulers of Iran. There were some other historians who had maintained the view that the Sureen Panni [سرین پنّی] and Gandaferi Panni [گنڈافری پنّی] people used to enjoy an autonomous status in their respective capacity. The Gandaferi [گنڈافری] dynasty had ruled till 75 B.C and the Kashan nation, which had infiltrated from the north, had defeated the last ruler of said dynasty right under the Taxilla walls. They were able to dethrone the Gandaferi [گنڈافری] dynasty and Taxilla was destroyed completely as a consequence thereof. The archaeologists had also identified the holes in the Sercape [سرکیپ] walls and besides that, some ancient arrowheads or slugs were also discovered at the site of some religious temples which were located in the northeastern mountains (***Kero Page No.73***). Those Pathans, who were known as "Gandahpuri" [گنڈاپوری], have always associated themselves with the same Gandaferi [گنڈافری] dynasty of Taxilla. They used to take Gandaferi [گنڈافری] as their agnate (*Letter of Khan Wali Khan Gandahpuri*). The renowned politician Wali Khan was perhaps unfamiliar with the fact that Gandaferi [گنڈافری] was also from the Iranian history making nation which was known as the Panni nation. The Gandahpuri [گنڈاپوری] are also available in some particular areas of Baluchistan [بلوچستان]. The same is also the base of about four hundred other offshoots of the Panni nation. When the Kashan nation had marched towards the south, they were able to invade the Iranian dominions of the Panni nation. Thus, they were able to weaken the regime from the same side which resulted in their occupation of eastern Iran i.e. the present Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Roman Ceasers had also brought the military pressure on the Iranian regime from the western side during the same period. The Kashan people had usurped the administrative control of Taxilla from the Gandaferi Panni [گنڈافری پنّی] tribe. Then, they had moved towards the southern side. The present Afghanistan used to be known as "Eastern Iran" in those days which had drifted thereafter under the administrative control of the Kashan people. The Peshawar area in the north was the state capital of the Gandaferi [گنڈافری] of Taxilla at that time (***Kero Page No.73***). The Sassanids [ساسانی] had destroyed then, the Kashan rule in said area and they were able to maintain their rule thereafter for about four hundred years.

Panni culture and civilization in Afghanistan and Ghandaharah

[افغانستان اور گندھارا میں پنّی تہزیب و تمدن]:

The advancement of the Panni Parthi nation of Iran and the march of Saka or Scythe nation from their ancient native place into the south had continued for about one century. Then, they had landed in the Ghandaharah [گندھارا] territory and had disturbed the ancient power structure which was in place since the period of the Seleucid and Greek rulers (***Kero Page No.64***). The said revolutionary change had proved to be a prelude for the subsequent spread of the Panni culture and civilization. The eastern chieftains were immersed very deeply into the Panni Parthi culture and the civilization even prior to the advent of the Saka nation. When the Arshukani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation was able somehow or the other thwart the onward advancement of the Saka nation in Iran in 124 B.C then some of them had moved towards the Ghandaharah [گندھارا] area whereas, the others had moved towards the Sindh [سندھ] region. They had remained under the strong impact of the Panni culture and civilization of the Iranian era however, during the entire period of their dispersal. They used to speak the Iranian language and their language had also included the same phonemes which were used in the language of the Panni nation. There were various literary sources which had established that the actual foundation of present day Pashto language of the Pathans was laid during the same period. The present day Pashto language has many lingual phonemes from the language of the Saka nation. The said nation had made the ingress from the north, according to the latest research (***Kero Page No.65***). The names and coins, titles and terminologies of the Saka nation of the Ghandaharah [گندھارا] era had come to surface, through some epigraphs. Those inscriptions of epigraphs were in the Khuroshti [خروشطی] ideography. The aforementioned historical facts had created an impact manifestly on the culture of entire Iran and in the regions which were in its vicinity which was not restricted to the advent of the Saka nation only rather, said impact had lasted even after the Saka nation and had continued till the terminal stages of the Kashan era. The style of the Iranian names as compared with the Pashto language has a distinct similarity. The very existence *raison d'être* of the Pashto language was indebted to the Saka nation to a considerable extent (***Kero Page No.68***). The overall countenance of the Pashto language had proved at least that it was influenced markedly by the languages of both areas just by virtue of its use between Iran and Hindustan. The Kandahar [قندھار], Afghanistan [افغانستان] regions and the areas contiguous with Pakistan and

the plateau between the two rivers towards the west and northeastern area of Euphrates and Tigris was influenced firstly by “Achaemenids” [اشامینی] then, it was influenced by the “Panni nation” and then, it was the subsequent Sassanid rule which had overwhelmed the area with its influence (***Kero Page No.27, Badukhshani*** [بدخشانی] ***Page No.15***).

PANNI PATHAN

Chapter-V

SULEIMAN MOUNTAIN RANGE [کوہِ سلیمان] (PRAASPA), THE CRADLE OF THE PANNI NATION AND MANY OFFSHOOTS [پنّی قوم کا گہوارہ-کوہ سلیمان اور متعدد شاخیں]:

The people of the Ashkani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation had migrated on several occasions from their native country, into the eastern and south eastern areas which was present Iran. The historians had identified them as the Indo-Parthians. The way their successors i.e. the Sassanids [ساسنی] had treated their history, the same had established the fact that as soon as the Sassanids [ساسنی] were able to consolidate their reign, they had either condemned the people of the Panni nation into exile or they had compelled them otherwise, to look for some other places as their permanent abode. The historical realities had also brought forth many proofs of said unfortunate historical exodus of evanesced nation. There is amazingly, no individual of the Panni nation available even remotely in a country i.e. Iran where said Ashkani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation had ruled gloriously, for about five hundred years. The modern archeological research had also endorsed said unthinkable reality. The historically valuable objects and antiquities, which were discovered from Iran, were also the vivid proof of the vibrant reign of the Panni nation. We had also discovered the fact that there used to be some families in Iran, which used to enjoy their recognition with the name as "Preena" [پرینا]. The renowned historian Hassan Preena [حسن پرینا] was also one of the members of those families. We had also spotted the word "Preena" [پرینا] in the Fehrist Baluchistan [فہرست بلوچستان]. The analytical study had revealed that the word "Preena" [پرینا] was derived from the word Perni [پرنی] which was also the endorsement of the fact that as the alphabet "R" of English language or alphabet "ر" of Urdu language was gradually dropped from the word "Perni" [پرنی] therefore, said word had assumed its present shape, slowly and gradually just like the word Pannian [پنّیاں] instead of Penerrian [پنڑّیاں]. (*There is a village in District Hazara* [ہزارہ] *with name and some people of Multan are also known as Pannian* [پنّیاں]). The word Perni [پرنی] had also covered the journey of transformation in the figure of speech and had become known as "Preena" [پرینا], in Iran.

The people of the Panni nation used to live mostly in the western areas of Iran but they had also settled down, as result of their frequent migrations, in Balkh [بلخ], Ghazni [غزنی], Herat [ہرات]

and Kabul [کابل] as well as, in the northern areas of Baluchistan. They had also moved into the areas on the eastern side i.e. Dir [دیر], Chitral [چترال] and Swat [سوات] etc. The entire area of Ghandaharah [گندھارہ] had remained their playing field literally, from time to time. The history had proved that they were able to bring the vibrancy of life into the mountains of Feroza [فیروزہ], other than "Ghor" [غور]. Then, they had enlivened the province of Kandahar [قندھار] (*The coins of their era were discovered from there*) as well as, in the Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان] (*Praaspa*), simultaneously which was called very rightly, as the cradle of the Ashkani [اشکانی] (*Arshukani*) or the Panni nation. The area of Herat [ہرات] is about four hundred miles away from Ghandaharah [گندھارہ] which is about five hundred miles away from Kabul [کابل]. The Dhader [ڈھاڈر] area was also under their governorate whereas, Shikarpur [شکار پور] area of Sindh [سندھ], which was about six hundred forty six miles away, used to be their habitat as well (***Expeditions Volume No.3 Page No.215***). Then, some people of the Panni nation had also landed in the Kashmir Valley and had opted to live in the secluded corner of the northeastern area of Raddah [ردہ] or Ghandaharah [گندھارہ] as well as, in the northwestern end i.e. in the entire mountainous region, including the remote northern and southern areas. But as compared with the abovementioned northwestern areas, the people of the Panni nation also had a great centre in the northeast which is known as Koh Seya [کوہ سیا] or the Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان] (***Azad Pathan*** [آزاد پٹھان] ***Page No.93, A Political Mission to Afghanistan Page No.1857***). Then, the area of Afghanistan and Ghandaharah [گندھارہ] also used to enjoy the civility of the people of the Panni nation, by virtue of the contiguity of said area with the eastern part of Iran.

Hill Tops [چوٹیاں]:

The Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان] (*Praaspa*) is also known as "Qais Gharr" [قیس غڑ] i.e. the mountain of Qais. (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہان] ***Page No.45***) which is also called as "Sheen Gharr" [شین غڑ] i.e. the Green Mountain. The reason was that said mountain used to be covered with trees and used to give the blackish look from a particular distance and which used to turn green from the close distance and it used to gradually become picturesque green. The said mountain range is located at the extreme northwestern end of District Hazara [ہزارہ]. The area of Tanaval [تناول] is located in its south. The Agarwar [اگروار] and Peryari [پریاری] nations and other nations of Swat [سوات] like, Takari [ٹکاری], Nandiyhri [نندیہار] and Dashi [دیشی] are based towards the eastern side. The River Indus [دریائے سندھ] and Takht Swaie [تخت سوائی] are located in the

remotest area, on the northern side. There are very high mountaintops on the southern side. The splinter offshoots of the Yusuf Zai [یوسفزئی] nation are based in the area from where, the River Indus [دریائے سندھ] forms its water course. The mountain range starts from the northwestern corner and moves towards the north into the latitudinous Pathan [آزاد پٹھان] area. The total length is between 25 to 30 miles and is about eight thousand feet above sea level. The said mountain range starts from the Tass [طاس] area of Indus River [دریائے سندھ]. The actual southern end of the mountain begins from Moza Kiyara [موضع کیارہ] which is the point from where the mountain gains gradual height and reaches the river Berwarr [دریاے بروڑ]. The same point is also considered as the head of the river. The mountain takes the northern and eastern direction from said point and then, it approaches the Chittabot [چٹابوٹ] area. The mountain formation moves towards the north thereafter and ultimately ends into the slopes of the Indus Delta. Thus, the Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان] (*Praaspa*) appears to be a long and angular backrest. There are many open trenches. The height of the mountaintops is in the manner, as below:

Pabol Galli [پبول گلی]: 6,930 ft above sea level:
Panji Galli [پنجی گلی]: 7,772 ft above sea level:
Akhund Baba Ka Chora [اخوندبابا کا چورا]: 9,157 ft above sea level:
Machie [مچائی]: 9,803 ft above sea level:
Khand Ka Dana [کھنڈکادانہ]: 9,429 ft above sea level:
Ghantoor [گھنتور]: 9,572 ft above sea level:
Kaiser or Kaisor [کیسر یا کیسور]: 9,775 ft above sea level:

The hilltops which are known as Jabaie [جبائی], Chaprer [چپرر], Chittabot [چٹابوٹ], Kabi Galli [کابی گلی], Dodda [ڈوڈا] and Kamaiser [کمیسر] provide the descending routes to Takht Suleiman [تخت سلیمان] as well as, to the River Indus [دریائے سندھ]. Then, some of them are not less than nine thousand feet high. The terrain around Koh Seyah [کوہ سیاہ] is rugged and rocky, mostly. The lower slopes, particularly the lower dikes in the area, tend to be filled with the mushroom growth of thorny bushes due to the lack of regular farming. The upper areas are complete jungles particularly, the mountain tributaries. The hilltops are covered with thick forests. The trees like May-apple [زرشک], Oak [شاہ بلوط] and Sycamore Figs [انجیر] are in abundance in those forests. There are narrow clefts underneath the mountain. The mountaintops are roundish and many sub-ranges of the mountain emanate from the centre of the mountain. The formation is extremely

hazardous due to straight rocky slopes. There are narrow and deep valleys, which are quite away from the world of modern science and technological age and are the abode of eagles. Those valleys are a cradle of the Panni tribes who are resilient and self reliant. They are also well aware of their area, with the game plan of nature. There are a number of Mozas in said region (***Gazetteer Northwest Frontier Volume No.1 Page No.291, Paget Page No.26, 27, Azad Pathan Page No.93, Problem Page No.27***).

ETHNOCENTRICITY OF THE PATHANS AND THE BRANCHES OF THE PANNI NATION

[پٹھانوں کی قبائلی عصبیت اور پنّی قوم کی شاخیں]

The ethnocentricity has always been the common factor among the people of central Asia. The ethnocentric factor comparatively, has always been stronger in Iran. The Iranian names carry many a suffix usually even today and are the significance of the dynastic links. When, the Sassanid oppressor rulers had compelled the people of the Panni nation for migration (*as they were habitually living under the Satrap or Chieftain of their tribe, in Iran*) then they had obviously brought along-with them their traditional ethnocentric culture as well as, their other similar social ethos. The result was that most of the tribes reflect even today, the shades of pre-Islamic era, in respect of their names. The names which were changed and modified, after the advent of Islam, are in conformity however, with the Islamic tenets and traditions, generally.

There were more than 350 well known offshoots of obviously the Panni nation. *The same shall be discussed in extenso later*. The main ethnic characteristic of the Panni nation was that each individual, after reposing faith in Allah Almighty, is not as much loyal to himself as perhaps, he is loyal to his tribe. The tribal affiliation is an indispensable part of his name, usually. The association with his tribe is the true asset of his life and which is the only point of pride and prestige, in real terms. The cult of staunch ethnocentricity has also been the main cause of their *inter se* feuds. They have failed to snap out of said ethnocentric quagmire even in this modern age. The same factor is also quite evident even in the daily fracas of people in their mountains who are drenched in tribalism. Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] was the first and last Pathan, who was able to congregate all the Pathan tribes under one banner, sans tribalism. We may agree with said perception to the extent that, he had the charisma of making the Pathans rally around him

but, there was also an undeniable fact that even he had not succeeded in cleansing completely, the elements of egocentricity as well as, ethnocentricity from the hearts of the Pathan tribes of his era. The tribal alliances had existed even during his time. Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] used to maintain that, the addition of even four individuals only in any tribe was a privilege for said tribe therefore the lager tribe had the right to subjugate the smaller one, in accordance with the general traditions of the Pathans and which had also turned out to be his problem. He used to say that, the Mughals were able to take back the reins of power from the Pathans just because of their internal schism. The said Pathan mentality was explained by a Pathan when, he had answered the question of an English historian, Alfanton. He had expressed his views in the manner that, "we can tolerate the internal rift and the sudden explosions and we can also show appeasement on spilling the blood but, we cannot tolerate anyone imposed on us, as a ruler" (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.35***). The military fractions of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] era were also headed by the tribal chiefs. The tribal heads used to place their militias, at the disposal of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری]. Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] had placed the Pathan militias at various places just on the basis of their distinct tribal affiliations. The Kirani Panni [کرانی پنّی] tribe for instance, was the administrator of an estate which was located at Kwaspur Tanda [خواص پور ٹانڈا] and River Ganges, in southern Behar [جنوبی بہار]. They were assigned the ranks and files in their own area, accordingly. The Niazis [نیازی] were placed at Multan as well as, in some other parts of Punjab [پنجاب]. The Suri [سوری] tribe was assigned the Delhi area. The Serdani [سردانی] tribe was placed in Lukhnow [لکھنؤ] and the Kabat [کبت] tribe was placed in Gwala [گوالا] and Talhar [تلہار]. The Fermali [فرملی] tribe was placed in Awadh [اورھ] and in Qanoj [قنوج]. The Kakarr [کاکڑ] tribe was placed in Malot Nagar Kot Jowala [ملوٹ نگر کوٹ جوالہ] and at Dadhwal [دھدوال], in the mountains of Jammu [جموں]. The fort Kakerran [قلع کاکڑاں], in Sialkot city, is the living example of said assignment arrangement. The Afghan historian Mahabat Khan [مہابت خان] had narrated that, the Pathan tribes of Roheela Khana [روھیلہ کھنہ] city of Shahjahanpur [شاہجحان پور] were divided into 52 different Mohallahs, just on the basis of their tribal affiliation (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.42-43***) and one of their Mohallahs was known as Barozai [باروزئی] (*Panni*) Mohallah.

The abovementioned historical chain of events was the clear proof of fact that, the tribal ethnocentricity, regardless of time and age was always very dear to the Pathans which is very much prevalent amongst the latitudinous Pathans [آزاد پٹھان] and particularly amongst the Pathans of Baluchistan. They are not ready to give it up at any cost, even today. We have reproduced

below, the list of 350 offshoots *fons et origo* of the Panni tribes which was prepared by the chief of each tribe or by the tribal people. The ultimate list was compiled by the government officials at the time of the general census which was authentic and free from any technical mistakes.

PANNI TRIBES [پنّی قبائل]:

The following data of the tribes is research-based and had the official authentication as well. There were some contents which were also from some other reliable sources therefore they were also equally authentic. Those tribes are based in great numbers, in the northern area of River Kabul [کابل] as well as, in the south of River Indus [دریائے سندھ]. Those tribes are based besides that, in the area between River Kabul [کابل] and River Kerm [دریاے کرم] as well as, between the area of Kerm [کرم] and Gomal [گومل] and in the area of Derrajat [دراجات] other than in the area, in the south of Gomal. There were some others which were nomadic tribes whereas they used to live in the vicinity of Peshawar including in the area, adjoining the mountains of Swat [سوات] and District Hazara [ہزارہ] as well as, in the province of Baluchistan (***Dictionary 201 to 262***). The aforementioned tribal people are known as the "Panni Tribes" [پنّی قبائل] collectively (***English Translation of Syed Almutakhereen*** [سید التماخرین] ***Volume No.1 and No.21***). The said research was carried out by the British military regime, for the reasons best known to them but, one can say this much that, they were more keen to understand perhaps, the Pathan psyche in the context of their militarism. If this was the case then, one can also maintain the view that, their data compilation was bound to be immaculate and whatever information was provided to them by the sub-tribes was supposed to prove the ethnocentric character therefore it was correct. If some information was contrary to the reality even then, they had established at least this much that, the Panni nation used to enjoy a particular status unlike those Pathans, who used to live in the desolate areas. They were unlike those people who used to live in the plain areas. The said status of the Panni nation is acknowledged duly, even today. The tribal offshoots of the Panni Pathans which are mentioned below are incorporated only for the sake of a comprehensive study.

We may also point out that, there are some smaller offshoots, which are mentioned in the beginning as per catalogue-raisonné. Then, the names of those offshoots are incorporated, which had originated from said offshoots and had existed prior to them. Then, the names of their patriarchal Panni tribes are mentioned, in the end. The place of their abode and their fighting

strength is also incorporated to highlight the numerical strength of some offshoots. The names of most of the offshoots and particulars were taken from the dictionary (***Page No.201 to 262***). The names and the particulars of the offshoots, which were incorporated from other sources, were mentioned with the source reference along-with the verbatim descriptive account. Then, there was a second catalogue-raisonné was with the names of the Panni tribes, in Baluchistan. The said list was authenticated, officially. The official data was based on the dictionary references, till 1910 only. The study of shall also highlight the progressive transformation of some historical realities.

Atta Zai [اتازئی]: is an offshoot of the Gadoon [گدوون] or Jadoon [جدوون]. Gadoon [گدوون] or Jadoon [جدوون] is an offshoot *fons et origio* of the Panni Pathan nation.

Adian Zai [ادین زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] which is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Bel Khail [بل خیل], Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and the fighting force used to be 85 individuals only. There is an area, with the same name which is located between Dir [دیر] and Swat [سوات]. There is another tribe with the same name but is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Moray Zai Eswat [مورے زئی الیسوت] tribe. The area of said tribe consists of 23 big villages, in the north of the River Kabul [کابل] and in Dir [دیر]. They used to exist in thousands, in those areas. The people of said tribe are also based in the west of River Indus. (***Nawa-e-waqt Lahore 12 August 1968***).

Arbab [ارباب]: is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Kaka Khail [کاکا خیل] Panni tribe which is based mostly at Peshawar (***List 1910***).

Aghdad Zai [اغداد زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] which is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Merghzani Panni [مرغزانی پنّی] tribe.

Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی]: The people of said tribe are based in Baluchistan whereas, it is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mummay Zai [ممے زئی], Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribe. The said tribe is based in the western part of Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان]. The said tribe is also an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation of Mungi Zai [منگی زئی] Laher Zai [لہر زئی] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe. The people of said offshoot used

to also live in Sibi [سبّی] but, those people are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Lona Panni [لونا پنّی] tribe. There is another offshoot which has the same name and is in the Loralie [لورالائی] area and which is however, an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Noah Zai Eswat Panni [نوح زئی آلیسوت پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of said tribe and their fighting force used to be 25 individuals only.

Eka Khail [اِکا خیل]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Dehpal Panni [دہپال پنّی] tribe.

Akhter Zai [اختر زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe.

Adyar Khan Zai [الدیار خان زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی] tribe.

Ana Zai [انازئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe.

Apo Zai [اپوزئی]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Dawat Khail [دَوَت خیل] and Mando Khail Panni [مندوخیل پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of said tribe and their fighting force used to be 120 individuals only. When, Kazer Zai Panni [خزرزئی پنّی] had given the tough time to the British army near Zob [ژوب] in 1887, in collaboration with Sherani [شیرانی] tribe, the Hazer Zai Panni [خزرزئی پنّی] people were able to sort out the Apo Zai [اپوزئی] tribe first, prior to sorting out the British troops despite the fact that, they both were anti-British. There is also a village by the name of Apo Zai [اپوزئی].

Armeya Khail [ارمیا خیل]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mando Khail Panni [مندوخیل پنّی] and Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل پنّی] tribe.

Atto Zai [اتوزئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Ishaq Khajak [اسحاق خَجک] tribe. The numerical strength of said tribe and their fighting force used to be 25 individuals only.

Ibraheem Zai [ابراہیم زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Behram Zai Khajak Panni [بہرام زئی خَجک پنّی].

Aiedal Zai [ایدلزئی]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Dawat Khail [دَوَت خیل] and Mando Khail Panni [مندوخیل پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of said tribe and their fighting force used to be 48 individuals only.

Ien Zai [اِن زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hasan Khail [حسن خیل], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe.

Eyseb Zai [اِلیسب زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Merghzani Panni [مرغزانی پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of said tribe and their fighting force used to be 48 individuals only. There is another tribe in Sibi [سبّی] with the same name and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Perani Panni [پرانی پنّی] tribe.

Ishaq Zai [اسحاق زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Khajak [خَجک پنّی] tribe. The people of said tribe used to live in the west of Kandahar [قنداھار] at River Andad [دریاے انداد]. They were placed irregularly, up to the Bast [بست] area. They used to occupy some of their Mozas, at the bank of River Hilmand [ہلمند] in the Chakd [چکد] and Payan [پایان] area. The people of said tribe used to also live in the area of Kerm Sair [کرم سیر] and Sabzwar [سبزوار].They used to be peasants by profession and used to also live in the area of Lash [لاش], which is in the southeast of Herat [ہرات], and some of them used to live in Herat [ہرات] as well. There were two famous families of said tribe and one of them was the family of Sardar Saloo Khan [سردار صلو خان]. He used to be the Raees [رئیس] (Noble) of Lash [لاش] and Joein [جوئن]. The same area was under the Iranian regime and Sardar Saloo Khan [سردار صلو خان] had never paid any cess. The head of the second family was Sardar Madad Khan [سردار مدد خان]. He used to live in Qala Janasheen [قلعہ جانشین] of Kerm Sair [کرم سیر] area. There was an individual by the name of Esa Dongi [عیسی' ڈونگی]. He was able to earn a big name for himself in the family but, said family had lost its influence due to growing influence of the Barak Zai [بارک زئی] tribe (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 133***). Saif-ud-Dolla Madad Khan Ishaq Zai [سیف الدولہ مدد خان اسحاق زئی] was appointed as governor for Kashmir, in 1200 Hegira, 1786 AD. He had sorted

out the miscreants at the initial stages of his rule. Then, he was able to rule with ease. He had appointed many Hindus as his officials and they used to victimize the Muslims oppressively. He had ruled for ten months only and he was summoned back by the Mughal king, thereafter. (***Negaristan Kashmir*** [نگارستان کشمیر] ***Page No.227***).

Ishaq Zai Panni [اسحاق زئی پنّی]: The said tribe used to be involved professionally, in the business of goods forwarding to other places. They were herdsmen generally, whereas some of them were peasants as well. The houses under said tribe used to be around, ten to twelve thousand only. There was a general perception that, they had about one thousand houses in Balkh [بلخ] area (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 133***).

Ismail Khan Zai [اسماعیل خان زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی]. There was another tribe with the same name in Loralie [لورالائی] and was an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mohammed Zai Eswat Panni [محمد زئی الیسوت پنّی] tribe. The same tribe was in Zob [ژوب] as well. The said tribe was an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Lona Panni [لونا پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of said tribe and their fighting force used to be 72 individuals only. The family of Naser Ullah Khan [نصراللہ خان], Ismail Khan Zai [اسماعیل خان زئی] was mentioned in Tareekh Peshawar [تاریخ پشاور], as an affluent family.

Amerohie [امروہی]: They are based among the Mohmand [مہمند] people. They are known as the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe. They used to live under the protective hegemony of the Mohmand [مہمند] tribe. (***Dictionary Page No.4***)

Eswat [الیسوت]: They used to live at the bank of the River Zob [دریائے ژوب]. Eswat [الیسوت] is a very popular offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni tribe. They are the nomadic people basically and they do not travel into far-flung areas, for trading. They had always tried to win over the support of the British rulers. The same offshoot *fons et origo* was based at Loralie [لورالائی]. They also had their habitats in the caves at the southwest of Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] which falls in the northwestern province of Pakistan. The people of one of its offshoots, who were based at Sibi [سبّی], are known as Ali Zai [علی زئی]. They were about one thousand in number in 1910. The Eswat of Loralie [لورالائی] is also an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni tribe.

The Eswat [الیسوت] are cantankerous people. The numerical strength of said tribe and their fighting force used to be about 445 individuals only. They had attacked the Bozer [بوزر] tribe in January 1861 in collaboration with the Khaitheran [کھیتران], Astran [استران] and Jafer [جعفر] tribes. The Bozer [بوزر] tribe had retaliated and they were able to push them out from the fort which was located in the west of Khan Bandan [خان بندان]. The elders and children were forced to descend into the plain areas along-with their herds for refuge, pursuant to said attack. The Khaiteran [کھیتران] tribe had given the assurance after sometime to the British army officer, Captain Goodbye that, they were disinclined to chase the Bozer [بوزر] tribe. They had no intentions even to land into the British area. Since, the Eswat [الیسوت] tribe had castigated the Bozer [بوزر] tribe properly therefore, they had also given the assurance of removing their camps. Thus, the Eswat Panni [الیسوت پنّی] and Jafer Panni [جعفر پنّی] tribes were able to march out of their hideouts for their return home. The Bozer [بوزر] tribe was encamped within the precincts of the British area at that time (***Paget Page No.614, Gazetteer Page No.62***).

The British troops were able to capture Zob [ژوب] in 1890 and as a consequence thereof, the attitude of the Afghan tribes had transformed. They used to be very erratic by 1891 when, they were under the administrative control of the agency. The British administration had summoned the Sheerani Panni [شیرانی پنّی] and the Ghazani Panni [غزانی پنّی] people of Morga [مورگا] for the first time in order to pool the cess from them. Those tribes had responded well, according to the British administrators (***Paget Volume No.3 Page No.229***).

The British had fought against the Kaserani [کیسرانی] tribe, in 1861. They had granted the favors and they had also bribed some of the tribes in order to arrest the chief Korra Khan [کوڑا خان] of Kaserani [کیسرانی] along-with his allies. Korra Khan [کوڑا خان] was able to escape in the backdrop of said development. He had sought the refuge from the Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe. Sardar Painda Khan [سردار پیندا خان], who was the chief of the Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe, had arrested Korra Khan [کوڑا خان] however, under the constant British pressure and then he had produced him before the administrator Sundayman, on 27th October 1864. Sundayman was Captain, at that time. Then, there was a thanksgiving Durbar [دربار] which was arranged by the Commissioner and the prizes were awarded to those who had provided the assistance in the arrest of Korra Khan [کوڑا خان]. The Eswat Panni [الیسوت پنّی] tribe was also awarded Rs.3000/- as a reward in said ceremony. They had provided the help with about one hundred local soldiers.

Then, there was a bloody skirmish which had taken place between the Hedyani [ہدیانی] and Eswat Panni [الیسوت پنّی] tribes, in 1861.The Deputy Commissioner had intervened and the normalcy was restored, though a truce pact (***Paget Page No.616***). The Eswat Panni [الیسوت پنّی] and Musa Khail Panni [موسیٰ خیل پنّی] tribe had settled down in the area, thereafter. The said area was from the mountain of the Kaserani [کیسرانی] Bloch tribe and was up to the fringes of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 20***). The Eswat Panni [الیسوت پنّی] tribe used to also live in the area of Tehsil Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل], which was connected with the frontier province of Pakistan. They were about one thousand in number (***Afaghana*** [افاغنہ] ***Page No.218***). The Noah Zai [نوح زئی], Mahd Zai [محد زئی], Gulferd [گلفرد], Moray Zai [مورےزئی], Esa Zai [عیسیٰ زئی], Umer Zai [عمرزئی], Ghaib Zai [غیب زئی], Khazer Zai [خدرزئی] and Naiknam Zai [نیک نام زئی] are splinter offshoots *fons et origo* of the Eswat Panni [الیسوت پنّی] tribe. Those people used to live in the mountain caves but, they used to move down, during the suitable seasons of the year, for their trade activities. They used to travel deep into the areas of present Pakistan. The Eswat Panni [الیسوت پنّی] tribe used to have the control over some of the hilltops of the Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان] (***Paget Page No.581***). They used to live around a barren mountain and desert, in the east of the Kakarr [کاکڑ] area in Baluchistan (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 241***). Their bases used to be from the mountain area of the Kaserani [کیسرانی] Bloch tribe up to the fringes of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 20***). The people of the Eswat Panni [الیسوت پنّی] tribe are mostly well poised and peace loving. They have neither any native village nor, they have any city. There used to be a specified area which was allocated to them, according to an official map.

Eso [الیسو]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی]. They are the Hameem Zai Khajak Panni [حمیم زئی خَجک پنّی].

Aondah [اوندھا]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی]. They are the Noorhani Panni [نورہانی پنّی].

Aadam Zai [آدم زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی]. They are the Musa Zai [موسیٰ زئی پنّی], Eswat Panni [موسیٰزئی آلیسوت پنّی].

Babaker Zai [بابکرزئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان]. They are the offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hamza Zai [حمزاہ زئی], Hamza Khail [حمزا خیل] and Musa Khail

Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 125 individuals only.

Baher Zai [بابر زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی]. They are the Esa Khail Panni [عیسی' پنّی خیل].

Babo Zai [بابو زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی]. They are the descendents of Blundfraz Ibn Panni Khan [بلنفرزابن پنّی خان]. They also used to live in the area of Daod Khail Tehsil Yusuf Zai [داؤد خیل تحصیل یوسف زئی] Peshawar (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No.592, 536***).

Bab Zai [باب زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان]. They are the offshoot *fons et origo* of the Laher Zai Musa Khail Panni [لہرزئی موسی' خیل پنّی]. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 49 individuals only.

Badeen Zai [بدین زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی]. They are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Eswat Muhammad Zai Panni [الیسوت محمد زئی پنّی]. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 34 individuals only.

Baro Zai Panni [بارو زئی]**:** They are based at Sibi [سبّی]. They are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Loni Panni [لونی پنّی]. Jan Mohammed Khan Baro Zai [جان محمد خان بارو زئی] had defended the onslaught of Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] when he had launched an attack against Multan (***Amdat-Altwareekh*** [عمدۃ التواریخ] ***Dafter-II Page No.219***). Abdus-Smad Khan Baro Zai Panni [عبدالصمد خان باروزئی پنّی] had become the ruler of Bhaker [بھکر] and Lieya [لیّہ] after the downfall of the Sikh rule, in 1874 (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.24 Page No.197***).

Baji Zai [باجی زئی]: They are a splinter group of the Mazari [مزاری] tribe which is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Akhan Wal Loni [اکھن وال لونی] tribe.

Barak Zai [بارک زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی]. They are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Ali Khail Panni [علی خیل پنّی] tribe. There is another offshoot with the same name in Sibi [سبّی] but, they are a splinter group of the Behram Zai Khajak Panni [بہرام زئی خَجک پنّی]. There is a third tribe by the same name, in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان]. They are an offshoot

fons et origo of the Musa Khail [موسی' خیل], Kabul Zai [کابل زئی], Laher Zai [لہر زئی] and Berk Zai [برک زئی] Panni tribe. We may point out that, an offshoot of the alleged brother of the Panni is Barak Zai [بارک زئی]. We have not been able to determine however, said ruler of Kabul [کابل] namely, Ameer Dost Mohammed Khan Barak Zai [امیر درست محمد خان بارک زئی] and his branch of the Barak Zai [بارک زئی] tribe.

Bughdad Zai [بغداد زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان]. They are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 75 individuals only.

Baghon [بغون]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni tribe.

Bahar Zai [بہارزئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hasan Zai [حسن زئی], Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe.

Bahram Zai [بہرام زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 43 individuals only.

Baie Zai [بائی زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Keryani [کریا زئی] and Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe. They used to own land (Tapay [تپے]) in Tehsil Yusuf Zai [تحصیل یوسف زئی] Peshawar, under the name as, Baie Zai [بائی زئی] (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No.492***). The Moza Lund Khorr [لونڈ خوڑ موضع] was also under their influence (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No.257***). The Baie Zai [بائی زئی] of the state of Swat [ریاست سوات] is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation (***Expeditions Page No.4***) Baie Zai [بائی زئی] includes Musa Khail Malik [موسی' خیل مالک] as well (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No.486***). The Swat [سوات] valley is divided into five parts and one part is known as Baie Zai [بائی زئی]. It was named as such, because of the name of the Baie Zai [بائی زئی] tribe. There was an expedition which was organized in 1849 during the British Raj and was dispatched against said tribe. The Baie Zai [بائی زئی] tribe has seven offshoots and the names are: Janki

Khail [جانکی خیل], Iza Khail [اذی' خیل], Qaro Zai [قروزئی], Babo Zai [بابو زئی], Musa Khail ['موسی خیل], Bilal Zai [بلال زئی], Aba Khail [اباخیل], Khan Khail [خان خیل] and all of them are based on the left bank of the River Swat [سوات]. They have three famous Mozas [موضع]. The names are: Matta [متا], Shamo Zai [شمو زئی] and Babo Zai [بابو زئی] and all three of them are located on the eastern side of the Swat [سوات] Valley (***Paget Page No.180***).

Bakshoo Zai [بخشو زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hajza Zai [حجزہ زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 80 individuals only.

Baulail Zai [بلیل زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Dehpal Panni [دھپال پنّی] tribe which is the main offshoot *fons et origo* of the Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe. They are agriculturists by profession. (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 241***).

Baro Zai or Barro Zai [بارو زئی یا باڑو زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Ghaib Zai Eswat Panni [غیب زئی الیسوت پنّی]. The Nawabs of the Baro Zai or Barro Zai [بارو زئی یا باڑو زئی] had ruled the Sibi [سبّی] area, for a very long time. They had fought many battles as well (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.4 Page No.415***). *The detail account of their achievements will be given later*. The people of said offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation used to live besides Sibi [سبّی] in District Peshawar. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 700 individuals only. They used to live in Sibi [سبّی], in the areas of the Brohi [بروہی], Marry [ماڑی] and Kakarr [کاکڑ] tribes. The Baro Zai or Barro Zai [بارو زئی یا باڑو زئی] people were although, from the Afghan descend yet, they were somewhat like the Baloch people in respect of their traditions. When, the British troops had planned their march towards the frontier area then, the Baro Zai people were forced to surrender. They are the most popular tribal people, according to the history of said area. They used to pay yearly cess, during the British Raj, till 1873 and their chief was Bakhtiyar Khan [بختیار خان] at that time. Since, Sibi [سبّی] was under Kandhar [قندھار] therefore, the Baro Zai [بارو زئی] used to pay the cess money to the ruler of Kandhar [قندھار] (***Gazetteer Central Asia Part-I, North West Frontier Volume No.1 Page No.233***). There is a place known as, Tapa Baro Zai [تپہ بارو زئی] in the Tapa Khail [تپہ خیل]

area in Peshawar (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No.556***). The people of said tribe used to live also in Shahjahanpur [شاہجہان پور] (*India*). There used to be one Mohallah which was also known as Tapa Khail [تپہ خیل]. Once, the people of Pakistan had to confront the skirmishes at the Afghanistan border then, there was a delegation of two chieftains namely Gul Khan [گل خان] and Muzzafer Khan [مظفر خان] which had handed over the ammunition to the Commissioner Peshawar. They had seized it from the Afghan miscreants. The Baro Zai [بارو زئی] people are Panni by virtue of their traditions and even otherwise (***Races Page No.92***).

Besum Zai [بِشم زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Noah Zai Panni [نوح زئی پنّی], Laher Zai [لہر زئی] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe.

Bazweni [بَزورنی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Nodhani Panni [نودھانی پنّی] tribe.

Baig Zai [بیگ زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Eswat Balfraz Panni [الیسوت، بلفراز پنّی] tribe.

Bel Khail [بل خیل]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 1828 individuals only.

Bhay [بھے]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Baghon Panni [بغون پنّی] tribe.

Bilal Zai [بلال زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Kamil Zai [کامل زئی], Noah Zai Panni [نوح زئی پنّی], Laher Zai [لہر زئی] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe(s).

Baiza Zai [بیزا زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Bel Khail [بل خیل], Hamza Zai [ہمزہ زئی] and Musa Zai Panni [موسی'

زئی پنّی] tribe(s). The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 50 individuals only.

Braheem Zai [براہیم زئی]: The said offshoot is based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Kamil Zai [کامل زئی], Nokozai [نوکو زئی] and the Musa Zai Panni [موسی' زئی پنّی] tribe(s). There is another tribe which lives in the same area and with the same name but, said tribe is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Maghdo Zai [معدو زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Zai Panni [موسی' زئی پنّی] tribes. There is another tribe with the same name but, they are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Seen Zai [سین زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Zai Panni [موسی' زئی پنّی] tribes. The fourth tribe is based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Naiki Zai [نیکی زئی], Her Zai [ہر زئی] and Musa Zai Panni [موسی' زئی پنّی] tribes. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 100 individuals only.

Bulaid Zai [بلید زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Eswat Panni [الیسوت پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 54 individuals only.

Balfraz [بلفراز]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Eswat Panni [الیسوت پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 54 individuals only.

Panni Zoan [پنّی زون]: They are based in between the area of the Trani [ترانی] and the Saddat [سادات] tribes, in the Pasheen [پشین] area.

Painda Khail [پنّیدا خیل]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 81 individuals only. The people of said offshoot of the Panni nation used to live also in the Koh Seyah [کوہ سیاہ] as well as, at the banks of River Kora [دریاے کورا] in the state of Dir [ریاست دیر]. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 3900 individuals only, in 1910. Those people used to also live in Waziristan [وزیرستان] in the border areas of Kohat [کوہاٹ]

and Banoo [بنوں] and among the Waziri tribes. They have a large population in the former state of Swat [سوات].

Panida Zai [پنّیدا زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Morie Zai Eswat Panni [موری زئی الیسوت پنّی] tribe. The ruler dynasty of the state of Dir [دیر] was also from the same offshoot.

Pan Zai [پن زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Eswat Panni [الیسوت پنّی] tribe. There is another tribe with the same name, which is based in the west of Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] and is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Doda Zai [دودا زئی], Nokozai [نوکو زئی] Her Zai [ہر زئی] and Musa Zai Panni [موسی' زئی پنّی] tribes. There is a third tribe in Loralie [لورالائی] which has the same name and is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Laher Zai [لہر زئی] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 24 individuals only.

Pato Zai [پتو زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mando Zai [مندو زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] tribe.

Perani [پیرانی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni tribe.

Paisay Zai [پیسے زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Her Zai [ہر زئی] the Musa Zai Panni [موسی' زئی پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 30 individuals only.

Prrang, Preng or Prengi [پڑانگ،پڑنگ یا پڑنگی]: is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Merzani Panni [مرزانی پنّی] tribe. The name of said tribe was also written as “Prrang Panni” [پڑگ پنّی] in various books of history. They used to exist in large numbers, in the Peshawar and Baluchistan areas. There were very interesting achievements of the Hakomat Khan Prrang [حکومت خان پڑانگ] family in a history book, which was captioned as “Tareekh Peshawar” [تاریخ پشاور]. There are eight small towns in Hasht Nager [ہشت نگر] which is about twenty miles away from Peshawar and one

of the towns is known as Prrang [پڑانگ] which is also known as "Charsada Prrang" [چارسده پڑانگ] (***Amdat-Altwareekh*** [عمدة التواريخ] ***Dafter-III Page No.134***).

Panni [پنّی]: There are various offshoots of the Panni nation. Those offshoots are known as sub-tribes whereas there are many Panni tribal people who used to live in many other parts of the Subcontinent. The Panrri [پنڑی] or Panni [پنّی] was a nomadic nation actually, according to the Gazetteer Zob [ژوب] which is considered to be the descendent of the Ghorghast [غورغشت] traditionally whereas, the Safi [صافی] is one of their offshoots. The people of said offshoot used to exist in large numbers, in the Ghazni [غزنی] as well as, in the surrounding areas. The second largest offshoot is known as the Gadoon [گدون]. The people of the same are based near the Peshawar area, which is in the east of the area where the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] tribe used to exist. There was a general perception that one of the offshoots of the Panni nation had migrated into the Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان]. Then they had gradually drifted towards the south. The Eswat [الیسوت] of the Loralie [لورالائی] and the Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] are also the offshoots of the Panni tribe. There were some of the sub-tribes of the Panni nation, which had moved towards Sanghan [سانگہاں] via, Derra Bollan [درہ بولان]. They had gradually occupied Badrra Kowait Mundi [بادرہ کویت منڈی] and Sevi [سیوی] areas. They had occupied Barkhan [بارکھان] on their own thereafter, or presumably some ruler of Kandahar [قندھار] had placed them there. He had assigned them the role as Nazim [ناظم] and that was exactly how they were able to bring the area under their control which is under the occupation of the Marri [ماڑی] nation, at present. The descendants of the Panni nation are also available in the southern Hindh. They had registered time and again, their names very significantly in the history of Hindustan, from the south of Hindh. There used to be a well known freelance soldier, prior to the downfall of the Mughal dynasty and his name was Daod Khan [داود خان]. He was also from the Panni nation. He was known for his benevolence and chivalry (***Page No.75***). There was a general proverb which used to be attributed to him and which had also become a quotable maxim in the manner, as below:
"Bani to bani naheen to Daoud Khan Panni" [بنی تو بنی، نہیں تو داؤد خان پنّی] (*i.e. Daoud Khan Panni* [داؤد خان پنّی] *can be relied upon during the worst times*) (***Page No.76***). The people of the Panni nation are also available in Ghazni [غزنی] and Herat [ہرات].

There are three offshoots of the Panni nation in the Zob [ژوب] area, according to the general census report of 1901. The name(s) are: Lonarr or Lona [لونڑ یا لونا], Mando Khail [مندو خیل] and

Musa Khail [موسی' خیل]. The total numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 5319 individuals only in 1901. There were 2835 individuals only who were male and 1227 were properly grown up adults other than 2481 female folks. The people of the Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] tribe were only 69 in number (***Page No.66 and 76***). Lonarr or Lona [لونڑ یا لونا] are the descendents of one of the six alleged sons of their alleged agnate namely, Panni. Therefore, the agnate of the Musa Khail [موسی' خیل], Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی] and Eswat [الیسوت] and Lonarr or Lona [لونڑ یا لونا] is the same. They were placed dividedly, at two different places in 1890 i.e. at the bank of the River Kander [دریاے کندر] in between southern Tera [تیرہ] and Kander Nganghi and at Nakhl [کندر نگانگی و نخل] whereas the others were placed at District Sanghan [سانگہاں] of Sibi [سبّی]. They were about 870 in number, in District Zob [ژوب] in 1901 and 518 were male whereas, 452 were female. They all used to live in Kakarr Khurasan [کاکڑ خراسان] area which is located in Tehsil Hindu Bagh [ہندو باغ] which was the area of their main offshoots i.e. Mando Khail [مندو خیل], Hussain Khail [حسین خیل], Ismail Zai [اسماعیل زئی] and Lona [لونا]. They are peasants and herdsmen, professionally. They have the skill of converting potassium nitrate into salt and also market it. Mando Khail [مندو خیل] had migrated from the Nader [نادر] area of Khurasan [خراسان]. They were able to occupy said place with the help of the Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] and Sanzer Khail [سنزر خیل] tribes.

The Panni people were a nomadic nation as a matter of fact, according to a book captioned as "The Pathans". The said book was compiled in 1935 officially and used to be the handbook of the Indian army. They had gradually migrated from Ghazni [غزنی]. Then, they had started living in the frontier areas where they have the existence even today. The book had revealed, under the heading of "Sebi Panni" [سِبی پنّی], that the offshoots, which were known as Jataie [جتا ئی], Khajak [خَجک], Dehpal [دھپال], Meghzan [مرغزن], Barozai [باروزئی], Umer [عمر] and Shoan [شون] were able to occupy the Sibi [سبّی] District, by the end of the sixteenth century. They were about twenty thousand in number in said District whereas the Barozai [باروزئی] and Khajak [خَجک] were in majority. Their major cities were known as Kerek [کرک], Khajak [خَجک], Teli [تلی], Gulo Shaher [گلو شہر] and Dehpal [دھپال]. Those people are more or less peasants, by profession (***Page No.104***). The people of the Panni nation had also infiltrated into the Sheikhawati [شیخاوتی] area (*Rajasthan and Hyderabad*) which is the southern Hindustan. They were also known to have access somehow or the other, to the Rajpoot [راجپوت] origin. There used to be a brave soldier of the Panni nation namely, Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. He had become popular for his

proverbial courage during the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. He was known for his gallantry and philanthropy, as well. The Panni people had never joined the regular army. They were just enrolled in the Levy Corp. Since, the loyalty of most of them had become questionable therefore they were removed from the service (***Page No.103***). There is a village by the name of "Panni" [پنّی] in Tapa Khalsa [تپہ خالصہ] in District Peshawar (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No.427***).

Terbol [تربول]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Khajak [خَجک] Panni tribe.

Tola Zai [تولازئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mughro Zai [مغرو زئی], Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe.

Jafab Zai [جفب زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Khajak [خَجک] Panni tribe.

Jahan Zai [جہان زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Noah Zai Panni [نوح زئی پنّی] tribe.

Jalal Zai [جلال زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Noah Zai Panni [نوح زئی پنّی], Laher Zai [لہر زئی] and the Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe. There is another tribe with the same name which is also based at Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] which is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hasan Khail [حسن خیل], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل] tribe.

Jamal Zai [جمال زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Seen Zai [سین زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Zai Panni [موسی' زئی پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 93 individuals only, in 1910. There is another offshoot with the same name which is based at Sibi [سبّی] and are the splinter offshoot *fons et origo* of the Dolat Zai [دولت زئی] and the Khajak [خَجک] Panni tribe.

Jaffer [جعفر]: is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation (***Gazetteer Loralie*** [لورالائی] ***Volume No.2 Page No.88***). Pir Suleiman of Tonsa Sheriff [تونسہ شریف] was also from the same offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation ***(Pathans Page No.101, Tazkera Sofia-e-Punjab*** [تذکراہ صوفیاے پنجاب] ***Page No.627***). The habitat of the Jaffer [جعفر] tribe is surrounded by mountains and is a totally inaccessible area therefore, any attack by an external enemy against the Jaffer [جعفر] tribe was always impossible. The people of the Jaffer [جعفر] tribe, who used to live away from said area, even they are reluctant to go back to their native area (***Statement Hakeem Dost Mohammed Khan Jaffer, Masjid Road Quetta***). The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be about six hundred male fighters, in 1938. They used to own lands in the village of Drug [ڈرگ] of Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] in Tehsil Loralie [لورالائی] which is in the area of Zerni [زرنی], Derga [درگا], Sara [سارا], Kerkana [کرکانا], Keyara [کیارہ], Geber [گبر], Gud Gobi [گدگوبی] and Nuth [نتھ]. They are hardworking and gentle people. They are not aggressive and cantankerous. They usually speak the Jinki [جنکی] tongue whereas they like to communicate with others in the Pashto language (***Pathans Page No.100, 101***). The statesmen as well as, the elders from other areas used to give them due respect. Shah Shujjah [شاہ شجاع] was also a very staunch devout of Pir Tonsa Sheriff [تونسہ شریف]. When, he was moving towards Afghanistan, after taking the reinforcement from the British, he had made the stopover at Tonsa Sheriff [تونسہ شریف] for a night. He had died in 267 Hegira (***Tazkera Sofia-e-Punjab*** [تذکراہ صوفیاے پنجاب] ***Page No.627***). The numerical strength of Jaffer [جعفر] tribe and their fighting force used to be about six hundred male individuals only, in 1938. The same is the offshoot of the Meyana [میانہ] or Meyarrna [میاڑنہ] tribe. They used to own the lands in the village of Drug [ڈرگ] of Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] in Tehsil Loralie [لورالائی], in Zerni [زرنی], Sara [سارا], Derka [درگا], Kerkana [کرکانا], Keyara [کیارہ], Geber [گبر], Gud Gobi [گدگوبی] and Nuth [نتھ]. They are generally affluent people.

Jungi Zai [جنگی زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Dolat Zai [دولت زئی] and the Khajak [خَجک] Panni tribe.

Jani Zai [جانی زئی]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribe. They are also based in the west of Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] and those people are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Magdood Zai [معدود زئی], Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe.

Jani Khail [جانی خیل]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] Panni tribe and besides that, happens to be the offshoot of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe.

Jogi Zai [جوگی زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Noah Zai Eswat Panni [نوح زئی آلیسوت پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 22 individuals only. They are different than the Jogi Zai [جوگی زئی] tribe which is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Kakarr [کاکڑ] tribe.

Jadoon [جدوون] **or Gadoon** [گدوون] or **Yezdoon** [یزدون] or **Xedoon** [ژدون]: Mr. H. G. Watson had mentioned in the Gazetteer Hazara [ہزارہ] of 1901 that, the Jadoon [جدوون] nation lives in the area of Mangal [مانگل], Rish [رش] and Rajoa [رجوعہ] and according to the census report of 1901, they were 11,590 in numbers. The other part of said nation lives in the area which is known as Gadoon [گدوون], Gundoff [گندوف] and Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] Tehsil Peshawar. They had crossed River Indus in or around the seventeenth century and they had landed in the District Hazara [ہزارہ] where they were able to occupy the areas which were under the control of the Turk [ترک] and Dalazak [دلازک] nations. The Jadoon [جدوون] nation is divided into three large offshoots. They are based in many villages. Hasan Zai [حسن زئی] people used to live in the areas of Sallar [سلار] or Salarz [سلاز] and Masho [مشو] or Mansoor [منصور]. They used to also live in the area of Hasan Zai [حسن زئی] and Tahtorr [دھتوڑ]. The Sallar [سلار] nation was based in the north of River Kabul [کابل]. They were about 300 in number. There were various books of history which had revealed that, the Panni nation was expelled from its native country because of some bloodshed or due to some other communal reasons. They had opted to live in Koh Sofaid [کوہ سفید] for some time. Then, their descendants had migrated from Koh Sofaid [کوہ سفید] and had started settling down in the area of District Hazara [ہزارہ] as well as, in the vicinity of the Chach [چھچھ] mountains (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 241***). The Jadoon [جدوون] and Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] nation, which used to live in between Suleiman Mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان] and Swat [سوات], had encountered the British army in 1864 (***Expeditions Volume No.1 Page No.295***). The Sallar [سلار] used to also live at the banks of the Naulla Doar [نالہ ڈور] in the mountains of District Hazara [ہزارہ]. They are called as ‘‘Rish’’ [رش]. The Jadoon [جدوون] of the Hazara [ہزارہ] District occupy very fertile and lush green areas which they had acquired gradually, during the reign of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 241, Khursheed***

Jahan [خورشید جہان] ***Page No. 204***). The most popular Jadoon [جدوون] people used to live in the west of River Indus [دریاے اباسین] as well as, in the south of Koh Mahaban [کوہ مہابن]. The aforementioned both large offshoots of the Jadoon [جدوون] tribe used to keep the hilltop areas under their occupation which were towards the south of the Baikh [بیخ] area. They are placed sporadically in the areas which are known as Bandi [بانڈی] (*chunks of populated land*) and are about twenty in number but their large size villages are three only. This offshoot of the Panni nation had about six hundred houses in the Gundoff [گندوف] or Gandup [گنڈپ] area, prior to 1876 which was a big size and famous village of the Sallar [سلار] nation and all the offshoots of the Atto Zai [اتوزئی] used to live there, as well. The second large size village which was the habitat of said nation, which was known as Walwarri [والواڑی]. Khawazi [خوازی] was one of the offshoots of the Sallar [سلار] and their people were placed randomly, in the British controlled area. There was another offshoot by the name of Suleiman Zai [سلیمان زئی] which used to live in the villages of Pada [پادہ], Kola Ger [کولا گر], Pola [پولا] and Achapli [اچپ لی]. The large Moza of the Mansoor [منصور] offshoot is known as Besak [بیسک] which had about three hundred houses, in 1860. The people of its offshoot are known as, Alad Zai [الاد زئی] and Doal Zai [دولہ زئی]. They used to live in Besak [بیسک]. The people of said nation are landowners and they work professionally as goods forwarding agents. The absconders and deserters used to seek refuge in the jungles of Mahaban [مہابن], during the British Raj. The area of Gundoff [گندوف] and Besak [بیسک] also used to be their place of refuge. Those traitors used to raid the British areas usually, in collaboration with the locals. There was a time when about six to seven thousand people of said offshoot used to remain equipped with arms and ammunition. The male members used to be equipped with swords and although, said nation is not jingoist by nature yet, they were able to produce very good soldiers. When, those areas were under the British administrative control in 1849 after the Sikh rule, the overall state of affairs of the area had transformed very rapidly (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 245, Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہان] ***Page No. 204, 205***). The Jadoon [جدوون] and Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] nation, which used to live between the Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان] and Swat [سوات] areas, had confronted the British army jointly, in 1864 (***Expeditions Volume No.1 Page No.295***). They used to also live in the frontier area of Peshawar. There is one Tapa [تپہ] of Tehsil Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] which is also known as Gadoon [گدوون] (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No.468, Gazetteer Sibi*** [سبّی] ***Page No.62***). There are about eight to ten thousand houses of the Jadoon [جدوون] people presently, in about eighteen Mozas in District Hazara [ہزارہ]. The most distinct area is Kot Najeeb Ullah [کوٹ نجیب اللہ]. The

Jadoon [جدوون] are descendants of the Panni who is their agnate, allegedly (***Makhzan Afghani*** [مخزن افغانی] ***Page No.120, Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہان] ***Page No. 204, 205, Gazetteer Sibi*** [سبّی] ***Page No.62***). The Gadoon [گدوون] people had migrated to the Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان] while they were travelling from western side. Then, they had gradually migrated into the south. Since, most of the people had the misperception that the Panni [پنّی] and the Kakarr [کاکڑ] people were the same nation therefore they used to treat the Gadoon [گدوون] as Kakarr [کاکڑ] as well (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 246)***. There used to be a city in the past near Aghrah [آگرہ] in India, by the name of Jadoon [جدوون] (***Beyana*** [بیانہ] ***Page No.4***).

Chak Zai [چکزئی]: They are the offshoot *fons et origo* of the Noah Zai Eswat Panni [نوح زئی آلیسوت پنّی] tribe.

Chando Zai [چندو زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are also an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Noah Zai Easwat Panni [نوح زئی آلیسوت پنّی] tribe.

Habib Zai [حبیب زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are also an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Merghzani [مرغزانی پنّی] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 20 individuals only.

Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribe.

Hameem Zai [حمیم زئی]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe.

Hamza Zai [حمزاہ زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are also an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 386 individuals only.

Hasan Khail [حسن خیل]: The people of said offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation used to live among the Afridi [افریدی] people at the frontier of District Hazara [ہزارہ], in the Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان].

Hasan Zai [حسن زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are also an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Dost Zai [دوست زئی] and Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe. They used to live in Zob [ژوب] as well and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Sohan Khail [سوہن خیل], Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 30 individuals only and this tribe is also based at the Dhamtorr [دھمتوڑ] area, in District Hazara [ہزارہ]. They are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Jadoon [جدوون] tribe. The general perception was that, the British had sent an aggressive expedition in 1851, under Mr. Karan against Hasan Zai [حسن زئی] Panni and other tribes, in the area of the Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان] for the sake of expansion of their dominion which had not only failed to achieve its objectives rather, Mr. Karan was also killed by the Pathans during said venture. Lt Col F. Macson C. B had launched an expedition thereafter, against the same tribes in 1852-3. Then, they had sent the third expedition in 1868 which was under Major General T. Wild C.B.S.I. The Ulima [علماً] i.e. the religious scholars of Swat [سوات] as well as, Hazara [ہزارہ] District had declared the Jihad [جہاد] against the British rule however, in the same year in the month of October (***Expeditions Page No.26, 30, 34***). The Nawabs of Mamdot had also hailed from the same offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation. (*The detail account of those Nawabs and their predecessor Nawabs of Mamdot area, which is now part of India, will be given later*). The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force in the Hazara [ہزارہ] District was two thousand individuals only and their offshoots had included Khan Khail [خان خیل], Kotwal Khail [کوتوال خیل], Mir Ahmed Khail [میراحمدخیل], Luqman Khail [لقمان خیل], Kaka Khail [کاکا خیل], Mamo Khail [ممو خیل], Nano Khail [ننو خیل], Nusrat Khail [نصرت خیل] and Dawer Khail [داورخیل]. The total numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 1770 individuals only (***Expeditions Page No.4, 29***).

Hussain Khail [حسین خیل]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Lona Panni [لونا پنّی] tribe.

Hussain Zai [حسین زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Ishaq Zai [اسحاق زئی] and the Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe.

Khider Zai [خِدر زئی]: They are based in the north of River Kabul [دریاے کابل] as well as, in the west of the River Indus [دریاے سندھ] (***Lughat*** [لغت] ***Page No.25***). There is a Moza in Quetta, with the same name. The people of said Moza are known as "Hazer Zai Panni" [حزر زئی پنّی]. When, the Sherani [شیرانی] people had started creating problems for the British government, in 1877, Hazer Zai Panni [حَزر زئی پنّی] had also joined them. Then, the British administration had arrested Dost Mohammed Khan Wali of Kabul [دوست محمد خان والی کابل] after a big battle against the Hazer Zai Panni [حزر زئی پنّی] tribe (***Expeditions Page No.193***). Hazer Zai Panni [حَزر زئی پنّی] tribe is also based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Moray Zai Easwat [مورے زئی الیسوت] Panni tribe. When, the British government was able to arrest Dost Mohammed Khan [دوست محمد خان] then, the area of Hazer Zai Panni [حَزر زئی پنّی] tribe was under Afghanistan. The British government was convinced that because Dost Mohammed Khan [دوست محمد خان] had instigated therefore, the people of the Hazer Zai Panni [حَزر زئی پنّی] tribe were against the British Raj.

Khajab Zai [خجب زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Eswat Panni [الیسوت پنّی] tribe.

Khalay Zai [خالے زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Bund Plie [بند پلائی], Herzai [ہر زئی] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe. They are also based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان].

Khafay Zai [خافے زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Nerzai Eswat Panni [مر زئی الیسوت پنّی] tribe. There is a Moza, with the same name in Quetta.

Khatol Zai [خٹول زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Aen Zai [ان زئی], Hasan Khail [حسن خیل], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل] tribe.

Khail Bund [خیل بند]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Sebi [سبّی] and the Kerk [کرک] Panni tribe which is a different branch according to some historians and it is not related to the Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل] tribe and Bel Khail [بل خیل]. It was

factually a direct offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni tribe. There were some historians who had treated them, as the real Davaye [داوئ] tribe.

Khajak Zai [خَجک زئی], **Khak Zai** [خک زئی] **or Khaxak Zai** [خڑک زئی]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribe. When, the Sikhs had occupied the area of Bakram [بکرم] in 1893, Kunwar Nonehal Singh [کنورنونہال سنگھ] had appointed a number of rulers one after the other, in Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان]. The name of one of them was, Fateh Khan Tiwana [فتح خان ٹوانہ]. He had opted to immediately avenge the insult of his nation after his appointment. The said incident had taken place at the time when, Nawab Mohammed Khan [نواب محمد خان] was the ruler. Paienda Khan [بائینده خان] and Skinder Khan Khajak Zai [سکندر خان خَجک زئی] were invited at his house in this regard and then, they were murdered very deceptively. The British rule was established in Punjab [پنجاب] on 29th March 1849 pursuant to said incident but, Kunwar Nonehal Singh [کنورنونہال سنگھ] prior to that, had granted the area of Tank [ٹانک] as a Jagir to Mohammed Ashaq Khan Ali Zai [محمد عاشق خان علی زئی], Mohammed Paienda Khan Khajak Zai [محمد بائینده خان خَجک زئی] Panni and Hayat Ullah Khan Sado Zai Panni [حیات اللہ خان سدوزئی پنّی]. The said Panni tribe had demonstrated the gallantry during that period and those acts of gallantry are still discussed, in retrospection. These were the victorious and treasured achievements of yester years. When, the British Raj was established after the Sikh rule, the British government had awarded the pension to the family of Paienda Khan [بائینده خان]. The Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe was based at Sibi [سبّی]. When, Nawab Mohammed Khan [نواب محمد خان] had assumed the control of Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] from the Durrani [درانی] king then, there were so many Khajak [خَجک] people who had moved out with him from Multan, at that time and had started living with him (***Tareekh Dera Ismail Khan*** [تاریخ ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] ***Page No.233, 235, 236***). The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force in the Sibi [سبّی] area was 340 individuals only. There was no confirmation that said Derra Khajak [درہ خَجک] was known as such, just because of the "Khajak" [خَجک] Panni tribe, which was based there or said name was in use perhaps, due to some other reasons. There was a Moza with the same name in Baluchistan, which was perhaps the abode of said tribe, as well. The Khajak [خَجک] used to also exist as nomad people at Doaba [دوبا] which was in the plains of Ghazni (***Eastern Page No.68***). The said tribe was referred in many books of history, usually as the Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe.

Khojay Zai [خوجےزئی] or **Khozay Zai** [خوزےزئی]: is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Lona Panni [لونا پنّی] tribe.

Khojhal Khail [خوجهل خیل]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Merghzani Panni [مرغزانی پنّی] tribe.

Khurram Zai [خُرم زئی]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Ahmed Khail [احمد خیل], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 44 individuals only.

Khushal Zai [خُشال زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Umer Zai Eswat Panni [عمر زئی الیسوت پنّی] tribe.

Khadi Zai [خادی زئی] or **Shadi Zai** [شادی زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mungi Zai [منگی زئی], Herzai [ہر زئی] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe.

Daro Zai [دارو زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Herzai [ہر زئی] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe.

Derya Zai [دریا زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Malay Zai [ملے زئی] Panni tribe.

Daao Zai [داؤ زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mungi Zai [منگی زئی], Herzai [ہر زئی] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 125 individuals only.

Dolat Zai [دولت زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Khajak [خَجک] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 31 individuals only. There is a Moza, by the name of Dolat Zai [دولت زئی] in District Peshawar. There is also a Tapa [تپہ] by the name of Dolat Zai [دولت زئی] in Tehsil Yusuf Zai [تحصیل یوسف

زئی]. The name of the village of said tribe is Khawaja Zai [خواجہ زئی] (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No.214***). Qutab-ud-din Khan Dolat Zai [قطب الدین دولت زئی] was the governor of Tipu Sultan Shaheed [ٹیبو سلطان شہید]. He was among his very reliable generals. He had earned a big name in the history of Tipu Sultan Shaheed [ٹیبو سلطان شہید] era. He was the only one who was awarded the honorific title of Qutab-ul-Mulk [قطب الملک] by Sultan Shaheed [سلطان شہید]. *The detail of however, will be given later*. Dolat Zai [دولت زئی] tribe had accepted the Bait [بیعت] (avowal) of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] (***Syed Ahemd Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.203***).

Doat Khail [دوت خیل]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 250 individuals only.

Davaye [داوئ]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni tribe. There is a Moza, with the same name in the Quetta Division.

Davazai [داوئ]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Duva Zai Panni [دیوا زئی پنّی], Nokozai [نوکو زئی], Herzai [ہر زئی] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 250 individuals only. There is another tribe by the same name but is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hayder Zai Panni [حیدر زئی پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 300 individuals only.

Doda Zai [دودا زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mili Zai [ملی زئی], Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی], Taha Zai [طہ زئی], Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe. There is another tribe with the same name which is also based in the same area and they are however, an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Nokozai [نوکو زئی], Herzai [ہر زئی] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 250 individuals only.

Daray Zai [درے زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Ghaib Zai [غیب زئی] Eswat Panni [الیسوت پنّی] Panni tribe.

Raghdan Zai [رغدن زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Bel Khail [بل خیل] Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 54 individuals only.

Rasheed Khail [رشید خیل]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Dehpal [دہپال] Panni tribe.

Razi [رازی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni tribe.

Reyani [ریانی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot of the Nodhani [نودھانی] Panni tribe.

Rodan [رودن]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe.

Zolo Zai [زولو زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Koshi Khajak Panni [کوشی خَجک پنّی] tribe.

Zaman Khail [زمان خیل]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe.

Zerghon Zai [زرغون زئی] or **Zerkon Zai** [زرکون زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and Kohlo [کوہلو] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Lona Panni [لونا پنّی] tribe. They are also based in the north of Thul [تھل] and Satiali [ستیالی]. There is a Moza by the name of Zerghon Ghara [زرغون غرہ] in the same area. There are also four offshoots of the Panni tribe and they all are known as "Zerghon" [زرغون] collectively which include Feroz Zai [فیروز زئی], Malik Zai [ملک زئی], Auriya Zai [اوریا زئی] and Shaiwani [شیروانی] (***Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***Census report 1941 Page No.16***). The Zerkon [زرکون] is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni tribe (***Gazetteer Loralie*** [لورالائی] ***Volume No.2 Page No.88***).

Zener Zai [زنر زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hamza Zai [حمزاہ زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی'

خیل] Panni tribe. They are also based in Baluchistan (See *Merzai* [مر زئی]). The recognition of said tribe is in both ways i.e. Merzai [مر زئی] as well as, Zener Zai [زنر زئی].

Sado Zai [سدو زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mungi Zai [منگی زئی], Herzai [ہر زئی] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe and they are also based, in the area of Khyber at Ali Masjid. There is a village with the same name in Afghanistan and they are located in the area which leads from Quetta to Kandahar (***Abul Hasan*** [ابوالحسن] ***Page No.135***). There is another tribe by the same name and are based in the west of Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان]. They hail from the chain of Allodah Jalal Zai [الدودہ جلال زئی], Hasan Khail [حسن خیل], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل] tribes.

Dehpal [دہپال]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی]. There are two villages near Sibi [سبّی] with the same name i.e. Dehpal Kallan [دہپال کلاں] and Dehpal Khurd [دہپال خُرد] (***Letter by Sultan Mohammed*** [سلطان محمد] ***Mahnama Oolus*** [اولس] ***Quetta***). There was a small town with the same name, in District Sahewal [ساہیوال] which was a battle ground for a number of years. Sultan Feroze Shah Tughlaq [سلطان فیروز شاہ تغلق] had landed in said area, in the fourteenth century. The Mughals had launched an attack in said area, in 1521 A.C and they had faced defeat. The Mughals were able to capture said area in 1524 during the reign of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. Then, they had managed said area through, Dehpalpur [دہپال پور] Headquarter which used to be administered through Multan. But, said area was managed continuously in the same manner, even during the Aurangzeb Alamgir [ورنگ زیب عالمگیر] era. There was an Afghan family, which had retained control over said area, for three generations. Then, Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] was able to take away the possession of said area ultimately, in 1808.

The said Qusba [قصبہ] or city was located at the bank of River Beyas [دریاے بیاس]. When, said River had changed its course over a period of time then that Qusba [قصبہ] or city was destroyed. Mohammed [محمد], son of Sultan Bulban [سلطان بلبن], was killed during a fight in the same city, in 1285. Ameer Khusro [امیر خُسرو] was also arrested during said fight. He was released later on by the attackers after receiving ransom. There used to be a Bazaar by the name of Dehpalpur [دہپال پور], in the Sahewal [ساہیوال] city. The Dehpal [دہپال] offshoot of the Panni nation had played a very pivotal role and the people of said offshoot were able to promote all those three areas

(***Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***1941 Page No.54, Mr. Rose Page No.199, Afaghana*** [افاغنہ] ***Page No. 218, English Dictionary Page No.214, Imperial Volume No.24 Gazetteer Page No.430***).

The bustling city of Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] was eroded by the river water just within a short span of about five years, in 1875. Then, Sher Mohammed Khan Sadozai Panni [شیر محمد خان سدوزئی پنّی] had reconstructed said city around 1881 and he had named it once again as, Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] (***Tareekh Dera Ismail Khan*** [تاریخ ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] ***Page No.122, Amada Altwareekh*** [عمدہ التواریخ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.126***). The new city was established by Sher Mohammed Khan Barozai Panni [شیر محمد خان باروزئی پنّی] according to the Sibi [سبّی] Gazetteer (***Page No.26, 62***). The history of said tribe had contained the names of many nobles' *noblesse* as well as, notables. We have already mentioned some of them, with reference to the context. There was a fact in the personal knowledge of the writer that, those princes who used to live in the area of Bangla Ayub Shah [بنگلہ ایوب شاہ] in the interior Kashmiri Gate Lahore, they were from the same offshoot. The Afghans of Herat [ہرات] are known generally, as Abdali [ابدالی] but, Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] was also from the same tribe. *The detail account in this regard will be given, later*. The agnate of said dynasty was Sado Khan [سدو خان] and one of the members of said family, namely Haji Mohammed Sharif Khan [حاجی محمد شریف خان], had landed in Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] during the Khurasan [خُراسان] era. He was appointed at the post of Quza [قضاۃ] and due to the same reason his descendants and relatives had become known as "Qazi Khail" [قاضی خیل]. Then, his son namely, Abdur Raheem Khan [عبدالرحیم خان] after his death and his grandson namely, Ahmed Khan [احمد خان] was Nawab of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] (***Page No.103***). The Sudhan [سدھن] nation of Punch [پونچھ] Azad Kashmir acclaim that, their actual name was Sadozai [سدوزئی] and said Sadozai [سدوزئی] tribe used to live in Kandahar [قندھار], Khakraize [خاکریز], Arghdab [ارغذاب], Ghazni [غزنی] and Herat [ہرات]. They were also based besides that, in the mountains of Afghanistan, Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان], Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان], Multan [ملتان], Swat [سوات] and Mardan [مردان]. The said tribe has some sub-tribes i.e. Mir Ahmed Khail [میراحمد خیل], Bahzad Khail [بہزاد خیل], Khudo Khail [خدو خیل], Umer Khail [عمرخیل] and Reya Khail [ریاخیل]. Those tribes are based in the interior of the northwestern provinces of Swat [سوات] and Mardan [مردان]. The other areas where they used to exist include, the area in between Kota [کوٹہ] in Mardan [مردان] and Murgez [مرغز], Claite [کلائٹ], Tandhi Kohi [ٹھنڈی کھوئی], Merghzar [مرغزار], Merghaz [مرغز], Saleem Khan [سلیم خان],

Baja Tehsil Swabi [باجا تحصیل صوابی], Swat [سوات], in Moza Kalamairey [موضع کلامینری], Shah Mansoor [شاہ منصور], Zaida [زیدہ], Kunda Kundi [کنڈا کنڈی], Lahore District Multan [لاہور ڈسٹرکٹ ملتان], Blund Zakria [بلند زکریا], Bani Beka [بنی بیکا], Salah Dhairi [صلاح ڈھیری] and Orial [اوریال] etc. There were many heroes of the 1857 liberation movement other than the historically famous Mujahedeen like, Hafiz Rahmat Ullah [حافظ رحمت اللہ] and Najeeb-u-Dolla [نجیب الدولہ] who were *fons et origo* from the Umer Khail [عمرخیل] offshoot. The Sudhan [سدھن] of Kashmir belong to its Aba Khail [ابا خیل] chain. Raees-ul-Ahrar Mollana Mohammed Ali [مولانا محمد علی] and Mollana Shaukat Ali [مولانا شوکت علی] (*late*) had belonged to the Mir Ahmed Khail [میراحمد خیل] tribe which is a sub-tribe of the Sado zai [سدوزئی] tribe. Nawabzada Nawaz Khan Sado zai [سدوزئی نواب زادہ نوازخان], Vice Chancellor Gomal University and Sardar Abdullah Khan Sadozai [سدوزئی سردار عبداللہ خان] had also belonged to the Bahzad Khail [بہزاد خیل] offshoot (***Tareekh Dera Ismail Khan*** [تاریخ ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] ***and Tareekh Sudhan Qabail*** [تاریخ سدھن قائیل] ***Page No.34, Yusuf Zai*** [یوسف زئی افغان] ***Page No.34 from Allah Bux Yusuf Zai***).

Saghab Zai [صغب زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Noah Zai Easwat Panni [نوح زئی آلیسوت پنّی] tribe.

Saidzai [سید زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mezrie [مزرئی], Rakhanwal [رکھن وال] and Leyoni Panni [لیونی پنّی] tribe.

Saiday Zai [سیدے زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Noah Zai Easwat Panni [نوح زئی آلیسوت پنّی] tribe.

Sakhi Zai [سخی زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Leyoni Panni [لیونی پنّی] tribe.

Sallar Khail [سلار خیل]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Dehpal [دہپال] tribe.

Saleem Khan Zai [سلیم خان زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Jalal Zai [جلال زئی], Hasan Khail [حسن خیل], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe.

Serwar [سرور]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Leyoni Panni [لیونی پنّی] tribe.

Serkon [سرکون]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Leyoni Panni [لیونی پنّی] tribe.

Satan [ستن زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mori Zai [موری زئی] and Easwat Panni [آلیسوت پنّی] tribe.
Sean [سین خیل]: (*See*: Hasan Khail).

Sanges Zai [سنگس زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Merghzani Panni [مرغزانی پنّی] tribe.

Sean Zai [سین زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Bel Khail [بل خیل] Panni tribe.

Salmay Zai [سلمے زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] Panni tribe.

Sodi [سودی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni tribe but, there is another **Sodi** [سودی] tribe which is an offshoot of the Merghzani Panni [مرغزانی پنّی] tribe.

Suleiman Zai [سلیمان زئی]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Doat Khail [دوت خیل] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 600 individuals only. There is another Suleiman [سلیمان] offshoot, which is based at Loralie [لورالائی] and they are a sub-tribe of the Easwat Panni [آلیسوت پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 64 individuals only. There is also a third offshoot, which is based in the north of the River Indus and they are a splinter group of the Jadoon [جدوون] tribe (***Lughat*** [لغت] ***Page No.44***).

Sohan Khail [سوہن خیل]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot of the Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 250 individuals only.

Slar or Salar [سلاریا سالار]: They are based in the west of the River Kabul [کابل] and Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni tribe as well as, the Jadoon [جدوون] tribe(s). The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 1,300 individuals only (***Lughat*** [لغت] ***Page No.41***). The former ruling dynasty of the Tonk Raj [ٹونک راج] or Rajputana [راجپوتانہ] India had belonged to said Salar [سالار] tribe (***Ghrabat Nigar*** [غرابت نگار] ***Page No.896***). *The same however, will be discussed later*. There is a big village by the name of "Elie" [الئی] in the area of Bunair [بنیر] and Qazi Abdul Haleem Asser [قاضی عبدالحلیم خان اثر] area. There used to be a famous scholar of the Urdu and Pashto languages and he was a well-known historian in the Mardan [مردان] and Takhtbie [تخت بائی] area. He was from the same offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation (*Writer had the privilege to correspond with him in the context of gathering information for this book*).

Sepah [سیپاہ]: is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe. The people are based at Kandahar [قندھار]. There is a splinter group of this tribe which is based in the area of the Mohmand [مہمند] tribe. There were some historians who had referred them as Kerlaneri [کرلانڑی].

Sapoya [ساپویا] **or Sabo Zai** [سبو زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Umer Zai [عمرزئی] and Eswat Panni [آلیسوت پنّی] tribe.

Shaday Zai [شادے زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hamza Zai [ہمزہ زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe.

Shadi Zai [شادی زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Krya Zai [کریا زئی] and Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe. They are also based at Ghajar [گجر] in the state of Qalat [ریاست قلات].

Shah Badeen Zai [شاہ بدین زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hamza Zai [ہمزہ زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] Panni tribe.

Shahoo Zai [شاہو زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot of the Umer Zai [عمرزئی], Zoher Zai [ظہر زئی] and Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] Panni tribe.

Sher [شیر]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot of the Noodhani Panni [نودھانی پنّی] tribe.

Shamo Zai [شمو زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot of the Kadi Zai [کدی زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] Panni tribe. The people of said tribe used to live in Qasoor [قصور] city near Lahore, as well.

Sheikh [شیخ]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Behram Zai Khajak Panni [بہرام خَجک پنّی] tribe. There was an individual from said tribe who was appointed as a political agent, in 1943.

Shanwari [شنواری]: They are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Kaka Khail [کاکا خیل] Panni tribe (***Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***1910***).

Shoan [شون] or **Shoran** [شورن] or **Shorpie** [شورپایی] or **Sherwani** [شیروانی] or **Shroni** [شرونی]: The people of said tribe are known with all four names, respectively. The people of Sanghan [سانگہاں] Baluchistan are known as "Shoni" [شونی] whereas, the people of Tehsil Kholo [تحصیل کوہلو] (*Quetta Division*) are known as "Shroni" [شرونی]. The Sherwani [شیروانی] of Baluchistan used to harbor a tribal grudge against the Lodhi [لودھی] tribe. The reason was that, the Lodhi [لودھی] tribe had fought two or three battles against the Sherwani [شیروانی] tribe (***Letter from Sardar Feroze Khan Zerkoon*** [سردار فیروزخان زرکون] ***Dated 19th November 1963***). There were a number of great personalities in Hindustan from said tribe and some of them are still there. The names of Umer Khan Sherwani [عمرخان شیروانی] and Nawab Sardar Yar Bahader Jung [نواب صدر یار بہادر جنگ], Mollana Alhaj Mohammed Habib-ur-Rahman Sherwani [مولانا الحاج حبیب الرحمان شیروانی] of the state of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] resident of Habib Gunj (*Aligharr*) [حبیب

گنج علی گڑھ] are credible names, in this regard. Mollana Abukalam Azad [ابوالکلام آزاد] had discussed the aforementioned personalities at length, in his book which was captioned as Ghubar-e-Khatir [غبارِخاطر]. The census report of 1941 for the Quetta Division which was prepared with the help of Shumarkundgan [شمارکندگان], Halqadaran [حلقہ داران] and Ellaqadaran [علاقہ داران] and was published by the British as well as, by the Government of Pakistan, this had revealed that, the Sherwani [شیروانی] was an offshoot of the Panni nation (***Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***1941 Page No.16 and 56***). The Sherani [شیرانی] is also a distorted name for the Sherwani [شیروانی]. The Sheran [شیران] was the name of an area, in the north of Iran which was the domain of the Iranian Panni rulers, according to the historian namely, Badukhshani [بدخشانی].

Salah Zai [صالح زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Sodi [سودی] Panni tribe. There is another tribe which is in Sibi [سبّی] and are known as Salah Zai [زئی صالح] and it is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Koshi [کوشی] and Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe.

Sadaq Zai [صادق زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hamza Zai [حمزاہ زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail ['موسی خیل] Panni tribe.

Safi [صافی]: The Safi [صافی] is the name of one of the sons of Panni, according to general perceptions (***Makhzan Afghani*** [مخزن افغانی] ***Page No.120***). There were some historians who had considered it as an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation (***Gazetteer Loralie*** [لورالائی] ***Volume No.2 Page No.78***, ***Afaghana*** [افاغنہ] ***Page No.78, Gazetteer Loralie*** [لورالائی] ***Volume No.2 Page No.78***, ***Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***1941 Page No.54***). The Safi [صافی] is however, one of the splinter groups of the Panni nation, which had opted to embrace Islam belatedly. Then, they had opted to pass through the transitional phase of spiritual refinement subsequent to embracing Islam. They used to be considered therefore, as Neemcha [نیمچہ] or semi-Muslims during the transitional phase (***Pathans Page No.150***). There used to be many a big lord of said tribe whose references were available in various books of history. The word "Neemcha" [نیمچہ] used to appear as a suffix with their names, as well. There was no doubt that, the Safi [صافی] people were the late entrants in Islam and they had gradually given up pantheism, (***A Journal Mission to Afghanistan Page No. 14, Races Page No.70, Imperial Volume No.14***

Page No.14, Kero Page No.183). There were several well known people from said tribe. The founder of the former state of Swat [سوات] and a well known historical figure namely, Akhund Sahib Swati [اخوند صاحب سواتی], was also from the same Panni tribe. He was as a matter of fact, from a bigger Kandahari [قندهاری] offshoot of said tribe ***(Races Page No.70)***. When, the government of Pakistan had closed the Afghanistan Consulate in Peshawar as a measure of retaliation, the Counsel General in Afghanistan was also some Safi [صافی] (*Daily Imroze* [امروز] *Lahore dated 3rd October 1961*). The Safi [صافی] people are also based in the Safi [صافی] village of Zob [ژوب] where their numerical strength and their fighting force used to be, about 100 individuals only, in 1910. There is another village by name at a short distance from Sibi [سبّی] where their numerical strength and their fighting force used to be about 27 individuals only. The Zob [ژوب] village is located at River Zob [دریائے ژوب] which is known as "Safi Kot" [صافی کوٹ] generally. There was an individual by the name of Usman Ghani [عثمان غنی]. He was a courageous and daring person. He had migrated to Afghanistan in 1894, because of his differences with the then, British government. There were 345 Safi [صافی] people who used to exist at that time, according to the census report of 1901 (***Gazetteer Zob*** [ژوب] ***Volume No.1 Page No.66 and 108***) The Safi [صافی] people are also based at Loralie [لورالائی] (***Gazetteer Loralie*** [لورالائی] ***Volume No.2 Page No.78***).

There are six offshoots of the Safi [صافی] people. The most popular branches among them are: Paienda Khail [پاینده خیل], Termen Khail [ترمن خیل] and Jani Khail [جانی خیل]. The other two offshoots are Kandahari [قندهاری] i.e. Gur buz [گُربُز] and Wodher [ودهر] (***Gazetteer Zob*** [ژوب] ***Volume No.1 Page No.108, Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No.415***). There was no doubt that, the actual name of Tehsil "Swabi" [صوابی] of District Mardan [مردان] was Safi [صافی]. The said name was distorted over the years, as Sabi [صابی] or Swabi [صوابی] (***Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No.****209،215,* ***Mukhzan Afghani*** [مخزن افغانی] ***Page No.129*****).** The Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] people are also based in large numbers, amongst the people of the Mohmand [مہمند] tribes in the area towards Bajorr [باجوڑ] (***Kero Page No.19, 183 Lughat*** [لغت] ***Page No.34***). They were in thousands many years ago, in the adjoining District of Peshawar (***Expeditions Page No.4***) and said number had naturally increased over the years. The Safi [صافی], Guberi [گبری] and Munjari [منجاری] tribes, used to live in the Kohat Valley [وادئ کوہاٹ] a very long time ago (***Problem Page No.38***). The Safi [صافی] tribe is based as a subservient tribe, in between Kafir [کافر] and the Mohmand [مہمند] areas as well as, in the area of Durrah Khyber [درۂ خیبر] and Terrah [تیرہ]. The

southern area is the abode of the Afridi [افریدی] tribes (***Problem Page No.62, Lughat*** [لغت] ***Page No.23, Across the Border Page No.255***). There are many Safi [صافی] people in Afghanistan (***Military Reports on Afghanistan Page No.408***). They used to live in one of the areas of Jalalabad [جلال آباد], as well. Those people used to also live in the north and in the east of the Nughman [نغمان] area other than, Koh-Hindukash [کوہ ہندوکش] range. They were known there as "Tagari" [ٹگاری] (***Across the Border Page No.250, Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.13 Page No.13***). They have another village in the area, which is also known by the name as Safi [صافی]. They have strong ties with the Kafir [کافر] people who used to live on the western side. The Safi [صافی] people are the intermediaries for communication between the Mohmand [مہمند] and Kafir [کافر] people (***Across the Border Page No.250***). The Safi [صافی] people, who used to live in the northern mountains of Jalalabad [جلال آباد], were believed to be the descendents of their eastern Kafir [کافر] or Nuristani [نورستانی] neighbors (***Imperial Volume No.13 Page No.138***). There are a number of Safi [صافی] people even in Jalalabad [جلال آباد] city as well as, in the vicinity of Ghazni [غزنی]. They enjoy a very respectable status in said area (***Pathans Page No.103, Imperial Volume No.14 Page No.12, Afaghana*** [افاغنہ] ***Page No. 218)***. The strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be about forty thousand people who were based in between the area of Kunhar [کُنہار] and Punj Sher [پنج شیر]. The Safi [صافی] people prefer to solemnize their marriages with the Tajik [تاجک] people (***Military Reports on Afghanistan Page No.408***). The said offshoot of the Panni nation had the numerical strength of about twelve thousand people, in 1867 according to one statement. There are a number of Safi [صافی] people in the Tagao Valley [وادی ٹگاؤ]. They speak a peculiar Indo-Aryan language, which is somewhat like the language of people of Kafiristan [کافرستان]. We may also point out that, one of the groups of the Panni nation is also known as Indo-Aryan. The historians have divergent views that, most of the people of Kafiristan [کافرستان], which is also known as Nuristan [نورستانی], are related closely with the Panni offshoot, which is known as Safi [صافی]. They had embraced Islam in recent times (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.14 Page No.12***, ***Military Reports on Afghanistan Page No.363.Races of Afghanistan, Page No.75)***. The Safi [صافی] people used to live a very long time ago, among the people of the Mohmand [مہمند] and Utman Khail [اتمان خیل] tribes, at Surkamar [سورکمر], Safi Terlie [صافی ترلائی] as well as, in the vicinity of the Bajorr [باجوڑ] area, according to their own version. Those people used to also exist in the Kunerr [کنڑ] area. There used to be hardly any village in the former state of Swat [سوات] where they had no houses (***Military Reports on Afghanistan Page No.363, Races of Afghanistan Page No.215)***. The

border of Bunoo [بنوں] is also populated thickly with the Safi [صافی] people and they exist besides that, from Bajorr [باجوڑ] up to Naghman [نغمان] and Tagao [ٹگاؤ] areas. They had more than twelve thousand families in those areas, just a few years ago.

There used to be a common perception about the Safi [صافی] people that, they were very loyal servants. The area of Swat [سوات] and its vicinity is full of daffodils. The daffodils are very peace loving plants just like the people of the Safi [صافی] Panni tribe. When, the fight becomes unavoidable however, the Safi [صافی] Panni people have the ability to fight courageously. They are known to have participated in various bloody battles. Mahabat Khan [مہابت خان] was removed during the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] as governor of Afghanistan and Peshawar, in 1670. Mohammed Ameen [محمد امین], who was also known as Mir Munoo [میر منو], was appointed as governor in his place. There were some soldiers during his tenure of office as governor, who were placed in the Kunhar [کُنہار] Valley. They were involved somehow or the other, in abusing the chastity of a woman who was from the Safi [صافی] tribe. The said incident had given rise to a wave of resentment and anger among the Safi [صافی] people of the surrounding areas and pursuant to said incident, they had killed those three soldiers. Then, a representative by the name of Hussain Beg [حسن بیگ] had approached the Sardars of the Safi [صافی] tribes in order to quell down their anger. He had tried to convince them to desist from further bloodshed. He had assured them to deliver the actual culprits, after their arrest. The Sardars had refused to accept his reconciliatory efforts and assurances and pursuant to said refusal, Hussain Beg [حسن بیگ] had passed the orders to set on fire, some villages of the Safi [صافی] tribes with the help of other regent land managers. Then, he had circulated said information among the Safi [صافی] tribes clandestinely and had proposed them to accept his reconciliatory measures. The Safi [صافی] tribes had declined once again said proposal and when, as per the scheduled, the attack was launched against the villages of the Safi [صافی] tribes which were based from Kunhar [کُنہار] to Terrah [تیرہ] then, there was a massive wave of turbulence amongst the Pathans. Hussain Beg [حسن بیگ], as an official representative, had taken the governor, Mohammed Ameen [محمد امین], into confidence with regard to said situation and resultantly, he had to cut short his summer program. He had moved from Peshawar to Kabul [کابل] in order to objurgate the Safi [صافی] tribes.

When, the Safi [صافی] and Mohmand [مہمند] tribes were able to learn about said plan, they had opted unite and then a large number of Afridi [آفریدی] and Shanwari [شنواری] people had also joined hands with them. They had decided to put-up a united defense against the governor Mohammed Ameen [محمد امین]. Then, they had dug up the trenches at Lowargy [لوآگری], which was the highest point at Derra Khyber [درہ خیبر] and which was between Landi Kotal [لنڈی کوتل] and Landi Khana [لنڈی خانہ]. The road leading to Afghanistan from the same point descends into the depth which was exactly the point from where the Pundit Jowaher Lal Nehro [پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو], the former Prime Minister of India, had to escape hurriedly while he was in the area to support the local allies and pseudo representatives. They had invited him for the inspection of the so-called farce strength of the Pukhtonistan [پختونستان] movement. Pundit Jowaher Lal Nehro [پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو] was able to save his life barely, from the anti-Pukhtonistan [پختونستان] and pro-Pakistan supporters. Mollana Abukalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد] had criticized said plan of Jowaher Lal Nehro [جواہرلال نہرو] at that time. When, Mollana Abukalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد] had learnt about the aforementioned incident, he had remarked instantaneously that, “There was no precedent in the entire history of Congress, with regard to the humiliation, which Congress had to face in the Frontier area just, because of Jowaher Lal [جواہر لال]”. The Governor of Peshawar Mohammed Ameen [محمد امین] had moved from Peshawar along-with chief Arbab [ارباب], during the spring season of 1673. The renowned and passionate poet namely, Khushal Khan Khatak [خوشحال خان خٹک], who was anti-Mughal activist due to their atrocities which they had inflicted upon the Pathans, was also with them at the time of their stopover at Jamrood [جمرود]. Then, Khushal Khan Khatak [خوشحال خان خٹک] had moved to the Ali Masjid [علی مسجد]. Mohammed Ameen [محمد امین] was able to pass through the aforementioned narrow opening safely but, when he was able to reach the Lowargy [لوآگری] point, he had witnessed said Derra Kotal [درہ کوتل], which was shielded with the stone embankments. Then, he had ordered to bring forth his elephants in the front line and he had launched an attack against the Pathans. The Safi [صافی] people and their allied combatants had already stacked up the stones on the hilltops as a defensive maneuver. They had started rolling over the stones, on the enemy and said move had rendered the Governor, Mohammed Ameen [محمد امین] and his lashker panicky. They were compelled to disperse and had started looking for escape routes. The Safi [صافی] people as well as, the allied combatants had taken out their swords in chorus and then they had unleashed the fierce attack against the enemy. The said onslaught had continued for a whole day. Mohammed Ameen [محمد امین] had sustained many causalities and heavy losses, resultantly. The Governor

had decided to sneak out of the area. They were able to escape via Tahtara [تہترا]. The Safi [صافی] people and their allied combatants had inflicted such massive losses and causalities that, Mohammed Ameen [محمد امین] along-with his only four aids were able to find the escape route, as per various books of history. Thus, he had lost everything during his escape including, the treasure, elephants, family which had included his wife, mother, sister and daughter, as well. He had also lost the families of his chieftains and officers and some of them were even captured alive. Those who were able to find the escape route had also included Khushal Khan Khatak [خوشحال خان خٹک]. He had probably accompanied Mohammed Ameen [محمد امین] under compulsion. The Safi [صافی] people and their allied combatants had made the offer to Mohammed Ameen [محمد امین] to keep his wife safe against money till the restoration of peace. The self-esteem of his wife had not permitted her however, to go back after said massive humiliation. She had spent rest of her life thereafter as a hermit, amongst the tribal people. Khushal Khan Khatak [خوشحال خان خٹک] was though with Mohammed Ameen [محمد امین] but, he was somewhat like a hostage. He had also given the reference of said incident, in his poetry. He had expressed his views in the manner that, there were about forty thousand Mughal soldiers who were killed during said incident. The historians were of the view that, Khushal Khan Khatak [خوشحال خان خٹک] had not accompanied him across the area of Jamrood [جمرود]. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had replaced Mohammed Ameen [محمد امین] however, after said shameful defeat. He had appointed Mahabat Khan [مہابت خان] as governor instead. The mosque, by the name of Masjid Mahabat Khan [مسجد مہابت خان] was built in Peshawar pursuant to said appointment (***Kero Page No.233, 235, Azad Pathan*** [آزاد پٹھان] *Page No.130, 135, 137*). We have already explained that, a large number of the Safi [صافی] Panni used to live in Baluchistan. Sir, Robert Sundayman had launched an attack against the village of Apo Zai [اپوزئی] tribe, on 28th October 1890 which was due to the reason that, he had the plans to subjugate the Zob [ژوب] area. When, the British troops had moved from the Kunder [کندر] area, the Safi [صافی] along-with two other nomadic tribes, which were roaming in the area, had joined hands with each other. The Safi [صافی] people were in the nook and corner of said area. They were very helpful therefore, to provide logistics during said expedition of Sir Robert Sundayman. Then, most of them had joined the left and right columns of the British forces (***Overseas Expeditions Volume No.3 Page No.215***).

The Mohmand [مہمند] and Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] tribes had declared war against the Safi [صافی] tribe in Swat area resultantly, according to Mr. Blue. The Safi [صافی] tribe had escaped into the mountainous area which was between River Kabul [دریاے کابل] and River Swat [دریاے سوات]. They had not embraced Islam by that time. The area where they had sought the refuge was known in fact, as Ghandaharah [گندھارا] and they had gradually embraced Islam. The Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] tribe had captured the routes leading to Ghandaharah [گندھارا] which were in fact, the native areas of the Safi [صافی] people. The villages and towns of those areas are known by the same name, generally. The Safi [صافی] people of said area like to clothe their identity as the Kandahari [قندھاری] even today. The objective is to prove their distinct and unvanquished status among the Mohmand [مہمند] conquerors. When, they used to live among the Mohmand [مہمند] people many years ago, the numerical strength of their tribe and their fighting force used to be about 2500 individuals only. The conquerors had moved from the mountains after sometime towards the plain areas however, to encamp at the junction of River Kabul [دریاے کابل] and River Swat [دریاے سوات]. Those new Kandahari [قندھاری] Muslim people were divided into two big groups i.e. "Safi" [صافی] and "Kandahari" [قندھاری]. Since, they were relatively, new Muslims therefore their religious fanaticism was bemused with fervor. The result was that there were a number of religious scholars and saints who had made their emergence on the horizon. Akhund Sahib Swati [اخوند صاحب سواتی], who was from the Kandahari [قندھاری] branch, was also among them. He was supposedly known as Safi [صافی]. When, the British troops had moved towards Kabul [کابل], the famous Mulla Mushk Alam [ملا مشک عالم] of Ghazni [غزنی], who had declared Jihad [جہاد], was in their opposite camp. Mulla Mushk Alam [ملا مشک عالم] was also from the Safi [صافی] tribe (***Races of Afghanistan Page No.70, 71, Problem Page No.12***). *The detail account of Jihad [جہاد] and the saintly characteristics of Akhund Sahib Swati* [اخوند صاحب سواتی] *will be given later*. The famous saint, whose shrine is adjacent to Hasanabadal [حسن ابدال], close to the Wah Gardens and who was also known for his apocalyptic and mystifying contests with Baba Guronanak [بابا گرونانک], was also from the Kandahari [قندھاری] offshoot of the Safi [صافی] tribe. He was also generally known as Baba Kandahari [بابا قندھاری]. There was a shrine of the Kandahari Derweish [قندھاری درویش] at the Shahderah [شاہدراہ] town near Lahore. The said Derweish was also known as Kandahari [قندھاری]. There was another saint with the same name and was buried at Faisalabad. The anniversaries [عرس] of those saints are celebrated publicly. There is a town in the Anao [اناؤ] District (*United Areas*) of India where, there was also a shrine of Safi Derweish [صافی درویش]. The said town was established although, by a Brahman [براہمن]

yet, the Safi Derweish [صافی درویش] had become so popular that, the town had generally become known as Safipur [صافی پور]. The said saint had died in the town and he was also buried there. There were also other shrines of saintly people in said town (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.21 Page No.350, Gazetteer District Awadh*** [آودھ] ***Page No.224***).

The Safi [صافی] people have bright and reddish eyes. They have thick and colored hair. They are peace loving and quiet people yet, they are not devoid of characteristics of bravery. They used to trade the livestock at a large scale besides practicing peasantry as a profession. They are adept at ancient skills and they are involved in the professions like producing grapes, vinegar and honey, in the Peshawar area. They have developed a very special skill of bee keeping farms and their areas are very popular for daffodils. They were never an easy prey for the British army. They were called as Kafir [کافر] till the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] era but, they had acquired the recognition as Safi [صافی] during the reign of Nadir Shah [نادر شاہ]. They were declared as purged and purified people, as against their previous status of non-Muslims. The ancient traditions and trades, which are in practice among them, were the remnants of their ancient social culture (***Across the Border Page No.250, 251***). There were about five thousand Safi [صافی] nomads which usually used to travel between the areas of Zob [ژوب] and Sibi [سبّی] in the Quetta Division, until 1968 which was very much in accordance with the ecological conditions of the area. They have two different villages by the name of Safi Abdulwahab [صافی عبدالوہاب] and Safi Perak [صافی پیرک] which are about five miles away from the Sibi [سبّی] city. The Sardar of the latter area used to live, in Moza Kerk [موضع کرک]. There were about 150 Afghan militants who had died in the District Kunter [کنتر] other than, in the area of Paish Derra [پیش درہ], due to the skirmishes between (*Nuristani*) [نورستانی] Kafir [کافر] tribes and Afghan soldiers, in July 1978. There were three helicopters of Afghanistan which were also shot down and then, a lot of ammunition and many uniforms were seized. The locals of the Kunter [کنتر] area and the Kafir [کافر] area as well as, the people of the Safi [صافی] tribe had also protested against said incident (***Nawa-e-Waqt*** [نوائے وقت] ***Lahore Dated.01.08.1978***). The Safi [صافی] people had fought for three years against Nadir Shah [نادر شاہ] in the area of Zaka [ذکہ] across Peshawar. Then, a pact was ultimately signed between the two sides.

Toor Zai [طورزئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی]. The people of said offshoot used to live in Derra Peweraz [درہ پیوراڑ]. They were the followers of Pir Roshan [پیر روشن] at some point of time therefore some of their people were mistakenly treated from the Shea [شیعہ] school of thought. Toor Zai [طورزئی] people used to also live in the adjoining area of Kohat [کوہاٹ]. There was a popular nation by the name of Toori [طوری] or Terie [طرئی] and are based in Kashmir. They have some interrelations, as well.

Umer Zai [عمرزئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the EswatPanni [الیسوت پنّی] tribe. There is another offshoot with the same name, which is based at Sibi [سبّی]. The said offshoot is however, a sub-branch of the Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 28 individuals only. There was a third group which was based both at Sibi [سبّی] as well as, at Loralie [لورالائی]. The said offshoot is however, a sub-branch of the Laher Zai [لہر زئی] and Musa Khail Panni [مندوخیل پنّی] tribes. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 43 individuals only. The said tribe of Loralie [لورالائی] is also known as "Sher" [شیر]. The achievements of the Umer Zai [عمرزئی] nation, which is the founder of Moza Umer Zai [عمرزئی], their reference was at Page No.691, in Tareekh Peshawar [تاریخ پشاور]. Those people used to live in the adjoining area of Kohat [کوہاٹ], as well (***Problem Page No.3***).

Usmani [عثمانی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni tribe.

Usman Zai [عثمان زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Ghaib Zai [غیب زئی] Panni tribe.

Atta Zai [عطا زئی]: They are based in the north of River Kabul [کابل] as well as, in the west of River Indus and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Sallar [سلار] or Salarz [سلاز], Jadoon [جدوون] Panni tribe(s) (***Lughat*** [لغت] ***Page No.48***).

Abdullah Khail [عبداللہ خیل]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni tribe.

Ajab Khail [عجب خیل]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Dehpal Panni [دہپال پنّی] tribe.

Ali Khan Zai [علی خان زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Behram Zai Khajak Panni [بہرام زئی خَجک پنّی] tribe.

Ali Khail [علی خیل]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 69 individuals only. The people of said offshoot are based at Tehsil Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] as well (***Pathans Page No.104***). The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be about two hundred individuals only, in 1918 (***Pathans Page No.104***). They are based in the town of Kohana [کوہانہ] in District Rohtak [روہتک] in India other than the District Peshawar of Pakistan. They had migrated into those areas, during the reign of Sultan Ibraheem Lodhi [سلطان ابرہیم لودھی]. They are also based at Blund Shaher [بلند شہر] and Qusba Khawaja [قصبہ خواجہ] but, their language, dresses and traditions so much so, the way of life has transformed totally, with the passage of time. The Afghanism [افغانیت] does not exist anymore amongst them. The brief references of the Panni tribes have already been given in the preceding pages which used to live in those areas.

Ali Zai [علی زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the EswatPanni [الیسوت پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 12 individuals only. The people of said offshoot used to live in Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان], as well. They are also based around Derra Khyber [درۂ خیبر] as well as, in the southern area of Terra [تیرہ] and are the area of the Afridi [افریدی] people. They are based also among the latitudinous Mahsood [محسود] tribe (***Problem Page No.26 and No.65***). They have quite a few people in the province of Kandahar [قندھار] but, the numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be about sixteen thousand individuals only, in the past. There are some of their splinter offshoots which used to live in the area of Punjab [پنجاب], as well. Those families, which had migrated to Multan, had enjoyed a very distinct status. The Ali Zai [علی زئی] people used to also live in the west of Hasanabadal [حسن ابدال]. The said tribe had nineteen Mozas in the Chauch [چھچھ] District Rawalpindi, according to various books of history (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 132***). The Ali Zai [علی زئی] people used to also live in Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما

عیل خان], as well (***Grabat Nigar*** [غرابت نگار] ***Page No.101***). They also used to own the lands in Tehsil Peshawar, as well (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No.570***). There was another offshoot of the Ali Zai [علی زئی] Panni tribe which was based at Sibi [سبّی] and is a branch of the Kerk [کرک] Panni tribe.

Arab Zai [عرب زئی] or **Erap Zai** [ایرپ زئی]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be about 200 individuals only. There is an offshoot with the same name, which is based in the west of Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] as well, their people are the decedents of the Mohammed Zai [محمد زئی], Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe(s).

Esa Zai [عیسی' زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the EswatPanni [الیسوت پنّی] tribe. There is another offshoot with the same name, which is based at Zob [ژوب] but is from the chain of Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribe(s). The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 10 individuals only. The people of said offshoot are also based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are however, an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Noah Zai Panni [نوح زئی پنّی], Musa Zai Panni [موسی' زئی پنّی] and Laher Zai [لہر زئی] tribe.

Ghabani Zai [غائبانی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Nodhani Panni [نودھانی پنّی] tribe.

Ghalap Zai [غلپ زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the EswatPanni [الیسوت پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 29 individuals only.

Ghalzai Kor [غلزئی کور]: is an offshoot of Masood [مسعود] tribe which is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe. They used to live under the protective hegemony of the Mohmand [مہمند] tribe.

Faqir Zai [فقیر زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Malay Zai [ملے زئی] Panni and Abdullah Zai [عبداللہ زئی] Panni tribe.

Fatah Zai [فتح زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Merghzani [مرغزانی] Panni tribe.

Kaka Khail [کاکا خیل]: is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni tribe. The Arbab [ارباب] people of Peshawar hail from said offshoot of the Kaka Khail [کاکا خیل] tribe (***List 1910***).

Kamil Zai [کامل زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Herzai [ہر زئی] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe.

Kimal Zai [کیمال زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Umer Zai [عمرزئی] and Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe.

Kamal Zai [کمال زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hussain Zai [حسین زئی], Ahad Zai [احد زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] tribe. There is another offshoot with the same name and are based in the same area but, it is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hamza Zai [حمزاہ زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Zai Panni [موسی' زئی پنّی] tribe. There is a third offshoot with the same name and it is based at the Sakhjavi [سخجاوی] area and is from the Hasan Khail Panni [حسن خیل پنّی] tribe. There is a fourth offshoot from the Koshi [کوشی] Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe and are based at Sibi [سبّی].

Kamal Khail [کمال خیل]: is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Kandahari Safi Panni [صافی پنّی قندھاری] tribe and are based in the neighborhood of the Mohmand [مہمند] tribe, in the north of River Kabul [کابل] (***Lughat*** [لغت] ***Page No.22).***

Kano Zai [کانو زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Tali Zai [تلی زئی], Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe.

Karya Zai [کریا زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 28 individuals only.

Karay Zai [کارے زئی]: is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 300 individuals only.

Karigeran [کاری گراں]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 30 individuals only. There is a Mohallah in Peshawar which is known as Mohallah Karigeran [کاری گراں]. The author has been to Mohallah Karigeran [کاری گراں].

Kasi Khail [کاسی خیل]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mazrie Panni [مزرئی پنّی] tribe. The said tribe had infiltrated into Quetta city, by migrating from Qais [قیس], Ghaz [غز] and Koh Seyah [کوہ سیاہ], which is also known as "Kasay" [کسے] or Kaysae [قیسے]. There is a small fort also which is known as Kasi Qala [کاسی قلعہ]. The people of said tribe used to live in the area of Hastnager [ہشت نگر] near Peshawar. The Arbab [ارباب] people of Peshawar are from the same tribe. The people of the second offshoot used to live in the Khyber area and are known as the Shinwari [شنواری]. The Khaitheran [کیھتران] tribe, which used to live in the Barkhan [بارکھان] District Loralie [لورالائی] (*Baluchistan*), belongs to the same offshoot (*Refer to note mentioned above*).

Koshi [کوشی]: is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 117 individuals only.

Koday Zai [کودے زئی]: is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 142 individuals only.

Karrak [کڑک]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Sebi [سبّی] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 43 individuals only. There is a Moza with the same name, in District Baluchistan. The Panni people of said area are known as the "Kerk" [کرک] Panni tribe.

Koni Zai [کوتی زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Moray Zai Aeswat [مورے زئی الیسوت] tribe.

Kamal Khail [کمال خیل]: They are based in the north of River Kabul [کابل] as well as, in the west of the River Indus Loralie [لورالائی] and are a Kandahari [قندھاری] offshoot *fons et origo* of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe. They are based in the neighborhood of the Mohmand [مہمند] tribe and used to live under the protective hegemony of the Mohmand [مہمند] tribe.

Kasmi [قاسمی]: is an offshoot of the Dehpal Panni [دہپال پنّی] tribe.

Kadahari [قندھاری] or Ghandahari [گندھاری]: The detail account of said tribe has already been given, under the caption as the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe (***Races Page No.70***).

Ghada Zai [گدازئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Aan Zai [ان زئی], Hasan Khail [حسن خیل], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 60 individuals only.

Grair [گُریُر]: They are based in the north of River Kabul [کابل] and are among the four offshoots of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe (***Lughat*** [لغت] ***Page No.16***). They are also based in the vicinity of the Mohmand [مہمند] tribe, near the Tank [ٹانک] area.

Goona Zai [گونازئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Ishaq Zai Khajak [اسحاق زئی خَجک] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 21 individuals only.

Ghaho Zai [گحوزئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Kabul Zai [کابل زئی], Loko Zai [لوکو زئی], Herzai [ہر زئی] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل] tribe.

Ghrug Zai [گرگ زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe.

Laher Zai [لہرزئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 233 individuals. The people of said tribe were involved mostly, in the profession of raising live-stocks. They used to work as goods forwarding agents, as well. They are available in large numbers, in the area of Lahon [لہون] Chakhan [چخن] and Kunder [کندر]. Those areas are located in the western area of Kakarr [کاکڑ] nation, in Baluchistan. The land is full of salt and the people of the area gather and sell it in Kandahar [قندھار] as well as, in the Kakarr [کاکڑ] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] areas. The said trade is based on barter system. They barter salt normally, for livestock (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 641***).

Laon [لعون]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and have three offshoots namely, Hussain Khail [حسین خیل], Ismail Zai [اسماعیل زئی] and Munder [مہنڈر].

Lali Zai [لالی زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mungi Zai [منگی زئی], Laher Zai [لہر زئی] and Musa Khail Panni [مندوخیل پنّی] tribes. The people of those tribes used to live in Waziristan [وزیرستان], as well. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be about one thousand and five hundred individuals only.

Lalo Zai [لالو زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Usman Panni [عثمان پنّی] tribe. There is another offshoot by the same name, which is a branch of the Abdullah Khail [عبداللہ خیل] tribe. There is a third branch which is based at Sibi [سبّی] and is however, a sub-branch of the Kerk [کرک] Panni tribe.

Landplaie [لاند پلائی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Laher Zai [لہر زئی] and Musa Khail Panni [مندوخیل پنّی] tribe.

Lath [لٹھ]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are based in the Valley next to fort Nasro [فورٹ نسرو]. They are linked with the Plao [پلاؤ] and Loni [لونی] Panni tribe(s).

Loana [لوانا] or **Lonarr** [لونڑ] or **Leyoni** [لیونی] or **Lona** [لونا] **Laoon** [لاؤن]: The people of said tribe(s) used to live in Zob [ژوب], Shab [شپ] Loralie [لورالائی], Lori [لوری] and Thal [تھل] areas and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation which is associated with the Miana [میانہ] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force in said area was 272 individuals, in 1910. The Loana [لوانا] tribe is based mostly, in the Hilmund [ہلمند] and Bagh [باغ] areas. They are based in the western area of the Mando Khail Panni [مندوخیل پنّی] tribe as well as, in the south of the Ghalzai [غلزئی] area in District Baluchistan. They are popular as the "War" [وار] tribe of Loana [لوانا] (***Lughat*** [لغت] ***Page No.649 for word*** **Leyoni** [لیونی], ***Across the Border Page No.58, Pathans Page No.104, 218***). The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force in said area was about six hundred individuals, according to the census report of 1918. They are nomadic herdsmen with large herds of animals. They have some very large size and well known offshoots which are known as: Mando Khail Panni [مندوخیل پنّی], Ismail Zai [اسماعیل زئی] and Hasan Zai [حسن زئی] tribe(s). There are some people among them who are based at the Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان] **(*Praaspa*)** (***Page No.218***). The writer has been to an area which is known as Aasiya [آسیا] and is in Peshawar city and is also called as Kocha Lonerriyan [کوچہ لونڑیاں].

The people of said tribe, with all their four names, are also based at Sibi [سبّی] other than, Thul Jathyali [تھل جٹیالی] and Kingeri [کنگری]. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 32 individuals only. There is a village by the name of Loni [لونی], which is located at about six miles in the north of Sevi [سیوی]. There is a tribe in the north of District Baluchistan which is known by the name as Loni [لونی] which had remained under the British subjugation. The British army had set-up a military camp in the area (***Paget Page No.649***). The said military camp used to consist of a Dafahdar [دفعدار] and twelve hundred cavalry and seven hundred infantry soldiers (***Gazetteer Pathan of the Northwest Frontier Page No.500, 602***). The said tribe is placed scatteredly from Rakhni [رکھنی] up to Bori [بوری]. Those people have

remained enervated due to their constant battles against the Murree [مری] nation and so much so, their five valleys were rendered desolated completely which were linked with the road leading to Pasheen [پشن]. The population and their grazing areas stand reduced to one fifth only, at present as compared with the past. The historians were unfamiliar about them. The aforementioned facts have come to the surface, in recent times (***Across the Border Page No.58***). There were about six thousand individuals of said nation who were based at about fifty miles in the north of Sevi [سیوی]. The said area is known as Thul [تھل] and two valleys of the area are under the control of the Loni [لونی] Panni tribe and this area consists of about fifty villages. The names of the valleys are Tallao [تلاؤ] and Gunbad Karaiz [گنبد کاریز]. The Sardar of said nation was Hasham Khan Loni [ہاشم خان لونی] in 1968. He used to live in the village which was known as Dhaki [ڈھاکی]. The entire valley can be covered in one day on a swift horse (***Abdul Aziz Loni*** [عبدالعزیز لونی]). They have three more branches i.e. Rakhanwal [رکھن وال], Pallao [پلاؤ] and Workzai [ورکزئی]. There is a sub-Division in between Maker [مکر] and Ghazni [غزنی] while one travels from Kandahar [قندھار] to Kabul [کابل] and are known as Qarah Bagh [قرہ باغ]. The said area has two villages which are known as Loniabad [لونی آباد] which exist in between the area, close to the Ader nations [اقوام ادّر]. The central point is Zeyarat Mian Sahib Loni [زیارت میاں صاحب لونی] and is towards the north of Shahrah Kabul [کابل] and Kandahar [قندھار].

The people of the Loni [لونی] tribe are very descent. They always maintain their ammunition and decorate as well and have the potential to be the best (***Across the Border Page No.58***). The Loni [لونی] is also the name of a river which flows from the area of said tribe, in Baluchistan. The river is named apparently, after the name of the Loni [لونی] tribe. There is a Moza which is also known as Loni [لونی]. There is a village in District Sheikhupura [شیخوپورہ] of Pakistan, in which many people of said tribe used to live. They were known as Lona [لونا]. There used to be a general perception among them that, they were Rajpoot [راجپوت]. They have no knowledge in fact, about their past. They are agriculturists and they have adopted the field of education, very recently (***Statement Mohammed Ismail Khan Lona*** [محمد اسماعیل خان لونا] ***Senior Civil Judge***).

The abovementioned name appears to be the distorted form of the word “Loni” [لونی]. Mr. Brown Harddron had written it as “Lon” [لون]. He had purportedly declared it to be the son of Panni (***Page No.58***). The “Lon” [لون] was however the offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation. The

“Lon” [لون] nation of Kashmir Valley was the “Loni” [لونی] nation in our opinion and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation.

Mahikhail [ماہی خیل]: is a small branch of the Panni nation.

Mado Zai [مدوزئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Usman Panni [عثمان پنّی] tribe. There was another offshoot with the same name which was a branch of the Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe. There was a tribe with the same name, which was based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] which was from the chain of Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] tribes. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 187 individuals only. They used to own land (Tapas [تپے]) in District Peshawar.

Lohani [لوہانی] or **Bahwani** [بہوانی] or **Lohana Zai** [لہونہ زئی] or **Lahon** [لہون]: is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation. Those people used to live in the vicinity of Thul [تھل] and Bori [بوری] area. There used to be more than fifty families and their total numerical strength used to be six thousand five hundred individuals only. Those people were traders and they used to trade between Kandahar [قندھار] and Derajat [ڈیرہ جات]. They used to travel up to Dahder [ڈھاڈر] at times (***Lamdon Page No.76***). The trade expeditions of those people used to be also very amazing because they used to carry their goods on the camel’s back. Then, they used to travel up to the China border and even up to Siberia and used to bring goods on their way back, from those areas. They used to travel even up to the areas of Toaana Zovi [توآنا ضوی] (*Terkia*) [ترکیہ] as well as, deep into the areas of Hindustan. They used to enjoy a peculiar distinction by virtue of their dress. The turban, which they used to wear, used to be quadrilateral and their caps used to be like boat shells. The Lohani [لوہانی] of Azerbaijan [آذربئیجان] in the west of the Caspian Sea also used to be distinguishable because of their dresses. The upper portion of their dress used to be tight and from the middle downwards, it used to be loose. The waist of the dress used to have a number of pleats (***Tareekh Afghan*** [تاریخ افغان] ***Page No. 129***). The Lohani [لوہانی] tribe is divided further, into three branches i.e., Dolat Zai [دولت زئی], Panni [پنّی] and Meyakhail [میا خیل] (***Lamdon Page No.91***). They had lately given up trading profession, unlike their forefathers and had opted to live the settled life as peasants and were known as the “Panni” [پنّی] people. The people of their sub-tribes used to get integrated well, with the Tareen [ترین] tribe of Thul [تھل] and Satiali [ستیالی] area (***Lamdon Page No.2, Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان]

Census report 1941 Page No.16). We may also point out that, the founder of Pakistan Qaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah [قائدعاظم محمد علی جناح] was also related filially, to the same offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation. There are some people who are Rajpoot [راجپوت]. They treat Lohana [لوہانہ] also as an offshoot of the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people. They quote, as a reference, the migration of those people from Rajasthan [راجستھان] or from its vicinity or from northeastern areas of Sindh. The historical facts had not endorsed however said postulate. There was an established fact that, the ancient nations which had landed in the Subcontinent from time to time, they had made their entry in fact, from the northern side. The people of the Lohana [لوہانہ] tribe therefore also belong to the same nation, which had entered from said northern side. We have already mentioned above and it is an irrefutable fact that, the people of said tribe still exist in Azerbaijan [آذربئیجان] and their trade activity ranges from the Thul [تھل] and Satiali [ستیالی] area, to Derajat [ڈیرہ جات] and from China to Kandahar [قندھار] in the northeast. They travel up to Dahder [ڈھاڈر] in the south. They go to the west into Terkia [ترکیہ] as well as, in Hindustan.

Madwer Kor [مدورکور]: is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe and are a branch of the Masood [مسعود] tribe which was under the protective hegemony of the Mohmand [مہمند] tribe. They are based in the north of River Kabul [کابل] as well as, in the west of River Indus, towards Swat. They also exist in the northern area which is in between the area of the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] tribe and Bajorr [باجوڑ] (***Lughat*** [لغت] ***Page No.29***).

Mahmood Zai [محمودزئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Kerk [کرک] Panni tribe.

Fahaie Zai [فحائی زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Leyoni Panni [لیونی پنّی] tribe.

Mukhray [مخرائے]: is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Umer Zai [عمرزئی], Laher Zai [لہر زئی] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe.

Malung Zai [ملنگ زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Noah Zai Eswat Panni [نوح زئی آلیسوت پنّی] tribe.

Malayzai [ملے زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribes. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 109 individuals only.

Malkzai [ملک زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mungi Zai [منگی زئی], Laher Zai [لہر زئی] and Musa Khail Panni [مندوخیل پنّی] tribe.

Meli Zai [ملی زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان].

Malkayzai [ملکے زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribes.

Qamayzai [قمے زئی]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribes. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 78 individuals only. There is another offshoot with the same name, which exists in Loralie [لورالائی] and are from the chain of Kabul Zai [کابل زئی], Laher Zai [لہر زئی] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribes.

Mundozai [مندو زئی]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Lovana [لوانا] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 144 individuals only.

Mundayzai [مندے زئی]: They are based in the western part of Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] and are an offshoot of the Her Zai [ہر زئی] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 45 individuals only. There is another offshoot with the same name which is based at Zob [ژوب] and is from the chain of Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribes. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 36 individuals only. There is a third offshoot which is based in the south of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are from the offshoot *fons et origo* of the Doda Zai [دودا زئی] Her Zai [ہر زئی] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribes.

Mando Khail [مندوخیل]: They are based at Zob [ژوب]. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be about one thousand individuals only which was mentioned as an offshoot of the Panni Pathans in the Census report of 1901 and according to the official Gazette of 1907, it was mentioned as an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation. The Mando Khail [مندوخیل] people had migrated from the Namaro [نمارو] area of Khurasan [خراسان], according to the local perceptions. They were able to capture said area in collaboration with the Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni or Munzer Khail [منظر خیل] or Yasenjer Khail Kakarr [یاسنجر خیل کاکڑ] tribes(s) after defeating the Mughals. There are two sub-offshoots of the Mando Khail [مندوخیل] tribe and one of them is known as Hadi Zai [ہادی زئی] and are also known as Sheikh [شیخ] whereas the second one is known as, Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل]. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force was 4780 individuals only in Baluchistan, according to the census report of 1901. They have the popular villages like Apazai [اپا زئی], Kum Gatozai [کم گتوئی] and Boranj [بورنج]. They are peace loving and amiable people and their professional life revolves around peasantry. Suleiman Zai [سلیمان زئی] is also one of their offshoots. The source of their living is sheep and goat farming (***Gazetteer Zob*** [ژوب] ***108***). They are also based at fort Sundayman as well as, in its vicinity.

Merghzani [مرغزانی]: is a confirmed offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation, according to the Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] 1941. There is a small town by the name as Merghaz [مرغز], in Tehsil Swabi [صوابی] District Mardan [مردان]. The people of said area used to live also in Sibi [سبّی] Loralie [لورالائی] and most of them were nomads i.e. “Paondey” [پاوندے]. The abode of one of the families of said tribe was known as “Merghzani House” [مرغزانی ہاؤس]. The name of the family head was Mir Khuda-e-Dad Khan [میرخدائداد خان]. There is a village with the same name, in Swat.

Mungi Zai [منگی زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورلائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Her Zai [ہر زئی] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribes. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 152 individuals only.

Mani Zai [منی زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mando Khail [مندوخیل], Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] and Bel Khail [بل خیل] Panni tribes.

Merghzani [مرغزانی]: They are based at Loralie [لورلائی] and Sibi [سبّی] whereas, most of the people of said area are "Merghzani [مرغزانی] Paondey" [پاوندے] nomads. They usually move to Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] in the winters. They also have a Moza which is known as "Merghzani" [مرغزانی]. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 206 individuals only.

Hussain Zai [حسین زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the EswatPanni [آلیسوت پنّی] tribe. There is a tribe with the same names which is based at Zob [ژوب] and is from the Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 33 individuals only. They are also based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] whereas the Meli Zai [ملی زئی], Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Mando Khail [مندوخیل] tribes are from the same chain.

Maroof Zai [معروف زئی]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mumay Zai [ممے زئی] and Mando Khail [مندوخیل] Panni tribe(s) as well as, the Kakarr [کاکڑ] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 100 individuals only.

Mushay Zai [مشے زئی]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 72 individuals only.

Hedovani Zai [ہردوانی زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Jalal Zai [جلال زئی], Ahmed Zai [حسن خیل], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe.

Mer Zai [مر زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are a confirmed offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni [پنّی] nation.

Mir Zai [میر زئی]: They used to live around the hilltops in the Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان] (***Paget Page No.581***). They are also based at the Tehsil Musa Khail [تحصیل موسی' خیل] District [لورالائی]. They used to maintain a fully equipped contingent of four to five hundred

individuals, during the British era. They are Paondey" [پاوندے] nomads. They migrate to Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] in the winter season.

Mochay Zai [موچھے زئی]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Mumay Zai [ممے زئی] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 20 individuals only.

Mori Zai [موری زئی]: They used to live in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Meli Zai [ملی زئی], Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 72 individuals only.

Mubarak Zai [مبارک زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Koshi [کوشی] and Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 36 individuals only.

Mohammed Zai [محمد زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 102 individuals only. The people of said Panni nation used to live in Peshawar, as well. They had their land (Tapay [تپے]) in said area (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No.202, 204***). The said tribe had a fair share in the Atman Zai [اتمان زئی] tribe (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No.280***). The Mohammed Zai [محمد زئی] tribe used to live in Kandahar [قندھار], in olden times and they had gradually migrated into the vicinity of Kabul [کابل] (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No. 208***). Ilyas Khan Afghan Mohammed Zai [الیاس خان افغان محمد زئی] was the first one, who had occupied Moza Charsada [موضع چار سدہ] in Tehsil Hastnager [ہشت نگر] (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No. 274***). The head of the Mohammed Zai tribe had established Moza Razerr Afghana [موضع رزڑ افعاناں] (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No.288***). The people of the Mohammed Zai [محمد زئی] Panni nation had occupied Hastnager [ہشت نگر] area initially, where they still live. The people of the Mohammed Zai [محمد زئی] tribe, which is an offshoot of the Panni nation, used to live in the area in Tehsil Daod Zai [تحصیل داؤد زئی] of Peshawar, as well (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No. 585***). There was a sub-Tapa [ذیلی

تپہ] i.e. Bandjat [بندجات] by the name of Hastnager [ہشت نگر] in Tapa Khalsa of Tehsil Nosherah [تپہ خالصہ تحصیل نوشہرہ] in which the people of the Mohammed Zai [محمد زئی] tribe used to live, as well (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No. 632***). There was a tribe with the same name which used to live in Loralie [لورالائی]. The said tribe was from the chain of Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe. There was another tribe which is based at the same place but was an offshoot *fons et origo* of the EswatPanni [آلیسوت پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 70 individuals only. The people of the Mohammed Zai [محمد زئی] offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation are also based, at Sibi [سبّی] and are from the chain of the Baro Zai [باروزئی] Panni tribe and are mentioned twice at Page No.16 in Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] census report 1941, as an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation.

Mazrie [مزری]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی]. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 22 individuals only (***Lughat*** [لغت] ***Page No.240***).

Mullan Zai [ملاں زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Koshi [کوشی] and Khajak Panni [خَجک پنّی] tribe. There is an area (Tapa [تپہ]) by the name of Mullan Zai [ملاں زئی] in District Peshawar. There is another offshoot with the same name, which is based at Sibi [سبّی] but is a branch of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe.

Mando Zai [مندوانی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Nodhani [نودھانی پنّی] Panni tribe.

Musa Khail [موسی' خیل]: The said offshoot of the Panni nation is based in a large area, in the west of Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] and are among the most popular offshoots of the Panni nation. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 2500 individuals only, in 1910. They used to have about 5000 individuals however, in 1873. Those statistics were enough to assess their numerical supremacy in the area but, most of the people of said tribe used to live at hilltops of the Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان] (***Expeditions Page No.581***). The Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] people, who used to live in the Loralie [لورالائی] area, are also from the Panni nation (***District Gazetteer Zob*** [ژوب] ***Page No.97***). The Kisrani Baloch [کسرانی بلوچ] people used to live in great numbers, in the western frontier of Dera Ghazi Khan

[ڈیرہ غازی خان] (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 20***). The people of said tribe used to live in the Sibi [سبّی] area, as well (***Rose Volume No.3 Page No.198***). The Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] people although, are definitely from the Panni nation just like many other offshoots, including Jadoon [جدوون] etc. yet, they have proliferated in such a manner that, now they are considered as a large nation whereas, some of their people used to live at the Bori [بوری] area at the bank of Nuli Musa [نلی موسیٰ] in Baluchistan. The name Nuli [نلی] (*lake*) is named as such seemingly, due to the name of said tribe or vice versa (***Dictionary Page No.241***) whereas, most of their families used to live in the Daod Zai [داؤد زئی] area of District Peshawar (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور] ***Page No.590***). There was a large majority of said tribe which used to live in District Hazara [ہزارہ], as well. There used to be a complete army division which was named after the name of said tribe and was known as the Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] Division. There was a sub-division besides that, by the name of Tehsil Musa Khail Barkhan [تحصیل موسیٰ خیل بارخان]. The Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] Panni people used to live also at various places, in Afghanistan. Those people used to enter into British area via Derra de Hoda [درہ دی ہودا] where they used to be about five thousand in number. They were involved in the business activities extensively but, they had not put up demands to the British government for their livelihood just because they had friendly relations with them. They are peace loving people (***Expeditions Page No.581***). The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be about six thousand individuals only in Baluchistan, according to census report of 1911. They were based mostly, at Tehsil Musa Khail [تحصیل موسیٰ خیل] District Sibi [سبّی]. Those people were nomadic herdsmen and their herds were their real assets factually (***Afaghana*** [افاغنہ] ***Page No.218***). The people of Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] had kept migrating from their native country which was in between the area of Herat [ہرات] and Kandahar [قندھار], according to some books of history. They were known in the area, by the name of Panni only. They were headed by their chief namely, Musa [موسیٰ] while they had migrated therefore, they had become known as Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] resultantly. The said migration was in search of good grazing areas and for procuring other means of life.

They had settled down also pursuant to said migration, among the slopes of Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان]. They were known as Musa Khail Panni [موسیٰ خیل پنی] just because of their chief namely, Musa [موسیٰ]. They had acquired the recognition however as Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] subsequently. They were pushed out also from the area of Takht-e-Suleiman [تختِ سلیمان]

(*Praaspa*) about hundred and fifty odd years ago. They are based presently, at the banks of River Toee [دریاے ٹوئی] which is a very fertile area (***Across the Border Page No.59***).

Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنی] also used to live in a barren mountain in the east of the Kakarr [کاکڑ] nation, in Baluchistan which was the desert area (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 641***). The area of the sub-division of Musa Khail Barkhan [موسی' خیل بارخان] is located in the northeast of District Loralie [لورالائی]. The numerical strength of the tribe in the area used to be about 15,537 individuals only, in 1901. They had about 54 revenue generating villages besides that, which were under their control. There was an amazing fact that, most of the people of the Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنی] tribe had not owned a house for living and despite that, Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنی] had proliferated as the largest offshoot of the Panni nation (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.18 Page No.60***). The Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنی] of Baluchistan had very cordial relations with the British colonists yet, they had never interacted with them, freely. Sir, Robert Sundayman had held a public Durbar [دربار] on 10th October 1884 and he had invited the Pathans and other chieftains of the Bori [بوری] or Loralie [لورالائی] tribes. The said Durbar [دربار] was arranged at the crater-let of the Bori [بوری] area. The majority of chiefs had participated in the Durbar [دربار] but, Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنی] and some other tribes had not even considered it as worth attending. Sir, Robert Sundayman had taken a serious notice of their attitude and he had decided to take the military action against them. The Durbar [دربار] was arranged in fact, by the British usurpes to obtain the pledge from the tribal chiefs to the effect that when the British troops were supposed to wage war against Sardar Shahjhan [سردار شاہجہان] of Zob [ژوب] area, those tribes were supposed to abstain from siding with him. The circumstances had compelled Sardar Shahjhan [سردار شاہجہان] after sometime however, to succumb to the British rule whereas, Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنی] had refused to surrender to the British Raj. They had remained steadfast in their resolve. They had openly declared their hostility against British Raj. The British administrators were quite perturbed by said state of affairs. Then, they had decided to establish their rule in the area by taking some coercive measures. The British army had entered the Zob [ژوب] area therefore, on 12th November 1884. They had continued their onward march and they were able to reach the Cubzai [کب زئی] and Apo Zai [اپوزئی] area of the Panni tribes which was close to the area of Takht-e-Suleiman [تختِ سلیمان]. Then, they had captured Derra Gomal [درہ گومل] ultimately which opens towards the Ghazni [غزنی] and Kandahar [قندھار] areas (***Expeditions Page No.193***).

The Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنی] tribe had demonstrated their strength of five thousand individuals only, at Derra de Hoda [درہ دی ہودا] in the month of March 1879. They had posed the challenge to the British rulers, in collaboration with the Eswat Panni [نوح زئی آلیسوت پنّی] tribe along-with, some other tribes and thus, they had declared openly their intentions to capture Derra de Hoda [درہ دی ہودا]. The British rulers had also started providing the reinforcement to their military check posts as a preemptive measure. The challenger tribes had withdrawn from the area as a consequence thereof. They had vented out their anger however, on their way back and they had looted and plundered the Bozder [بوذدر] nation which was due to the reason that, they were under the impression that, the people of said nation had passed some information to the British rulers, clandestinely (***Expeditions Page No.218***). The Laghari [لغاری] tribe of the mountainous area and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنی] tribe had developed a great rivalry, against each other. The people of the Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنی] tribe belong to the Suni [سُنی] school of thought, just like other Pathans (***Gazetteer Sibi Page No.62***).

Musa Zai [موسی' زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Noah Zai Eswat Panni [نوح زئی آلیسوت پنّی] tribe. There was a tribe with the same name in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are a splinter offshoot, from the chain of Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe(s). They are based in the northern area of River Kabul [کابل] as well as, in the west of River Indus and are also a branch of the Mansoor [منصور] offshoot *fons et origo* of the Jadoon [جدوون] tribe (***Lughat*** [لغت] ***Page No.36***).

Moseyani [موسیانی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are from the chain of the Nodhani Panni [نودھانی پنّی] tribe.

Mudo Kor [مُدوکور]: The people of said offshoot are a branch of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe of the Kandahari [قندھاری] offshoot. They used to live side by side, with the Mohmand [مہمند] tribe.

Mansoor [منصور]: They are based in the northern area of River Kabul [کابل] as well as, in the west of River Indus and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 500 individuals only (***Dictionary Page No.31***).

Mansoor Kor [منصور کور]: They are based in the north of Derra Baidmanie [درہ بید منائی] and are from the chain of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe. They used to live among the people of the Mohmand [مہمند] tribe (***Dictionary Page No.32***).

Munkhawa Zai [منخوا زئی]: This tribe is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Sallar [سلار] branch of the Jadoon [جدوون] Panni tribe (***Dictionary Page No.32***).

Muzra Zai [مزرا خیل]: This offshoot is a branch of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe of the Kandahari [قندھاری] offshoot. They used to live among the people of the Mohmand [مہمند] tribe (***Lughat*** [لغت] ***Page No.33***).

Mundun Zai [مندن زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] Panni tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 54 individuals only.

Mazrie [مزرئی] or **Mursie** [مرسئی] or **Zemrie** [زمرئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are a sub-branch of the Meyani [میانی] offshoot and they are linked with the Leyon [لیون] and Jaffer [جعفر] Panni tribe(s) due to some unknown reason. The people of said tribe who used to live with the Panni people of the Sibi [سبّی] area, they are known as "Mazrie" [مزرئی]. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 150 individuals only.

Nagri [نگری]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Kerk [کڑک] Panni tribe.

Nuraye Zai [نرائے زئی]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribe(s). The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 80 individuals only.

Nodhani [نودھانی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] and are a direct offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 57 individuals only.

Maik Nam Zai [نیک نام زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hamza Zai [حمزاہ زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل], Hamza Khail [حمزا خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribe. There is another offshoot which is also based in the same area but, is from the chain of the Mungi Zai [منگی زئی], Her Zai [ہر زئی] and Musa Khail Panni [مندوخیل پنّی] tribes. There is a third tribe which is based at Loralie [لورالائی] and is a branch of the Eswat Panni [آلیسوت پنّی] tribe.

Noko Zai [نوکو زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Laher Zai [لہر زئی] and Musa Khail Panni [مندوخیل پنّی] tribe.

Noah Zai [نوح زئی]: is a famous offshoot *fons et origo* of the EswatPanni [آلیسوت پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 165 individuals only. There is another tribe with the same name which is based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are however, an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Her Zai [ہر زئی] and Musa Khail Panni [مندوخیل پنّی] tribe(s).

Ward Zai [وارد] or **Waidre** [ویدر]: They are based in District Hazara [ہزارہ] in Pakistan. They are also based at River Kunhar [کنہار] and are however, an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe (***Dictionary Page No.48***).

Wazair Zai [وزیر زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Noah Zai Eswat Panni [نوح زئی آلیسوت پنّی] tribe.

Haibet Zai [ہیبت زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Ali Khail Panni [علی خیل پنّی] tribe. When, the British troops had marched towards the frontier area under the command of Colonel D. Mokata, in August 1877, they had to dispatch an advance expedition against said tribe to sort them out. The expedition had failed however, to produce the desired results. Then, the British rulers had to send the second expedition and had also failed to achieve the desired results.

Hadi Zai [ہادی زئی] (***Refer to Sheikh***)

Hai Zai [ہے زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hamza Zai [حمزاہ زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribes.

Helo Zai [ہلو زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Belfraz Panni [بلفراز پنّی] and Eswat Panni [آلیسوت پنّی] tribe(s).

Huran Zai [ہرن زئی]: They are based at Loralie [لورالائی] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Merghzani Panni [مرغزانی پنّی] tribe.

Huri Zai [ہری زئی]: is an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Belfraz Panni [بلفراز پنّی] tribe.

Hilal Zai [ہلال زئی]: They are based in the west of Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hasan Zai [حسن زئی], Bel Khail [بل خیل] and Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] tribes of the Panni people, who used to live in the Sibi [سبّی] valley. The people of said branch used to also live in District Peshawar (***Tareekh Peshawar*** [تاریخ پشاور]).

Yaseen Zai [یاسین زئیی]: They are based at Zob [ژوب] and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Hayder Khail [حیدر خیل] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل] Panni tribes. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 20 individuals only.

Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی]: They are based at Sibi [سبّی] as well as, at Pairangabad [پیرانگ آباد] (*State of Qallat*) and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Merghzani Panni [مرغزانی پنّی] tribe. The numerical strength of the tribe and their fighting force used to be 47 individuals only.

There was no certain proof that, the people of Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] tribe are also linked with the Panni nation or they are the miscellany of some other chain, who are based in the area of Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی], which is in the adjoining area of Swat [سوات] and Bajorr [باجوڑ]. There were some historians however who had maintained the view that the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] people, who used to live in the vicinity of Swat [سوات] and Bajorr [باجوڑ], had migrated into the area in the recent times. There was another fact, which was also unknown until lately, that those people had

migrated from Zob [ژوب] Baluchistan and then they had settled down in the aforementioned area (***Gazetteer Zob*** [ژوب] ***Page No.29, Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.24 Page No.430***). Since, those people used to live also in Sibi [سبّی] and Qallat [قلات] (*Baluchistan*) therefore, according to Gazetteers and Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] the dominant view was that, the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] are also an offshoot of the Panni nation, just like the Jadoon [جدوون] or the Musa Khail Panni [موسیٰ خیل پنّی] tribes which had migrated in large numbers from Baluchistan. Then, they had started living in the Hazara [ہزارہ] District, Swat [سوات], and Bajorr [باجوڑ] and in Peshawar areas. The people of the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] tribe had proliferated just like other branches into large numbers slowly and gradually and even to the extent that, they were able to form their independent history. The book through which we (*Author*) were able to dig up the reference about the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] tribe was based on a research which was carried out by the British Government and was published officially in Calcutta [کلکتہ] in 1910. The narrative of said book must have been based on some deep study as well as, on the statements of the chieftains of various branches. When, the renowned traveler Marco Polo had visited said area, during the reign of the Emperor Baber [بابر], the people of the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] tribe of Swat [سوات] and Bajorr [باجوڑ] and from its vicinity were just the new entrants at that time, in those areas (***H. G. Reverty Pashto grammar Page No.15***). The people of the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] tribe can rightly be called therefore, as an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation. The people of the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] tribe used to live in Qarah Bagh [قرہ باغ] and Kandahar [قندھار] previously, according to Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل]. They were able to reach Kabul [کابل] and then, they had landed in Kandahar [قندھار] and had moved to the rural areas thereafter and then they had landed in the area of Astkher [استخر]. They were known many years ago, to have been involved in banditry in and around the Swat [سوات] and Bajorr [باجوڑ] areas (***Iqbalnama Akberi*** [اقبال نامہ اکبری] ***Page No.37***).

Ghalzai [غلزئی], **Lodhi** [لودھی], **Niazi** [نیازی], **Lohani** [لوہانی], **Suri** [سوری] **Herwani** [ہروانی], **Keliyod** [کلیود]: The author of Syed-ut-tamakhereen [سید التماخرین] (***Volume No.1 Page No.81***) had affirmed that, the Ghalzai [غلزئی] (*Khilji*) [خلجی]), Lodhi [لودھی], Niazi [نیازی], Lohani [لوہانی], Suri [سوری] Herwani [ہروانی] and Keliyod [کلیود] tribes were offshoots *fons et origo* of the Panni nation. If this view was correct then besides the Khilji [خلجی]), Lodhi [لودھی] and Suri [سوری] rulers, the contribution by the renowned people of the Lohani [لوہانی] and Niazi [نیازی] tribes can also be taken figuratively as contribution, in the collective efforts of the Panni nation in the

history of the Subcontinent. The same author had further expressed his views that, said Mast Ali Ghori [مست علی غوری] was from the Afghanan Panni [افغاناں پنّی] offshoot.

Panni Tribes in Baluchistan Sibi [سبّی] in 1941:

The Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] has brought forth various names of the offshoots and sub-branches as well as, the splinter groups of the Panni nation, as per census report of 1941.

MAIN BRANCHES AND SUB-BRANCHES OF THE PANNI NATION:

Abdullah Khail [عبداللہ خیل]:

1. Ibraheem Zai [ابراہیم زئی] 2. **Ali Khail** [علی خیل] 3. Alwani [الوانی] 4. Baghowan [باغوان] 5.Baro Zai [باروزئی].
   - Khuedad Zai [خوئیداد زئی]
   - 1. Ahmed Zai [احمدزئی] 2. **Dada Zai** [دادازئی]
     - **1. Haji Zai** [حاجی زئی]
     - 2. Kajkol Zai [کجکول زئی]
     - 3. **Dolat Zai** [دولت زئی]
       - 1. Ismail Zai [اسماعیل زئی]

4. Khalil Zai [خلیل زئی]
- Denar Zai [دینار زئی]

5. **Her Zai** [ہر زئی]
- Pernia [پرنیا] or Prena [پرینا] (*Writer*)

6. **Meri** [میری] 7. **Mohammed Zai** [محمد زئی] 8. **Shahbaz Zai** [شہباز زئی] 9. **Esa Khail Zai** [عیسی' خیل زئی]
- 1. Arkhan Zai [ارخان زئی]
- 2. Dawaie [داوي]

10. Jani Zai [جانی زئی] 7. Dehpal [دہپال] 11.Blail Khail [بلیل خیل] 12.Qasmi [قاسمی] 13.Rasheed Khail [رشید خیل] 14.Sallar Khail [سالار خیل] 8.Janatie [جنتي] 9.Khajak [خجک]

10.**Bahram Zai** [بہرام زئی]

1.Ali Khan Zai [علی خان زئی] 2.Barak Zai [بارک زئی] 3.Ibraheem Zai [ابراہیم زئی] 4. Awan Zai [اوان زئی]

16. Jafer Zai [جعفر زئی] 17.**Walot Zai** [ولوت زئی]

1.Hasan Zai [حسن زئی] 2.Jamal Zai [جمال زئی] 3.Jungi Zai [جنگی زئی] 4.Mada Zai [مدا زئی]

18.**Hameem Zai** [حمیم زئی]

1.Esa Zai [عیسی' زئی]

19.**Ishaq Zai** [اسحاق زئی]

1.Atto Zai [اٹو زئی] 2.Gonay Zai [گونے زئی] 3.Hasan Zai [حسن زئی] 4.Arya Zai [اریا زئی]

20.**Kerya Zai** [کریا زئی]

1.Boay Zai [بوئے زئی] 2.Geno Zai [گِنو زئی]3. Rana Zai [رانا زئی]

21.Khondi [خوندی] 22.**Koshi** [کوشی]

1.Kaman Zai [کمان زئی] 2.Malla Zai [ملا زئی] 3.Mubarak Zai [مبارک زئی] 4.Salah Zai [صالحے زئی] 5.Zel Zai [زل زئی]

9.**Terbol** [تربول]

1.Umer Zai [عمر زئی]

10. Kerrak [کڑک] 10. Ali Zai [علی زئی] 11.Khol Band [کھول بند] 12.Mahmood Zai [محمود زئی] 13.Angri [نگری] 14.Usmani [عثمانی] 11.Kut Khel [کُت خیل] 12.Lohwer Zai [لُہورزئی] 15.Umer Zai [عمر زئی] or (Sado Zai [سدوزئی]) 13.Laon [لعون]

14.**Ismail Zai** [اساعیل زئی]

1.Adian Zai [ادین زئی] 2.Toor Zai [طور زئی]

17.**Khojsay Zai** [خوجیے زئی]

1.Haleem Zai [حلیم زئی] 2.Umer Zai [عمر زئی]

18. Zerghon Zai [زرغون زئی]

1. Ishaq Zai [اسحاق زئی]

14. Loni [لُونی] 19.Baro Zai [بارو زئی] 20. Nakha Zai [نکھا زئی] 21.Sakin Zai [ساکن زئی] 22. Serwar [سرور] 23.Sharkon [شَرکون] 15.Mahi Khail [ماہی خیل] 16.Murghzan [مرغزان] 24.Idian Zai [ادین زئی] 25.Elya Zai [عیس' زئی] 26.**Khujal Zai** [خوجل زئی]

1.Mulla Zai [مُلا زئی]

27.Kerya Zai [کریا زئی] 28.**Perani** [پیرانی]

1.Sado Zai [سیدو زئی]

29.Perrang [پڑانگ] 30.Sami Zai [سامی زئی] 31.Shuden Zai [شُدن زئی] 32.**Sui** [سُوئی] (*The area of Sui from where gas was discovered is, after the name of that tribe*)

1. Allah Dad Zai [الله داد زئی] 2. Gulo Zai [گُلو زئی] 3. Kurd Zai [کُرد زئی] 4. Shah Bar Zai [شاہ بار زئی] 5.Yousuf Zai [یوسف زئی]. 17.Mehr Zai [مہر زئی] 33.Kuri Khail [کری خیل] 34.Mir Zai [مِیر زئی] 18.Lozmani [لوزمانی] 35.Bazdani [بازدانی] 36.Detani [دیتانی] 37.Ghaibani [غئبانی] 38.Mundwani [مندوانی] 39.Moseyani [موسیانی] 19.Safi [صافی] 40.Anar Zai [انار زئی] 41. Kamal Zai [کمال زئی] 42. Mir Zai [مِیر زئی] 20.Selachi [سیلاچی] 21.Xadn [ژرن] 43.Maroof Zai [معروف زئی] 43.Sheikh Zai [شیخ زئی] (***Page No.54***).

Eswat [الیسوت] of the Panni Nation:

1.**Abualferaz** [ابوالفرض]

2.**Axdan Zai** [اژرن زئی]

1.Bab Zai [بابی زئی] 2.Ibraheem Zai [ابراہیم زئی] 3.Meiri Zai [میری زئی]

2. Baig Zai [بیگ زئی] 3.**Halo Zai** [ہلوزئی]

1. Aalam Zai [عالم زئی] 2. Ibraheem Zai [ابراہیم زئی] 3.**Samak Zai** [ثمک زئی] 4.Tamen Zai [تمن زئی]

2.**Hasan Zai** [حسن زئی] 4.**Moray Zai** [مورے زئی]

1.Ghalib Zai [غالب زئی] 2.Jheya Zai [جہئیا زئی] 3.Kasay Zai [کسے زئی] 4.Khader Zai [خدر زئی] 5. Paenday Zai [پائیندے زئی]

6.**Sataan Zai** [ستن زئی]

5. Noah Zai [نوح زئی] 1.Adu Zai [ادو زئی] 2. Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی]

3.Lal [لعل زئی] Zai (Chandi [چاندی]) 4.Moray Zai [مورے زئی] (Khader Zai [خدر زئی]) 5.Nafer [نفر] 6.Sui [سوئی] 7. Esi Zai [عسی زئی] 8.Khudada Zai [خداد زئی] 7.Umer Zai [عمر زئی] or (Pani Zai) [پانی زئی] or Paien Zai [پائند زئی].

Laon [لعون] of the Panni Nation:

1. Ayub Khail [ایوب خیل] or (Kamal Khail [کمال خیل]) 2.**Baaye Zai** [باۓ زئی]

→ 1.Ber Khail [بر زئی]

3. Ismail Zai [اسماعیل زئی] or (Hasan Zai) [حسن زئی] 4.**Mandak Zai** [مندک زئی]

→ 1.Ameen Zai [امین زئی]

2. Noru Zai [نورو زئی] or (Mir Khail [میر خیل]) 3. Ibraheem Zai [ابراہیم زئی] 4. Dargamanday Zai [درگمندے زئی] 5. Dola Shah [دولہ شاہ] 6.Hasan Zai [حسن زئی] or Esu Zai 8. Mahmood Zai [محمود زئی] 9.Malkay Zai [ملکے زئی] 10. Mashay Zai [مشے زئی] 3. **Hamza Zai** [حمزہ زئی]

→ 1. Karay Zai [کرے زئی]

Mando Khail [مندو خیل] of the Panni Nation:

1. Hadi Zai [ہادی زئی] or Sheikh [شیخ] 2.**Hayder Zai** [حیدر زئی]

→ 1. **Dawat Khail** [دوت خیل]

→ 2. **Apo Zai** [اپو زئی] 2. Arab Zai [عرب زئی]

3. Aidel Zai [عیدل زئی] 4. Noro Zai [نورو زئی] 2. **Mamie Zai** [مامئ زئی]

→ 1. Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی] 2. Braheem Zai [براہیم زئی] 3. Froze Zai [فرو زئی] 4. Khojak Zai [خوجک زئی] 5. Mochay Zai [موچھے زئی] 6. Neray Zai [نرے زئی]

3. **Suleiman Zai** [سلیمان زئی]

→ 1. Keray Zai [کرے زئی] or Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی] 4. Usman Zai [عثمان زئی] or (Ako Zai [اکو زئی]) 5. **Soan Khail** [سون خیل]

→ 1. Aadam Zai [آدم زئی] 2. Ako Zai [اکو زئی] 3. Braheem Zai [براہیم زئی] 4. Dergandey Zai [درگندے زئی] 5. Doala Zai [دولہ زئی] 6. Hasan Zai [حسن زئی] 7. Eeso Zai [ایسو زئی] 8. Mahmood Zai [محمود زئی] 9. Mulkay Zai [ملکے زئی] 10. Mushay Zai [مشے زئی]

3. **Hamza Zai** [حمزہ زئی]

→ 1. Keray Zai [کرے زئی].

Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] (**Bail Khail** [بیل خیل]) **of the Panni Nation**:

1. Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی]

1. Hamza Zai [ہمزہ زئی] 2. **Malk Zai** [ملک زئی]

1. Adian Zai [ادین زئی] 2. Khadey Zai [خدے زئی] 3. Kadey Zai [کدے زئی] 4. Mughdo Zai [مغدو زئی] 5. Malay Zai [ملے زئی] 6. Mandu Zai [مندو زئی] 7. Salhay Zai [سلحے زئی] 8. Shahday Zai [شادے زئی]

3. Mohammed Zai [محمد زئی] 4. **Seen Zai** [سین زئی]

1. Jamal Zai [جمال زئی] 2. Ali Khail [علی خیل]

3. Braheem Zai [براہیم زئی] 4. Hamza Zai [ہمزہ زئی] 5. **Doalat Zai** [دولت زئی]

1. Khurram Zai [خرم زئی]

2. Naiknam Zai [نیک نام زئی] 3. Panay Zai [پانے زئی] 4. Shahday Zai [شادے زئی]

6. **Haram Zai** [حرم زئی]

1. Abubakar Zai [ابوبکر زئی] 2. Lihey Zai [لیہے زئی]

7. Sadq Zai [صدق زئی] 8. Laery Zai [لرے زئی] 5. Hasan Khail [حسن خیل] 9. Adien Zai [ادین زئی] 10. Aalam Khan Zai [عالم خان زئی] 11. Ali Zai [علی زئی] 12. Jalal Zai [جلال زئی] 13. Mirdad Zai [میرداد زئی] 14. Shadi Zai [شادی زئی] 6. Jamal Khel [علی خیل] or (Babi [بابی]) 7. Khawaja Khail [خواجہ خیل] 8. Maado Zai [معدو زئی] or (Jani Zai [جانی زئی]) 8. Malay Zai [ملے زئی] or (Kano Zai [کنو زئی]) Mohammed Zai [محمد زئی] (***Page No.55***)

Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] (Laher Zai [لہر زئی]) of the Panni Nation:

Battay Zai [بٹے زئی] 2. Deray Zai [درے زئی] or (Mungay Zai [منگے زئی]) 3.**Doda Zai** [دودا زئی]

1. Merday Zai [مردے زئی] 2. Pan Zai [پان زئی]

4. Iraheem Zai [ابراہیم زئی] or (Maniter [منیتر] or Eekhol [ئی کھول زئی]) 5. Qabool Zai [قبول زئی]

3. Balail Zai [بلیل زئی] 4. Barak Zai [بارک زئی] 5. Ibraheem Zai [ابرہیم زئی] 6. Khano Zai [خانو زئی] 7. Noah Zai [نوح زئی] 8. Pan Zai [پان زئی] 6. Mahmood Zai [محمود زئی]

7. Munday Zai [مندے زئی] 8. Mungay Zai [منگے زئی] 9. Ahmed Zai [احمد زئی] 10. Braheem Zai [براہیم زئی] 12. Dano Zai [دانو زئی] 12. Dao Zai [داؤ زئی] 13. Ibraheem Zai [ابراہیم زئی] 14. Qabal Zai [قبل زئی] 15. Khader Zai [خدر زئی] 16. Khoday Zai [خودے زئی] 17. Lalay Zai

[لالے زئی] 18. Malik Zai [مالک زئی] 19. Naiknam Zai [نیک نام زئی] 2. Mudo Zai [مدو زئی] 9. Nako Zai [نکو زئی]

21. **Dado Zai** [دادو زئی]

↳ 1. Dewar Zai [دیوار زئی] 2. Munday Zai [مندے زئی] 3. Pan Zai [پان زئی] 4. Qabal Zai [قبل زئی] 5. Bilal Zai [بلال زئی] 6. Ghajo Zai [گاجو زئی] 7. Ghomir Zai [غومیر زئی] 8. Fanay Zai [فانے زئی] 9. Mumay Zai [ممے زئی].

22. **Noah Zai** [نوح زئی]

↳ 1. Dewa Zai [ڈیوا زئی] 2. Ghanay Zai [گنے زئی] 3. Jalal Zai [جلال زئی] 10. Noah Zai [نوح زئی] 23. Shaday Zai [شادے زئی] 24. Umer Zai [عمر زئی] 11. Umer Zai [عمر زئی] 25. Jalal Zai [جلال زئی] 26. Lapay Zai [لپے زئی].

Zerkoon [زرکون] of the Panni Nation:

1. **Fero Zai** [فیرو زئی]

↳ 1. Aadam Zai [آدم زئی] 2. Akber Zai [اکبر زئی] 3. Ali Zai [علی زئی] 4. Braheem Zai [براہیم زئی] 5. Kamal Zai [کمال زئی] 6. Keray Zai [کرے زئی] 7. **Khazon** [خزرون]

↳ 7. Khazron [خزون] 2. Perni [پرنی]

8. Matak Zai [مٹک زئی] 9. Mehan Zai [میحان زئی] 10. Norang Zai [نورنگ زئی] 11. Sood Zai [سود زئی] 2. Malk Zai [ملک زئی] 12. Baran Zai [باران زئی] 13. **Braheem Zai** [براہیم زئی]

↳ 1. Khaxer Zai [خزر زئی]

14. Derweish [درویش] 15. Jeram Zai [جرم زئی] 16. Jamal Zai [جمال زئی] 17. Keray Zai [کرے زئی] 18. **Khajak Zai** [خجک زئی]

↳ Byek Zai [بائیک زئی]

19. Hezer Zai [حزر زئی] 20. Safer Zai [سفر زئی] 21. Shaho Zai [شاہو زئی] 22. Shakon [شکون] 3. Aoriya Zai [اوریا زئی] 23. Dashti [دشتی] (Ali Khan Zai [علی خان زئی]) 24. Lassa Zai [لسہ زئی] 25. **Lassozai** [لسو زئی]

↳ 1. Cholyani [چولیانی] 2. Naimat Zai [نعمت زئی]

26. **Shakon** [شکون]

↳ 1. Imrani [عمرانی]

27. **Waryani** [وریانی]
    - 1. Chokani [چوکانی]

4. Sherawani [شراوانی] 28. **Adan Zai** [عدن زئی]
    - Sheikh [شیخ]

29. Bjra [بجرا] 29. **Zak Zai** [زک زئی]
    - 1. Gulab Zai [گلاب زئی] 2. Mohbat Zai [محبت زئی]

31. Boal Zai [بول زئی] 32. Chermie [چرمئ] 33. Derawaish [درویش] 34. Datay Zai [داتے زئی]

35. Derani [درانی] or (Aoreyani [اوریانی]) 36. **Faqir Zai** [فقیر زئی]
    - 1. Mir Zai [میر زئی] or Mezrie [مزرئی]

37. Esa Zai [عیسی' زئی] 38. Tund [تند] 39. Terbol [تربول] 40. **Zera** [زیرا]
    - 1. Begerie [بگرائی]

(***Page No.56***).

Is the Kafir tribe the residual of the Panni nation? (کیا کافر لوگ پنّی قوم کی یادگار ہیں**)**

There was a non-Muslim nation which was known as the Kafir [کافر] or Kamoj [کاموج]. The said nation used to live in the area of the Pathans at the foot of the Koh Hindu-Kush [کوہ ہندو کش]. They exist there even today. They have a particular set of traditions and habits, culture and civilization. They practice their own particular religious beliefs (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 472***). We will discuss the Kafir [کافر] or Kamoj [کاموج] nation however, with the name as Nuristani [نورستانی] and according to the version of those Nuristani [نورستانی] people, their actual native land used to be Kandahar [قندھار]. They had four indigenous groups in fact, i.e. Kamoj [کاموج], Kamor [کامور], Blader [پلادر] and Sallar [سلار]. The latter three had condemned the Kamoj [کاموج] tribe into exile after when they had embraced Islam. They had gradually migrated *dépayeé* to the east. When, their new habitats had also come under the influence of Islam, they were compelled to live in the south of the northern hills where they live, even today. (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 473***). The history had also endorsed the view that, they were in fact the remainder of the original and the ancient Panni Pathan [پنّی پٹھان] nation.

The Kandahar [قندھار] area, which is considered to be the ancient abode of the Kamoj [کاموج] nation even today, used to be the main centre of the ancient Panni nation. There were some ancient coins of said nation, which were also disinterred from said area. The people of the

surrounding areas and the Feroza [فیروزہ] Hills used to be a reckonable force till the rule of the Emperor Baber [بابر] and the Emperor Akber [اکبر]. They used to pose a great threat to both the regimes and both the Emperors had no other choice but, to pitch their respective troops against them as a preemptive measure (***Tuzk-e-Baberi*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.202, Iqbalnama Akberi*** [اقبال نامہ اکبری] ***Page No.469, 470 Akbernama*** [اکبر نامہ] ***Volume No.6 Page No.666, Gazetteer Sibi*** [سبّی] ***Page No.24***). When, the Pathans of the Kandahar [قندھار] area had migrated from their ancient land according to Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani [سید جمال الدین افغانی] and they had decided to settle into the new land then, they had accepted Christianity, as their religion. Those people used to make a particular sign on their chapattis which used to be somewhat like the sign of the Christian crucifix (***Translation Tatima-Tulbeyan*** [تتمہ البیان] ***Page No.26***). The Panni rulers of Iran had allowed complete religious freedom in their country. There was no restriction during their reign, against practicing and preaching Zoroastrian, Jewish, Christian faith and Sabaism [ستارہ پرست]. We have already mentioned above in the context of history of those rulers that after the relinquishment of Zoroastrianism, there used to be a social dissension with regard to switching over to Christianity. The same fact reflects very clearly that, there were some people of the Panni nation who had also adopted Christianity as their faith and the existence of the Armenian Churches had also endorsed said reality. Those Churches were in the Serwan [شروان] area and those Armenian Churches still exist in the rural side of Karabagh [کراباغ]. The said area used to be known in ancient times, as Kandahar [قندھار]. The Panni people of present Kandahar [قندھار] perhaps, had named their present area as such just in commemoration of their previous abode.

The history had witnessed the fact that when, the Kafir [کافر] or Nuristani [نورستانی] people had embraced Islam initially, they were known as Kandahari [قندھاری]. The historians had described them as the Kandahari Panni [قندھاری پنّی] (***Races Page No.70***). Since, those people were new entrants in Islam and they were more charged with religious sentiments therefore, they had opted to participate practically, in the Jihad [جہاد] of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. The word "Kandahari" [قندھاری] had appeared as a causative suffix with the names of some of the Mujahedeen [مجاہدین] in the history of achievements by Syed Sahib [سید صا حب]. The Kandahari [قندھاری] branch was the well recognized offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation.

The Kafir [کافر] or Kamoj [کاموج] people of the Kandahar [قندهار] area had gradually drifted towards the east after when, they had embraced Islam. The religion Islam had steadily penetrated into their new abodes. They were submerged into the Islamic traditions and customs practically but despite that, they were known as Neemcha [نیمچہ] (Half Muslims). Then, they had learnt the pure Islamic values and religious rites gradually and thus, they were known as Safi [صافی] i.e. the purified people. The Safi [صافی] tribe is also a very well recognized and confirmed offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation (***Races Page No.70, Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***Page No.55***). The Safi [صافی] people live in the nook and corner of the Ghandaharah [گندهاره] region. The detail account with regard to the Safi [صافی] people and their abodes has already been given under the caption as the "Panni nation and its offshoots" but, it will be pertinent to mention that, there is hardly any village in the Swat area where the Safi [صافی] people do not exist (***Military Reports on Afghanistan Page No.215***, ***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 385***). The Kafir [کافر] or Kamoj [کاموج] people, a very long time ago, used to exist in large numbers, in the vicinity of Bajorr [باجوڑ], Surkamer [سور کمر] and Safi Terkalani [صافی ترکلانی] (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.17 Page No.385***). They also used to live in large numbers, amongst the Mohmand [مہمند] and Atman [اتمان] tribes. The Safi [صافی] people are also based in the northeastern area of Mughman [نغمان]. They are known there, as Tagari [ٹگاری] (***Across the Border Page No.250***). The Safi [صافی] people, who used to live in the northern mountains of Jalalabad [جلال آباد], were descendents of their Kafir [کافر] or Kamoj [کاموج] neighbors, who used to live on the eastern side (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.13 Page No.138***). The author of the book "Across the Border" had expressed his views at page No.250 that, the Safi [صافی] people were known as Kafir [کافر] till the period of the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر]. They had become known as Safi [صافی] during the reign of king Nadir Shah [نادرشاہ] of Afghanistan. The Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] people of Tagao [ٹگاؤ] speak a kind of Indo-Aryan language even, today which has resemblance with the language of the present Kafir [کافر] or Kamoj [کاموج] people. Since, the Safi [صافی] people had embraced Islam even after the people who were known as Kandahari [قندهاری] therefore, they had produced very renowned religious Sheikhs [شیوخ] and righteous [اہل اللہ] people by virtue of their religious devotion just like Kandahari [قندهاری] people. The historians had maintained the unanimous view that, the Kafir [کافر] or Kamoj [کاموج] people were related undoubtedly either with the Panni nation or with its Safi [صافی] offshoot, which had embraced Islam, belatedly (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.14 Page No.12, Military Report on Afghanistan Page No.263***). The aforementioned historical

references had endorsed the view of the Kafir [کافر] or Kamoj [کاموج] people on the one hand whereas they had also established the fact that, the Safi [صافی] and Kandahari [قندھاری] people were sub-tribes of the Panni nation as well as it was a section which had departed at some point of time, from the present Kafir [کافر] or Kamoj [کاموج] people. The said Kafir [کافر] or the Kamoj [کاموج] nation on the strength of aforementioned fact appears one way or the other, as the reminiscence of the ancient Panni Pathan nation. The numerical strength of the tribe used to be about 300 individuals only, around 1910 (***Ghrabat Nigar*** [غرابت نگار] ***Page No.896, Expeditions Page No.4***). The numerical strength of the tribe, at some point of time, in the area between Kunhar [کُنہار] and Punj Sher [پنج شیر] used to be about 40,000 individuals only. Those people used to prefer intermarriages with the Tajik [تاجک] people (***Military Reports on Afghanistan Page No.408***).

Remnants, monuments and other features in the Subcontinent [برِ صغیر میں آثار و یادگار و خصوصیات]:

The detail account of history of the ancient Panni rulers of Iran has already been given above. There are some references of the famous personalities of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent even today. There were some publications which had revealed that, some antiquities of the ancient Panni nation still exist in district Mardan [مردان] and in its vicinity. Those areas used to be under the sultanate of the Iranian Panni rulers at some point of time. There was one place which was known as "Panni Dahrie" [پنّی ڈھیری] which was located at Toor Shamatpur [طور شامت پور] and still enjoys its historical significance. There was another monument which was known as "Panni Dahre" [پنّی ڈھیر] and which exists in the area near Gujarat [گجرات بخشالی] in the village Bakhshali [بخشالی] in district Mardan [مردان] which is known as Rustam [رستم]. There were also traces of a pond, in Tehsil Swabi [تحصیل صوابی] near Lahore village which was known as "Pannay Wand" [پنئے ونڈ]. The people of said area were known for their best farming (***Monthly Oolus*** [اوہس] ***1965 page 20-22***). The word Wand [ونڈ] means as "Pond" in Pashto language. The name of said place was abbreviated as "Pannay" [پنئے]. The Dharie which was referred as Lahore Dahrie among other Dhariyan [ڈھیریاں] (mounts) was also known as "Dahrie Rata Neirah" [ڈھیری رتہ نیرہ] which used to be called as Surkh Dahrie [سرخ ڈھری] in the Pashto language, as well. The word "Surkh" means red color which was called red because of scattered potsherds [ٹھیکریاں] on the surface of mount and used to give reddish look. (***Letter Khan Wali Khan*** [خان ولی خان]). The historians had

agreed unanimously that, the actual name of Tehsil "Swabi" [صوابی] of district Mardan [مردان] was in fact, Safi [صافی]. The said name was after the name of the Safi [صافی] offshoot of the Panni nation which was mispronounced as Sabi [صابی] initially and then it had ultimately become Swabi [صوابی] (***Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No.****209،215*, ***Mukhzan Afghani*** [مخزن افغانی] ***Page No.129***). There was an area by the name of Murgez [مرغز] in the same district. *The detail account with regard to has already been given*. The Panni rule used to have its governance up to Taxilla which used to include the area of Mardan [مردان] and Takhtbie [تخت بائی], as well. There was a large town by the name of Pannian [پنّیاں] at the sixteenth mile on the road which leads from Hasanabadal [حسن ابدال] to Abbotabad. The inhabitants of said town mostly, belong to the Panni nation. The said area was presumably part of the Panni sultanate. The history was also not devoid of historical significance. There were also other Mozas of the Panni people in said district as well as, in the vicinity of the Pannian [پنّیاں] town.

Nawab Ismail Khan Barozai Panni [اسما عیل خان باروزئی پنّی] of Sibi [سبّی] had built a new fort in Sanghan [سانگہاں] (*Baluchistan*) after demolishing the old fort. Since, the old city according to some books of history was swept away, due to the river diluvium therefore Nawab Ismail Khan Barozai Panni [اسما عیل خان باروزئی پنّی] had to redevelop the entire city away from the river bed. The name of Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] had remained as the same even after the redevelopment.

The Sibi [سبّی] fort was also built by a Panni Nawab namely, Esa Khan [نواب عیسی' خان]. The claim of the Baloch people was that, Sardar Mir Chaker [میر چاکر] had built the same and he was one of their Sardars.

The Zerk Zai Panni [زرک زئی] people had built a fort in the area of Chaike [کیچ] (*Baluchistan*) near the Iranian border. Nawab Jahan Khan Panni of Sibi [سبّی] had also built a fort besides that, near Mirpur (*Sindh*) which had gradually become popular as fort "Panu Khan" [پنو خان].

Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni of Sibi [سبّی], who was awarded the title as Nawab Bakhtiyar Khan, had developed a town in Sindh. He had named it after his title name, as Bakhtiyarpur [بختیارپور]. The said Nawab was killed in 1116 Hegira and his body was chopped into four pieces by Prince

Mueiz-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین]. He was the appointed Governor of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر], at that time. Then, all those four chopped pieces were hanged in four different cities to instill the impact that, he was awarded an exemplary punishment. There was one piece of his body which was hanged at Bakhtiyarpur [بختیارپور] as well. The Sui [سُوئی] area, from where the natural gas was discovered, was also named after the name of a Panni tribe. There were two areas in Sibi [سبّی] i.e. Dehpal Khuerd [دہپال خُرد] and Dehpal [دہپال کلاں]. The names of both areas were named after Dehpal [دہپال] offshoot of the Panni nation. There was yet another popular place which was known as Safi Kot [صافی کوٹ] which was named after the Safi [صافی] offshoot of the Panni nation.

There was also a fully concrete mausoleum which was constructed by some Barozai Panni [پنّی باروزئی] Nawab, was located at a distance of two to three miles, from Sibi [سبّی] towards Bahker Klan [بھکر کلاں] (***Daily Imroze*** [امروز] 20th ***January 1961***).

There was a road in Quetta which was known as "Panni Road" (***Daily Imroze*** [امروز] 20th ***January 1961***) which was a connected road on the eastern side of Maikangi Road [شاہراہ میکانگی]. There used to be a garden in the district Hoshyarpur [ہوشیارپور] (India) Moza Dyeghan [موضع ڈئیگاں] in Katol Pragana Sham Chorasi [کتول پراگنہ شام جوراسی] which was known as "Bagh Afghanan" [باغ افغاناں]. The writer had the privilege to examine the title documents of said garden. Those documents were in the possession of a family, which had migrated from said area. There was also a large town in said area, by the name of Arrmerr [اڑمڑ]. The said name Arrmerr [اڑمڑ] was a Pathan tribe and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation.

There were two Mohallahs i.e. Caregeran [محلہ کاریگراں] and Kocha Lonerryan [کوچہ لونزیاں] in the city of Peshawar which were known as such, because the people were two offshoots of said Arrmerr [اڑمڑ] tribe. The writer had the chance to witness the signboard of Kocha Lonerryan [کوچہ لونزیاں] which was affixed by the Municipal Corporation Peshawar.

There was a large town by the name of Kamalpur [کمال پور], in Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ] India. Nawab Kamal Khan Panni [نواب کمال خان پنّی] had established the same. There was yet another large town in said city, which was established by a landlord namely, Shah Mohammed Khan

Panni [شاہ محمد خان پنّی] which was known as “Shah Mohammedpur” [شاہ محمد پور]. There was a Mohallah at the same place, which was known as “Panni Mohallah” [پنّی محلہ].

There was a garden which was established by Shah Mohammed Khan Panni [شاہ محمد خان پنّی] in Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ] India and was known as “Panni Bagh” [پنّی باغ]. There was also a Barahderi [بارہ دری] at the same place which was known as “Panni Barahderi” [پنّی بارہ دری]. The said Barahderi [بارہ دری] does not exist anymore and the surrounding area of “Panni Barahderi” [پنّی بارہ دری] was constructed fully. The same area was known as “Panni Barahderi” [پنّی بارہ دری] until recently.

There was a tomb in the same city which was known as Ghorray Ka Maqbera [گھوڑے کا مقبرہ]. When, the people of Bandhail Khand [بندھیل کھنڈ] had ambushed the Nawab of said area namely, Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] and they had killed him then, his horse had run for miles and miles and had reached back to Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ] where it had landed in the house of Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] ultimately. The horse had dropped dead there and the heirs of Nawab had built a crypt of said loyal horse exactly on the spot, where the horse had died.

There was a town in district Annao [اناؤ] in India which was named as Safipur [صافی پور]. The said town was named as such because a saint of the Safi [صافی] offshoot of the Panni nation had breathed his last, in said town. He was also buried there. The said town was established by a Hindu but despite that as said saint had lived also in the area and he had earned a big name by virtue of his saintly traits and due to his righteousness and piety therefore, said town had become popular as Safipur [صافی پور].

The famous commander of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] and the Vice Wazair Jung Nawab Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had developed a city near the city of Geya [گیا], in India which was named after his name, as Daod Nager [داؤد نگر]. The said city exists, even today.

The king of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] namely, Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had built a fort in the city of Azeemabad (*Patna* [پٹنہ]), India. The remnants of which still

exist in the area. The said fort was known as "Qala Sulieman" [قلعہ سلیمان]. There were some private townships which had come up in its vicinity, in recent times.

Sulieman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had also built a mosque in the city of Patna [پٹنہ]. He had also affixed a plaque on the mosque wall. The said plaque had depicted his personal characteristics like, love for humanity, justice and benevolence whereas his name was inscribed on it as Sulieman Sani [سلیمان ثانی].

There were a number of monuments of the Panni governors, in the city of Ailchpur [ایلچ پور], Brar [برار] India which had included the wells, mosques, gardens and palaces. These exist even today and are known with the names of the aforementioned Panni governors. There was a castle which Nawab Ismail Khan Bahader [نواب اسماعیل خان بہادر] had built. He was also the pioneer in promoting the entire dynasty. There used to be a Sheesh Mahal [شیش محل] in the city. The Governor Nawab Slabat Khan [نواب صلابت خان] had built it but there were no more traces.

The landlord of former Reyasat Kernol [ریاست کرنول] (*South India*) namely, Adil Khan [عادل خان] was also the agnate of Nawab Khizer Khan Panni [خضر خان پنّی]. He had laid the foundation of a town which was known as "Adilabad" [عادل آباد] which was about ten miles away from Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن]. Then, Adil Khan [عادل خان] had developed a second town with the same name, at the bank of River Wardha [واردھا] near Nagpur [ناگپور].

The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had changed the name of the city of Tanor [ٹنور] India, to "Pannipur" [پنّی پور] when, Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی], the landlord of former Reyasat Kernol [ریاست کرنول] (*South India*) had conquered. The said Nawab had demolished the old fort and he had built a new castle with lime and stones which was named after the name of Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] as "Qala Ibraheem" [قلعہ ابراہیم].

There was also a minaret [مینار] in the former Reyasat Kernol [ریاست کرنول] which also said landlord had built. The minaret [مینار] was named after his name as "Menar-e-Ibraheem" [مینار ابراہیم].

There was also a mosque in Reyasat Kernol [ریاست کرنول]. The last Nawab of said state namely, Ghulam Rasool Khan Panni [غلام رسول خان پنّی] had built it. The name of the Nawab was also inscribed on the plate which was affixed on the mosque wall.

When, Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] had conquered Adhoni [ادھونی], he had erected a migrate [مینار] as a monument. He had named it after his own name.

The late Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] used to live in Panni Pura [پنّی پورہ] in the area of Karwan Asaho [کارواں اساہو] in Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن], India. There were many renowned personalities of the Panni nation a very long time ago and they had emerged one after the other from said area which was exactly the place where the maternal ancestors of Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [دوست محمد خان پنّی] (*A former Landlord*) used to live, as well. Their reference has already been given above.

Nawab Azam Khan Bahader Panni [نواب اعظم خان بہادر پنّی] was known by his title name generally as, "Ibraheem Khan Bahader Runmust Khan" [ابراہیم خان بہادر رنمست خان]. He had developed an area in the west of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] city which was known as Runmustpura [رنمست پورہ] and still exists and is a well known place. This Nawab had also developed a town in the same area which used to be known as Bahaderpura [بہادر پورہ].

The sons of Nawab Khizer Khan Panni Sani [نواب خضر خان پنّی ثانی] namely, Nawab Fateh Khan Bahader Panni [نواب فتح خان بہادر پنّی] and Hayder Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب حیدر علی خان بہادر پنّی] had built several buildings, gardens as well as, wide roads in Runmustpura [رنمست پورہ] in order to modernize said area. There used to be a mosque in Runmustpura [رنمست پورہ] which Nawab Dolla Khan Bahader Panni [نواب دولہ خان بہادر پنّی] had built.

Nawab Dolla Khan Bahader Panni [نواب دولہ خان بہادر پنّی] who had enjoyed the title as "Krar Nawaz Jung Bahader" [کرارنواز جنگ بہادر] he had developed the site for a huge garden in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] with the same name which was a well known place until recent times. The garden was behind the area of Chakhchul Gora [چخچل گوڑہ]. The said Nawab had died in 1241 Hegira. He was buried in the same garden. He had developed a Hawaili [حویلی] in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] which was generally known as "Deurrehi Nawab Dolla Khan" [ڈیوڑھی نواب دولہ خان]. The

writer was in correspondence with the decedents of said Nawab i.e. Nawab Bashrat Ali Khan Panni [نواب بشارت علی پنّی خان] and he was based at the same place.

The Nawab of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] namely, Nawab Kamal Khan Panni [نواب کمال خان پنّی] had developed a proper garden around the mausoleum of Hazerat Mohammed Hasan Quds Sera [حضرت محمد حسن قدس سرہ] which was a gesture of sheer respect for him.

The Nawab of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] namely, Nawab Mohammed Khan Bahader Panni [نواب محمد خان بہادر پنّی] had made several Bazaars, hospitals, roads and recreational parks prior to the division of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent which were created in the Jagir known as "Zaferabad" [ظفر آباد] or "Jaferabad" [جعفر آباد]. The objective of which was to bring reforms in the life of general public. He had also organized police stations and he had established courts for the enforcement of law and order.

Nawab Saeed Ali Khan [نواب سعید علی خان پنّی] had built a mosque in the area of Croatia [کروٹیا] district Maimon Singh [میمن سنگھ] in the former East Pakistan which was built during the reign of the Emperor Jahangeer [شہنشاہ جہانگیر]. The mosque still exists and plaque of said Nawab was unaltered on the mosque wall, until recently.

There were three educational institutions i.e. Mahmood Ali Institution, Saddat College and Ruqeia High Madrasa [رقیہ ہائی مدرسہ]. Nawab Wajid Ali Khan Panni [نواب واجد علی خان پنّی], who was known also by his nickname as Chand Mian [چاند میاں], he had built. Those institutions were functioning very successfully, until lately. The said Nawab had allocated about three hundred thousand Rupees grant per annum from his Jagir, to run those institutions. He had set-up besides that, the public welfare centers.

There was a large area where those institutions were established and said area was known as Wajid Nager [واجد نگر] just by virtue of Nawab Wajid Ali Khan Panni [نواب واجد علی خان پنّی]. He was a philanthropist. There was a Bazaar which was known as Mahmood Gunj [محمود گنج] and was named as such because of the name of Mahmood Ali Khan [محمود علی خان]. He was among the elders of Chand Mian [چاند میاں]. The Ruqeia High Madrasa [رقیہ ہائی مدرسہ] was named after

the name of Ruqeia [رقیہ] Bagum. She was wife of the benefactor. The aforementioned remnants and monuments were just a glimpse of diversified contribution by the Panni nation, in the Subcontinent.

Cognomens, honorific titles and privileges of the lords of the Panni nation
[پنّی قوم کے امراء کےاعزاز، القاب اور مراعات]:

The ancient history of Indo-Pak had revealed that, the renowned personalities of the Subcontinent had achieved highest distinctions and the honorific titles during different reigns of various regimes. Those personalities used to be the courtiers and lords in the Durbars as well as, they were the Governors of provinces, viceroys, fort custodians, commanders and Jagirdars. They were awarded many Aal Tamgh [آل تمغا] Jagirs i.e. the grants of the land with the ownership rights. They had enjoyed the appointments also as Talqdars [تعلقدار]. They used to enjoy also the royal titles like, Masnad Aala [مسند عالی'] and Hazaret Aala [حضرت عالی'] and besides that, their sultanates were made distinct with the bestowal of honorific title upon them like, "Shah" [شاہ]. The emperors on various occasions, had awarded them the honorific titles like, Aetbar Khan [اعتبار خان], Blundbakhat Khan [بلند بخت خان], Sermust Khan [سرمست خان], Runmust Khan [رنمست خان], Bakhtiyar Khan [بختیار خان], Khan Bahader [خان بہادر], Serandaz Khan [سرانداز خان], Jamadar Khan [جمعدار خان], Mir Shamsheer [میر شمشیر], Kirdar Nawaz [کردارنواز], Jung Bahader [جنگ بہادر], Nawaz-uz-Dola [نوازالدولہ], Rafique Yar Dola [رفیق یاردولہ], Amir Nawaz Bahader [امیرنواز بہادر], Shahnawaz Dolla Roshan Jung [شاہنوازدولہ روشن جنگ], Mustaed Jung [مستعد جنگ], Baybaha Jung [بے بہا جنگ], Mukhtar Jung [مختار جنگ], Istaqamat Jung [استقامت جنگ], Naseeb Jung [نصیب جنگ] or Der Jung Bahader [درجنگ بہادر], Bahader Yar Jung [بہادر یار جنگ], Nawaz-ul-Mulk [نوازالملک], Saif-ul-Mulk [سیف الملک], Qutab-ul-Mulk [قطب الملک], Ameen-ul-Mulk [امین الملک], Ameen-ud-Dola [امین الدولہ], Ameer-ul-Umara Bahader [امیرالامراء بہادر], Rafique-ul-Mulk Bahader [,رفیق الامراء بلند بہادر]Shuja-ul-Mulk Bahader [شجاع الملک بہادر], Ameen-ul-Umara [امین الامراء], Rafique-ul-Mulk [رفیق الملک], Saf Afghan Jung Bahader [صف افگن جنگ بہادر], Sultan-ud-Dola [سلطان الدولہ] and Sultan Nawaz Dola [سلطان نواز الدولہ] etc. They were also granted besides that, the rights of retaining the private militia up to seven thousand [ہفت ہزاری] cavalry with the

infantry troops. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [ورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had conferred the discretionary rights *carte blanche* upon his Vice Wazair Jung [وزیر جنگ] i.e. Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] to spend as much money as he was pleased and there was no audit.

The awards bestowed upon those lords had included, Khilathay-e-Fakhara [خلتہائے فاخرہ] along-with the right of hoisting a flag at their private house which used to be coupled with the right of beating the kettle drum [نوبت] or drum [نقارہ] or Blund Aawaza [بلند آوازہ]. They were also bestowed upon the right to use the decorated sword and Paish Qabaz [پیش قبض]. The other list had included, the ornaments of gold and silver and elephants and horses, which used to be decorated with silk swings [ریشمی جھولا] Serpaich Murasa [سرپیچ مرصع] (*Turban*) and belts which used to be decorated with diamonds and jewels [مرصع پٹی] Jefa [جیفہ] (*Crowns for decorating the Turbans* [کلغی]) bells for necklaces and used to be decorated with gold and diamonds and pearly necklaces [مالائے مروارید] Mahi Meratib [ماہی مراتب] (*The sheet with gold work used to be decorated with small balls of gold at the edge. Then, four men used to hold the same from all four corners and they used to carry it in front of the horse of Ameer* [امیر] *for emblematizing his royal majesty*) and Aftab Geri [آفتاب گیری] which used to be decorated with gold. Those people had ruled Iran and Armenia for about five hundred years and for about six hundred twenty five years, respectively. They had earned the honor of ruling Ghandaharah [گندھارہ] as independent kings other than, Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ]. There were some coins of those Panni rulers which were disinterred at Kandahar [قندھار] and its vicinity.

Love for Islam [دین اسلام سے محبت]:

The history had witnessed the fact that, the people of the Panni nation had always demonstrated more readiness and true allegiance with the religion Islam, unlike other Pathan tribes. The Panni [پنّی] people of central and southern Hindustan had become the followers of Syed Mohammed Johnpuri [سید محمد جونپوری] devotedly. Syed Mohammed Johnpuri [سید محمد جونپوری] had declared himself as Mahdi [مہدی] in 905 A.C, according to historians. The people used to follow him with all the motivation. They were never even hesitant in sacrificing their lives and their personal possessions for the sake of ensuring protection, preservation and dissemination of his teachings. They were subjected to regular persecutions, resultantly. The British troops had opened the

cannon fire at night, in the area of Chanchal Gorrah [چنچل گوڑا] Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن], in order to terrorize them which was without any warning. They had committed large scale genocide in the process, in 1238 AC (*1822 Hegira*). They had expelled them *en masse* from their native place thereafter. *The detail account will be given, later*. The followers of the Suni [سُنی] school of thought were their frontline opposition, in this regard. The author of Maseralumera [ماثرالامراء] had expressed his views in this regard in the manner, as below:

جہلۂ ضلالت کیش از افعانا نِ پنّی رختے ازقومِ دگر اورا مہدئ موعود دانستہ آں مزہب مخترع رالازم گرفتہ اند۔ موئلف (ایں اجزا راباپکے از مقتدائے اہلِ طائفہ اتفاقِ محبت افتاد۔ ظاہر شد کہ سوائے مسئلہ" مالحسن وفیہ" قواعدواصول چند از احادیث استنباط کردہ معتقدِ خود ساختہ اند) (***Volume No.1 Page No.124, 125***)

Translation:

> (The ignorant people were led astray and most of them were the Panni Afghan people whereas some of them were also from other nations. They had developed the belief with commitment that, the persona of Syed Mohammed [سید محمد] was the return of Mahdi [مہدی]. They had considered his concocted religious beliefs, as authentic. The author of this book had the chance to interact with the believers of those beliefs. The said exercise had revealed that, they had sifted out the controversial points from all four religions and then they had made the rest, a foundation of their general belief).

Mollana Abdulqadir Badayoni [مولانا عبدالقادربدایونی], the courtier of the Emperor Akber [اکبر], had eulogized Syed Mohammed [سید محمد] as a saint greater than great saints [اعظم اولیائے کُبار], in his Muntakhib-at-twareekh [منتخب التواریخ] (***Page No.67***). Mollana Abukalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد] had great regards for the religious credence of Syed Mohammed [سید محمد]. He had expressed his views with regard to his family in the manner that, "the name of Sheikh Jamal-ud-Din [شیخ جمال الدین] who was known as, Pahlavi Dahlvi [پہلوی دہلوی], he was a most outstanding name in his family chain. He was among the great saints [اعظم اولیائے کُبار]. He was among those who were able to follow the true path of Allah ['اللہ سبحان و تعالی] as well as, Prophet Mohammed [محمد ﷺ]. He was able to culminate his spiritual venture like the godly and saintly people [اصحاب سلوک و طریقت]. He had followed, the path of Allah ['اللہ سبحان و تعالی] as well as, Sunna [نسہ] of Prophet Mohammed [محمد ﷺ] very avidly in his entire life which was under the patronage of Sheikh Mohammed Daod [شیخ محمد داؤد]. There were some allegations against Sheikh Mohammed Daod

[شیخ محمد داؤد] in some cases that, he had acclaimed himself as Mahdi [مہدی]. The message which was revealed to Sheikh Jamal-ud-Din [شیخ جمال الدین] spiritually was in the manner that, Syed Mohammed Johnpuri [سید محمدؒ جونپوری] was among the great saints [اعظم اولیائے کُبار] and he was a man who was able to acquire the spiritual excellence. There were some people however, who had fabricated and concocted the stories without any rhyme or reason with regard to his spiritual achievements and attainments, in religious matters. There were some contemporaneous religious scholars who had maligned him unnecessarily. They were involved in his spiritual character assassination and they were in fact guilty of committing, the absolute wrong. When, Sheikh Abdullah Niazi [شیخ عبداللہ نیازی] along-with the selected members of his party were persecuted during the rule of Saleem Shah [سلیم شاہ] who was in collusion with Mollana Abdullah [مولانا عبداللہ] then, Sheikh Jamal-ud-Din [شیخ جمال الدین] had passed the remarks that, "the blood of the victims will soon bring to an end, the glory of Afghan rule". The aforementioned perceptions were ingrained regularly, by the critics. The allegation against Sheikh Jamal-ud-Din [شیخ جمال الدین] was that, he had brought the concept of evangelization in the teachings of Islam. Sheikh Jamal-ud-Din [شیخ جمال الدین] was obliged to write a book in the wake of said criticism, through which he had proved with religious references that, the claim of Syed Mohammed Johnpuri [سید محمدؒ جونپوری] was correct to the extent of spiritual Walayat [ولائت] whereas, his claim to be Mahdi [مہدی] (Messiah) was unfounded (***Weakly Chatan*** [چٹان] ***Lahore Dated.30.03.1959***).

The statements of Mollana [مولاناؒ] and Mulla Badayoni [مُلا بدایونی] were more eloquent than, the narrative of Maseralumera [ماثرالامراء]. The reason was that, the former was a minister of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد], where the Mahdi [مہدی] Panni people had the chance to vocalize their views more loudly. There were some Nawabs who were their rivals and of course their viewpoint was based on partiality. We will discuss later in the context of said movement that one way or the other, said movement is still alive, even today. The movement was especially centralized among the Panni people according to the viewpoint of the historians and there were no other Pathan tribe which was involved. The history had also disclosed the fact that, the Mahdi [مہدی] Panni people had created the ruckus in the area, more than once. They were massacred and expelled *en masse* from the area. The renowned politician and the well known orator of the Subcontinent, namely, Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [بہادر یار جنگ] (*Hyderabadi* [حیدرآبادی]) had always taken pride in being a Mahdvi [مہدوی]. He was able to reorganize the Muslims on the basis of his beliefs which had also helped him instill the views publicly, for the renaissance of Islam. Then, his

killing through an organized stratagem had also taken place as a consequence of his beliefs. We will elaborate more exhaustively in the pages to follow, with the objective to highlight the significance of said movement, its aims and objectives which will help ascertain easily, the affiliation and love of the Panni nation for Islam. It will also reveal that, the very spirit of said movement was not based upon any un-Islamic and concocted principles and beliefs rather the objective was to ameliorate the overall conditions of the directionless Muslims of said era. There used to be a group of people, just like the movement of Sir Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سیداخمدشہیدؒ] which had pre-existed said movement and had divided in fact, the Islamic society of said period into two schools of thought.

The Founder of the Mahdvi school of thought and its teachings [مہدوی عقیدے کا بانی اور اسکی تعلیم]:

The Islamic society of the Subcontinent under their then ruler was engulfed by digression. The Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement was set afloat in order to bring reforms in the beliefs of the society, generally. The pioneer of said movement was Mir Syed Mohammed Johnpuri [میرسید محمدؒ جونپوری] (*1442 to 1504 AC*). The name of his father was Mir Syed Khan Johnpuri [میرسید خان جونپوری]. He was the pupil of Syed Mohammed Sheikh Daneyal Chishti [سید محمد شیخ دانیال چشتی] and his period was around 846 Hegira (1442 AC). He was an intelligent fiery orator, scholar as well as, a person who was known for his piety. He was awarded the honorific title as Asad-ul-Ulima [اسدالعلماء] due to the same reason whereas, his speeches used to render speechless even, the highly acclaimed scholars. When, he used to engage in the religious polemics in the Durbar of the rulers, he used to be unmatchable. He was very popular for his God gifted qualities. Sultan Hussain Sharki [سلطان حسین شرقی] was also attracted to him, in Johnpur [جونپور]. Sultan was very impressed by his mesmerizing oratory and other traits like piety etc. There was a general perception that, he had acclaimed himself as Mahdi [مہدی] (putative savior) in 905 Hegira (1499 AC) simply, on the strength of his spiritual knowledge (***Aien-e- Akberi*** [آئینِ اکبری] ***Volume No.3 Page No.415***). Mir Syed Mohammed Johnpuri [میرسید محمدؒ جونپوری] had opted for a foreign tour at the age of forty with the ambition of disseminating and propagating his personal credo and beliefs. He was received very enthusiastically by Ahmed Nezam Shah Nezam-ul-Mulk [احمد نظام شاہ نظام الملک] the ruler of Ahmed Nager [احمد نگر] in Deccan [دکن]. The said ruler had promised to help him achieve the fulfillment of his mission. There were also many other scholars who were

impressed by his excellence in the overall learning, knowledge, piety, righteousness therefore, most of them had decided *en bloc* to be his followers. The gullible segment from the general public had also decided to participate in his rallies and congregations. The ruler of Thath [ٹھٹھ] had although, expelled him from the jurisdiction of his governorate yet, Sardar Shah Beg Arghon [سردار شاہ بیگ ارغون] of Kandahar [قندھار] had decided to be his ally. The Suni [سُنی] religious scholars used to criticize him, openly. Mir Syed Mohammed Johnpuri [میرسید محمدؒ جونپوری] while he was on his way back from Hajj [حج], he had died at Ferah [فرح] in Hilmund Valley [وادئ ہلمند] on 9th Zeqad [ذیقعد] 910 Hegira, Wednesday 23rd April 1505. The mausoleum of Mir Syed Mohammed Johnpuri [میرسید محمدؒ جونپوری] still exists in the area, even today ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.476, Pakistan Times Lahore 26 May 1968***).

Climax of ethnocentricity [عصبیت کی معراج]:

The hallmark feature of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement was to remain equipped with armory, all the time. The followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement used to roam about all equipped with armaments and they used to impose their beliefs upon others even with intimidation (***Badayoni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.3 Page No.67***). They never used to hesitate to interfere even, in the affairs of civil administration. They used to assume the role of local ombudsmen. They used to check the weighing measures and measuring scales, in bazaars. They used to destroy the unhygienic commodities by force and their yardstick to determine the same which used to be the self propounded rules of the Shariat [شریعت]. They used to indulge in the exercise of admonishing publically, if someone was found acting contrary to the principles of Sharait [شریعت]. Then, if someone was found repeating such supposedly profane acts they used to subject the culprit even to such capital punishments, which were prescribed by the religion against some heinous crimes only. They were never even hesitant to award and execute the capital punishments, practically. The local officials who were also fervent supporters of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement, they used to ignore their anti-establishment activities whereas, those who used to detest their acts, they used to remain very scared by maintaining silence (***Tabaqat*** [طبقات] ***Volume No.3***, ***Badayoni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.3 Page No.67, Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.154,155***).

Sacred mission [پاکیزہ مقاصد]:

The primary objective of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement was to inject the spirit of Islam, in the mundane incumbency of the system and to replace it with the system of Khilafat-e-Rashdah [خلافت راشدہ]. The second objective was to inculcate the Quranic precepts in accordance with the Sunna [سنہ] of Prophet Muhammad [محمد ﷺ]. The movement was not in favor of any private or personal ownership of property. The reason was that, Hazerat Abu Baqer Saddique [حضرت ابوبکر صدیق] and Hazerat Umer Farooq [حضرت عمر فاروق] had never owned any personal property after when they had embraced Islam. Thus, they were able to establish themselves as role model (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.154, 155 (Reference) Mirat Skenderi Badayoni*** [مرائت سکندری بدایونی] ***Volume No.1 Page No.395 Tabaqat Akberi*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.114, 115).*** The movement was also based on the firm belief of remaining equipped with arms and ammunition whereas the underlying objective was that, a person was supposed to be identified by his ostensible brave look. The five times congregational prayers, fasting in Ramadan [رمضان] and maintaining difference between right and wrong distinctly, were the fundamental principles of movement. The members also used to maintain the belief that, one who used to fail in abiding by the basic principles of religion Islam, was liable to be punished publicly. The punishment in this regard, used to include also the capital punishment. Allama Iqbal [علامہ اقبال] had said perhaps, in context in the manner as below:

فقر قرآں احتسابِ ہست و بُود
نے رُباب و مستی و رقص و سرُود

Translation:

Rectitude as per Quran, is life's accountability
It is not Rubab and ecstasy, dance and fugacity

There was a local ruler namely, Khawas Khan [خَواص خان] who was also among the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement. When, he was compelled to mend his ways in accordance with the actual principles of the movement, he had repelled blatantly. Then, he had opted to be an activist against the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement (***Tabaqat Akberi*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.116)***. The enthusiasts of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement used to assume the responsibility of passing the personal orders, against the general misdemeanor and misconduct, at public places. They used to declare it as contrary to the principles of the Sharait [خلافِ شریعت], according to Mollana Abdul Qadir Badayoni [عبدالقادر بدایونی]. Then, those who used to fail to obey their orders

used to be awarded the punishments even without any specific order or decree from any court of country. They used to announce even, the capital punishments and then, they used practically to execute them. They never used to be hesitant to hold accountable even, the Qazi [قاضی] of the city for his acts and omissions (***Volume No.3 Page No.67***). The aforementioned practices had perpetuated down from the period of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The Islamists of the ensuing period had also fervently embraced the same. The unfortunate fact was that the dictates of the circumstances have promoted such superfluously courageous and diligent vigilante groups to repeat those practices, even today. These practices are adopted generally, under the pretext of bringing the amelioration in the social setup of the Islamic society. The secularist writers, like the compiler of Maseralumera [ماثرالامراء], had called those people as "Ignorant and misled" [جہلۂ ضلالت کیش] but, according to the compiler of Rood-e-Kosar [رُودِ کوثر], there were a number of people from the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement who had subsequently joined the militia of Sultan Tipu Shaheed [سلطان ٹیپو شہید] (***Shan-e-Hiaderi*** [شانِ حیدری] ***Page No.416***). The job of propagating and publicizing the objectives of the movement was taken over after Syed Mohammed Johnpuri [سید محمدؐ جونپوری] by his two assorted followers namely, Abdullah Niazi [عبداللہ نیازی] and another religious personality from Bengal [بنگال] namely, Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی] son of Sheikh Hasan [شیخ حسن]. The father of the Sheikh and his uncle namely, Hasan [حسن] and Nusar Ullah [نصراللہ] were great scholars, respectively. They were very popular. Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی] was also a charismatic orator. There were many people who had subscribed to his views just because of his oratory. He had established his center of activity at Beyana [بیانہ] near Aghrah [آگرہ] who enjoys the historical significance till today. *The detail account regarding the same will be given, later*. The person who used to trade in the horse business and who was able to make the inroads into the Durbar of Shahjhan [شاہجہان], was able to win the heart of Vice Wazair Jung of Alamgir [عالمگیر] namely, Khizer Khan Panni [خضر خان پنّی] and whose son was Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی], he was also from Beyana [بیانہ]. He was also a staunch supporter of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement. Then, both said supporters had to bid farewell to their routine way of life and they used to spend their time mostly, in worshiping and praising Allah Almighty. They used to arrange the daily religious meetings and they used to offer five times prayers, in congregation [باجماعت]. They used to equally share whatever, the offerings they used to receive from the members and followers. They were able to prove themselves as unmatchable among the renowned scholars of their time during the religious spars and polemics. Mollana Abdullah Sultanpuri [مولانا عبداللہ سلطانپوری], Sheikh Rafique-ud-din [شیخ رفیق الدین] and Mulla Jalal

Danishmund [ملا جلال دانشمند] were among said elite of scholars (***Badayoni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.1 Page No.401)***.

Opposition of the Mahdvi movement [مہدوی عقیدے کی مخالفت]:

The impractical, profane courtiers of the rulers used to be among those who used to oppose the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement. They had declared the Mahdvi [مہدوی] supporters as sacrilegious group (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.156).*** The Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement was un-Islamic, according to them. The second reason was that, the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement were very inflexible with regard to the fundamentals of Islam. The inflexibility was also unacceptable for some members of the general Suni [سُنی] religious clergy. The general public used to disapprove also because they were disallowed to share even the personal wealth, according to the basic principles of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement. The followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement on the other hand, used to disapprove the attitude of the Suni [سُنی] religious scholars. They used to ridicule them, publically. The unchecked practical interference by the Mahdvi [مہدوی] supporters in the social as well as, in the religious life of the common people, used to invite abhorrence and disapproval of the public, against the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement. Then, the interference of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] supporters had multiplied many folds gradually and they had assumed the responsibility of proposing the corrective measures of governance and reforms, for the ruler of their time (*Like Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani* [سید جمال الدین افغانی] *Write*r). Thus, they were able to sneak into the already monopolized domain of some non-Mahdvi [غیرمہدوی] scholars (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.156)***. The non-Mahdvi [غیرمہدوی] scholars used to oppose the Mahdvi [مہدوی] scholars openly, in order to retain their monopoly in the religious affairs. The opposition group used to punish and persecute the members of the movement to win the support of their ruling masters as well as, the general public. Sader-as-sadoor Makhdoom-ul-Mulk, Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri [صدرالصدورمخدوم الملک ملا عبداللہ سلطان پوری] of Suri Durbar [سوری دربار] had also not spared any effort in the company of some likeminded people, in criticizing the Mahdvi [مہدوی] scholars which used to be the somber and seriously dichotomous status of religious beliefs, during the reign of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر]. They had made the majority of the Muslims bemused, with regard to the true spirit of Islam. Thus, the movement had also provided the practical opportunity for an unadvised nationalism, in the name of Islamic renaissance which had grafted a secular spur in the basic tenets of Islam. Islam Shah Suri [اسلام شاہ سوری] had also

encouraged the perfunctory grandeur of the secularity over the gorgeous inviolability of Islam. The position of the Islamic belief was such that, the practicing Muslims of said era were squarely placed in dissonance.

Sheikh Allie and Islam Shah Suri [شیخ علائی اور اسلام شاہ سوری]:

Since, Islam Shah Suri [اسلام شاہ سوری] was also inclined to bring reforms in the Muslim society therefore he had initially adopted the methods of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.156)***. He was inclined to drive out also the lackluster and the languid scholars from both, the royal Durbar as well as, from the Muslim society. Islam Shah Suri [اسلام شاہ سوری] had summoned Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی] in his royal Durbar so as to materialize his objectives. Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی] had maintained however his erudite integrity and his intellectual superiority in this regard. He had cast aside the royal etiquettes and had met the king with the routine courtesy. Then, Abdullah Sultanpuri [عبداللہ سلطان پوری] had harbored a great dislike against Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی] and against the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement, pursuant to said unscriptural gesticulation of Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی]. He had declared Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی] not only a heretic but he had announced the capital punishment against him, as well. Islam Shah Suri [اسلام شاہ سوری] had disregarded said decree and had awarded Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی], the post of ombudsman in his country. Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی] had declined however, to accept it. The said refusal had turned out to be a mystery that why he had declined the post of ombudsman because it was a great opportunity to fulfill his mission. The king had appreciated him not only fervently but, he had also appreciated the reformative aspects of his efforts. He had insisted Sheikh to accept the post of ombudsman. Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی] was not ready however, to please Islam Shah Suri [اسلام شاہ سوری] at the cost of compromising his belief, for worldly gains. The efforts which Islam Shah Suri [اسلام شاہ سوری] had made, in winning over Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی], the same were supposedly, at the instigation of some obsequious scholars (***Tabaqat Akberi*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.117)***. There was a pertinent fact that, most people of the Panni nation were among the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement.

Punishment of lashes to Sheikhain [شیخین کو کوڑوں کی سزا]:

When, the tricks of obsequious scholars and opportunist courtiers had failed against Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی] then, they had opted to use the political platform. Thus, they were able to open a new front against Sheikh. They had succeeded somehow or the other, in convincing the king in this regard that, Sheikh was all out for disrupting the state system and he was on a mission of taking over the administrative control of entire world (***Tabaqat Akberi*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.117)***. The Governor Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] of Hindiya [ہندیا] had joined the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement in the meantime, along-with his subjects. Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri [ملا عبداللہ سلطان پوری] pursuant to the same had instigated Islam Shah Suri [اسلام شاہ سوری] regularly and he had substantiated his viewpoint even to the extent that, the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement were likely to usurp his sultanate completely. Islam Shah Suri [اسلام شاہ سوری] had not endorsed their whims but, the opponent critics had never given up their entrenched stance. Then, they had succeeded in their ploy ultimately against the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement. Islam Shah Suri [اسلام شاہ سوری] had left Aghrah [آگرہ] suddenly, in 1549 A.C in order to settle the account with the Niazi [نیازی] Pathans. When, he was able to reach the Beyana [بیانہ] area, which was the epicenter of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement, Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri [ملا عبداللہ سلطان پوری] had diverted his attention towards Sheikh Abdullah Niazi [شیخ عبداللہ نیازی] who was an ally of Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی]. Sheikh Abdullah Niazi [شیخ عبداللہ نیازی] was busy at that time, in his way of reforming the society through his teachings, in the mountains of Beyana [بیانہ]. He had a great influence among the Niazi [نیازی] people and somehow or the other, Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri [ملا عبداللہ سلطان پوری] was able to convince the king that, Sheikh Abdullah Niazi [شیخ عبداللہ نیازی] was instrumental in creating the discontent amongst the people of the Niazi [نیازی] tribe, in the Punjab [پنجاب] area. Thus, he was able to establish that, Sheikh Abdullah Niazi [شیخ عبداللہ نیازی] was responsible for carrying out the disruptive activities against his people (***Tabaqat Akberi*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.117, Badayoni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.3 Page No.45, 46)***. The king was influenced somehow or the other, by their propaganda. Then, he was pleased to pass the orders for the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah Niazi [شیخ عبداللہ نیازی]. He had also announced punishment of lashes against him. The orders were implemented and despite the infliction of severe punishment of lashes, Sheikh Abdullah Niazi [شیخ عبداللہ نیازی] was able to survive. He had retired *villrggiatura* into some remote corner of Hindiya [ہندیا] thereafter and then, he had dedicated the remaining part of his life for prayers only (***Tabaqat Akberi*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.117)***. The demagogue was able to prevail upon Islam Shah Suri [اسلام شاہ سوری] after the punishment of Sheikh Abdullah Niazi [شیخ عبداللہ نیازی] and Islam Shah Suri [اسلام شاہ

سوری] was encouraged to award the similar punishment to Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی], as well. Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی] was already very weak due to some ailment at that time and he had breathed his last, after receiving the third lash (***Tabaqat Akberi*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.118)***. Badayoni [بدایونی] had held Mulla Abdullah Sultanpuri [ملا عبداللہ سلطان پوری] responsible for the death of Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی]. The said treatment was meted out to the followers of Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement intermittently, till the period of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] which had continued even thereafter, till the period of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] and said practice was very much in place after his death even, during the reign of the Nezam i.e. ruler of Deccan [دکن]. *The detail will be given, later*. The death of Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی] was the result of successful connivance of the bigoted members of demagoguery, according to Mulla Badayoni [ملا بدایونی] (***Badayoni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.3 Page No.72)***.

Disappearance of Sheikh Mubarak [شیخ مبارک کی روپوشی]:

The followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement were scared of man hunting and genocide. Sheikh Mubarak [شیخ مبارک] i.e. the father of Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل] was also left with no other option but, to conceal his whereabouts for a considerable length of time. He was also suspected to have the relations with Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی] (***Badayoni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.3 Page No.72)***. Then, the internal rift and meanness of those evil elements of demagoguery had nailed the movement for the last time, during the reign of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had negated the teachings and practices of Sheikh Allie [شیخ علائی]. Then, Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل] had started discrediting the followers more critically, during the religious spars and polemics which had rendered them unworthy in the eyes of the masses. The mutual understanding of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] and Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل] had also rendered those pseudo intellectuals and demagoguery, insignificant and irrelevant in the eyes of courtiers, completely. The Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] was able to set afloat thereafter, his despicable secularist, nationalistic pseudo liberalism, in the garb of Din-e-Elahi [دین الہی]. The Hindus appreciate this even, today. Din-e-Elahi [دین الہی] era was the darkest religious period for the Muslims, during the Mughal era. The inadequate approach of those pseudo intellectuals was instrumental in leading astray even the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر], in our opinion (*Writer*).

The Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement had lost its credibility and had failed to achieve its objectives in the wake of such circumstances. The movement was able to mobilize however the sentiment of harmony under Islam thus, had also provided an impetus to the renaissance movement of Islam. The impact had remained vibrant till the division of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent. The said impetus had gathered further momentum even during the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. The rulers of Deccan [دکن] had used however, said renaissance movement as a pretext, during the ensuing period. They had inflicted the indiscriminate punishments, imprisonments and persecutions against the promoters of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement. Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [بہادر یار جنگ پنّی] of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] was among the last ones who had preached and practiced the objectives of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement. He was also poisoned as a consequence, through his Huqa [حقہ].

Association with the Roshni Movement [روشنی تحریک میں شمولیت]:

The deep interest in the religious affairs and the love for Islam by the Panni Pathans was proved further, by their fervent association and keen interest in the "Roshni" [روشنی] movement. There were numerous followers of a religious scholar, in the northeastern mountainous areas of Bajorr [باجوڑ] and Tera [تیرہ] area of Pakistan. The birth of "Roshnie Sect" [روشنا ئی فرقہ] had taken place at the end of sixteenth century, in the aforementioned areas. The pioneer of said movement namely, Bayazeed Ansari [بایزیدانصاری] was called as "Pir Roshan" [پیرروشن] by his followers [مرید]. The opponents of "Pir Roshan" [پیرروشن] used to call him as "Pir Tareek" [پیرتاریک] (Pir Somber). There were some historians who had maintained the view that the word Tera [تیرہ], which was used for said area, was in fact the distorted form of the word Tareek [تاریک] i.e. [تیرہ] (Somber) as used in the Urdu language. Bayazeed Ansari [بایزیدانصاری] was an intelligent man. He had his fingers on the pulse of the then, Pathan society. He had started preaching the objectives of the "Roshni" [روشنی] movement, among the Pathan community on the basis of his influence and intelligence therefore, the movement had gained momentum, very rapidly which had overwhelmed the entire area of Tera [تیرہ]. The Pathans are extremists by nature usually and they have the tendency to explore fanatically, the extreme ends of everything. They have the tendency to also abstain from joining any movement normally but, if they decide to do so then, they dedicate themselves and make it a complete success. They had not hesitated even in those days and they were ready to give away their lives. When, Bayazeed Ansari [بایزیدانصاری] was

able to cultivate his influence to the temperate society, he had realized that the success was just round the corner. The impact of his teaching was visible within no time, in the area of the Mohmand [مہمند] and Bajorr [باجوڑ] other than, in the area of Tera [تیرہ]. He had organized himself even to the extent that, his followers had started the practical battles against the Mughal [مغل] Empire.

(The genealogical tree of Bayazeed Ansari [بایزیدانصاری] was linked with Sheikh Siraj-ud-Din Ansari [شیخ سراج الدین انصاری] in the seventh generation whereas his father Sheikh Abdullah [شیخ عبداللہ] had landed in Hindustan from Afghanistan, for trading the horses. He was able to get settled in Jalandher (East Punjab). There was a common perception about his faith that, all those people who used to refuse to follow him, were considered to be as dead people and their personal assets were considered to be inheritable by those who had proved their allegiance to Bayazeed Ansari [بایزیدانصاری]. They had the right to occupy the property of the dead people on the very first available opportunity, by virtue of the same. There was also a common perception that, his followers used to arrange the rallies without any distinction of male and female and at times even, in accordance with the personal beliefs of the people. There used to also be the propaganda that, they used to get involved, in some despicable acts, as well. The Bayazeed Ansari [بایزیدانصاری] movement was an organized political effort of the Pathans against the Mughal [مغل] regime, according to some other critics. The scholarly intelligence of Bayazeed Ansari [بایزیدانصاری] was of such level that, even the established scholars used to fail to hold the ground in front of him, during the religious spars and polemics. The progress of the written Pashto language had started in fact, during his period of influence. Bayazeed Ansari [بایزیدانصاری] was proficient in the Arabic, Persian, Pashto and other languages of Hindustan. He had written books in those languages. He had written a book in Arabic language which was captioned as "Maqsood-ul-Momeneen" [مقصودالمومنین]. Then, there was another book which was captioned as Khyer-ul-Beyan [خیرالبیان] which was in the Arabic, Persian and Pashto as well as, in the Hindi languages. He had discussed besides his own biography, the imbedded meanings [رمُوز] of the Quranic [قرآن] verses in the book which was captioned as "Falnama" [فالنامہ] and his critics were taken aback by virtue of the same. Hazerat Akhwan Deweza Sahib [اخوان درویزہ صاحب] was one of the leading critics of Bayazeed

Ansari [بایزیدانصاری] among the Pathans. The books of Bayazeed Ansari [بایزیدانصاری] are not available now.

Hazerat Akhwan Derweza Sahib [اخوان درویزہ صاحب] was the frontline critic. He had declared said movement, as yet another Fitna [فتنہ] in Islam. He had declared Jihad [جہاد] to eliminate the same. The Mughal [مغل] rulers were quite perturbed already, due to the activities of the Pathan tribes and they had failed to subjugate them despite their very strong maneuverability. Then, they had decided to work on internal schism and had started supporting and promoting the opponents of Pir Roshan [پیرروشن]. Then, they had advanced a Shahi lashker [شاہی لشکر] in aid of protagonists so as to annihilate the tribal areas, practically. The situation had culminated even to the extent that, the enthusiasts of Pir Roshan [پیرروشن] were able to assassinate the governor of Kabul [کابل] around 1593-4. Then, the Shahi Lashker [شاہی لشکر] was dispatched to raid the area of Tera [تیرہ], as a measure of revenge. The support of the local opponents was available although to the Shahi lashker [شاہی لشکر] yet, the followers of the Pir Roshan [پیرروشن] movement were able to block the routes in such a way that, the supply line to the Shahi Lashker [شاہی لشکر] was chocked. Thus, they had no other option but, to take a detour. The movement had remained active always even subsequently despite all the odds.

The influence of said movement was at its climax even at the time when, the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had breathed his last. When, the Emperor Jahangeer [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had taken over the reins of power, the enthusiasts of Pir Roshan [پیرروشن] had attacked Kabul [کابل] on 5th April 1611. They had tried to ransack the entire city in a total franzy. When, the royal guards had failed to contain them, the opponent of said sect, Malik Nad Ali [ملک ناد علی] had made his come from Elaqa Maidan [علاقہ میدان] (*Khyber Agency*) for their rescue. Thus, they were able to protect the city from a total devastation. The opposition had remained very vibrant, despite the same. Mahabat Khan [مہابت خان] who was Subaydar [صوبیدار] of Kabul [کابل], he had killed about three hundred Dolat Zai [دولت زئی] Pathans, in 1619 or 1620. They were affiliated with "Roshnie Sect" [روشنا ئی فرقہ]. Then, the Shahi lashker [شاہی لشکر] had raided the area of Tera [تیرہ] via Derra Sim Pagha [درّہ سم پغہ] under the command of interim Subaydar [صوبیدار] of Kabul [کابل] namely, Ghairat Khan [غیرت خان]. The inhabitants of Tera [تیرہ] were ready to put-up the defense when, Ahdad [احداد] and Malik Toor Panni [ملک طور پنّی] had also brought their own lashkers [لشکر] which were consisted of many individuals, from the Panni tribes. The supporters of Ghairat Khan

[غیرت خان] had fought against Malik Toor Panni [ملک طور پنّی] and the lashker of Shahi Rajpoot [شاہی راجپوت] had fought against Ahdad [احداد]. The royal lashker was defeated however, after a bloody battle. The war was over despite that the impact of the movement had latently persisted in the Pathan society. The circumstances had taken such turn after about six years that, the Shahi lashker [شاہی لشکر] had to move towards Tera [تیرہ] under the command of Subaydar [صوبیدار] and Muzzafer Khan [مظفر خان] of Kabul [کابل]. The Shahi lashker [شاہی لشکر] was able to win the battle on said occasion but, Ahdad [احداد] was killed which had sent the wave of panic among his supporters and Muzzafer Khan [مظفر خان] had to escape to Loger [لوگر]. When, the Emperor Jahangeer [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had opted to go to Kabul [کابل] in 1035 Hegira (1625 AC), Aftikhar Khan [افتخار خان] had brought the chopped head of Ahdad [احداد] from the Bangush [بنگش] area and he had presented it to the Emperor Jahangeer [شہنشاہ جہانگیر]. The catafalque carrying the chopped head of Ahdad [احداد] was moved thereafter, to Lahore [لاہور] to hang the head at the gate of the Shahi fort [شاہی قلعہ] (***Karnama Jahangeer*** [کارنامہ جہانگیری] ***Page No.4 – 203***). The thought process and the mindset associated with the movement had perpetuated latently and patently among the Panni people of "Roshnie sect" [روشنا ئی فرقہ] as well as, among other Pathans even during the reign of the Emperor Akber [اکبر]. Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل] had expressed his views in the manner, as below:

"از عرائض صوبہ داری کابل و دیگر متصدیانِ مہمات آنجا (سرِ فتنہ برافروختن احداد بہ نہاد درتیرہ ۔ وپیوستنِ الوس آفریدی، پنّی واورک زئی درنگر کوٹ اقامت داشت"

(***Translation:*** "*The same pertains to the subversion of the Ahadad in the area of Tera and joining hands with him by the Afridi, Panni and Orakzai tribes"*) (***Aqamat Dasht*** [اقامت داشت] ***Volume No.1, Page No.814***)

When, Shahjhan [شاہجہان] was enthroned after the Emperor Jahangeer [شہنشاہ جہانگیر], the struggle under the "Roshnie sect" [روشنا ئی فرقہ] was very much alive. The leader of the movement namely, Kamal-ud-Din [کمال الدین] was able to create the anti-Mughal sentiment throughout in the nation and the opposition was also able to create the conditions which were considered to be confrontational towards the state. The opponents had gathered together from far and wide and had included the Toori Panni [طوری پنّی] people, as well. They had started preparing for a war against Peshawar [پشاور]. The Subaydar [صوبیدار] of Peshawar [پشاور] namely, Syed Khan [سید

خان] was also ready to defend the attack. When, the attack was launched on 13th July 1630 he had defended it very courageously. The Sardars of the attackers were killed unfortunately, in the battlefield and had created a huge row. The city was secured however without much ado and the war had come to an end thereafter, without achieving the desired results.

Gallantry and warfare [شجاعت اور جنگجوئی]:

The name of the Panni nation had always remained under the spotlight in the context of gallantry, bravery and conquests. There were thirty four rulers of said nation who had ruled Iran and some of them had ruled in the Ghandaharah [گندھارہ] area, as well. There were about twenty one of their rulers who were privileged to rule Armenia whereas, three of them had ruled the eastern part of the Subcontinent. There were also some Ameers of said nation along-with, Nawabs, governors, generals, commanders and numerous audacious soldiers who were able to record, the mindboggling military achievements. There were some of them who had penned the history of Subcontinent with their blood. They had added the plums of glorification, in the diadem of history. Thus, they were able to donate the color of glory, to the flags of many kings. The majesty and glory, the grandeur of crowns and thrones of many kings and their conquests with their fluttering flags were just due to the sacrifices of those Panni people. There were also many such unsung heroes of said nation who had preferred to sacrifice even their lives which was the only asset they had during the ordeals. The same was just to protect their integrity. They had not demonstrated even an iota of laxity ever, in their principal stance. The brave people of said nation had also looked into the eyes of death and had dancingly faced the havocs of fire and blood. They had treated the battlefields as their playgrounds. They had plunged into the oceans of fire with the intention of submerging in it and then emerging there-from, victoriously. The glow of affluence, glare of titles, grace of high posts, and grandeur of rulers, the administrative powers, authority and charm of youthfulness was worth a hunting animal only, as compared to their sense of achievements. The best and distinctive trait of their conviction had become visible more distinctly when, they had dedicated their properties and Jagirs voluntarily, for Sultan Tipu Shaheed [سلطان ٹیپو شہید] and during the Jihad [جہاد] of Syed Amend Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. *The detail account will be given, later*.

PANNI SUFIS AND SCHOLARS

[پنّی صوفیاء اور مشائخ عظّام]

Akhwand Abdul Ghafoor Khan Safi Panni [اخوند عبدالغفور خان صافی پنّی]:

The Panni Pathans have created a great impact in the matters of religion as well as, in spiritualism. They have produced individuals like, Mahdi Syed Mohammed [مہدی سید محمد] as well as, the followers of the Pir Roshan [پیر روشن] movement and besides that they have produced highly acclaimed Sufis [صوفیاء] and spiritualists. They were also able to demonstrate the atypical vibes of apocalypse and theosophical charismas, piety and righteousness and thus they were able to earn the titles like "Sheikh" [شیخ] "Sufi" [صوفی] and "Ahel Allah" [اہل اللہ]. They were able to rule the hearts of the millions and thus, they had also become the source of comfort as public symbols of respect for many hearts. The name of Akhwan Abdul Ghafoor Khan Safi Panni [اخوند عبدالغفور خان صافی پنّی], who was the pioneer for the former state of Swat, was also significant in this context. The mausoleum of Akhwan Abdul Ghafoor Khan Safi Panni [اخوند عبدالغفور خان صافی پنّی] is a place of consolation for many, in Saido Sheriff Swat [سیدو شریف سوات]. *The details of his spiritual achievements and piety will be given, later*.

Sheikh Ahmed Shon [شیخ احمد شون]:

Sheikh Ahmed Shon [شیخ احمد شون] had hailed from the Shon [شون] or Shoan [شوان] Panni tribe whereas his actual name was Ahmed [احمد]. The word Panni [پنّی] was attached with his name as a clear suffix, in Makhzan Afghani [مخزن افغانی]. He was a Derwaish [درویش] with a clear heart and he was a visionary. He was considered as a spiritual leader because of his highly exhilarated religious approach as well as, kindheartedness. He was able to imbibe the spirituality in a copious manner, from the Chishtia [چشتیہ] school of thought. There were a number of his followers who had also benefitted from his spiritualism (***Makhzan Afghani*** [مخزن افغانی] ***Dron Part No.3 Page No.35***). He used to live in the Bajorrah [باجوڑہ] area which is in the mountainous region of northeastern frontier of Pakistan. When, the Emperor Jahangeer [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had learnt about his spiritual exaltation, apocalypse, excellence in the field of knowledge and his spiritual following among the masses, he had invited him to Agerah [آگرہ] according to various books of history. Sheikh Ahmed Shon Panni [شیخ احمد شون پنّی] had traveled to Agerah [آگرہ] in

this regard but, he had not bowed before the Emperor which was an act in total defiance of royal etiquettes and said attitude had displeased the Emperor Jahangeer [شہنشاہ جہانگیر]. He had imprisoned him in the Gowalyar fort [قلعہ گوالیار], resultantly (***Akhbar-al-Aoleya Qalmi*** [اخبارالاولیا قلمی] ***Page No.103***). When, Nawab Jahan Khan [نواب جہان خان] was on his way to Deccan [دکن] after sometime, he had requested for an official pardon for Sheikh Ahmed Shon [شیخ احمد شون]. The said request was granted, duly. He had taken Sheikh Ahmed Shon [شیخ احمد شون] to Deccan [دکن] where Sheikh was able to live for two years, only. There was a general perception that, Sheikh had preserved the chain very carefully as a souvenir, with which he was enchained during his imprisonment. He used to say: "Though said chain was not his real mentor yet, he had benefitted from it, spiritually". He had served the imprisonment for three years (***Rood-e-Kosar*** [رودِکوثر] ***Page No.406***).

Sheikh Ahmed Shon Panni [شیخ احمد شون پنّی] was known to have brought in the limelight, the sensitive religious issues. He had the knack of explaining the imbedded meaning of Quranic verses. He had sought the divine explanations of some religious propositions from Sheikh Esa Mushwani [شیخ عیسی' مشوانی] through a write-up. Sheikh Esa Mushwani [شیخ عیسی' مشوانی] had answered however, with an equally matching competence. He had the collection of several books of Sufism [علمِ تصوف]. He used to address his followers in the extreme ecstatic moods, with the word as "Jan" [جان] or when he used to be overwhelmed usually, by the sentiment of religious fervor. He had stayed in Deccan [دکن] for some time and then, he had returned to his native country. He had become very rigid in the matter of Sharait [شریعت] on his return and he used to maintain the abstinence even from the ostensible display of Sufism [تصوف]. He used to spend most of his time in prayers and used to seek Toba [توبہ] and Istughfar [استغفار] (Expiation) fervently (***Urdu translation from Akhbar-al-Aoleya Qalmi*** [اخبارالاولیا قلمی] ***compiled by Abdullah Khwaishgi*** [عبداللہ خویشگی] ***Page No.104).***

He was enriched with the wealth of ecstatic theosophical vision which had helped him discover the secrets of pious apocalyptic world and his spiritually visionary state of mind had helped him accomplish many more levels of excellence, in the realm of spiritualism, according to Makhzan Afghani [مخزن افغانی]. The said prophetic enlightenment was a divine gift to Sheikh Ahmed Shon Sufi [شیخ احمد شون صوفی]. He was a known Derwaish [درویش] with a clear conscience and his heart was filled with love for religion as well as, with inquisitive vivaciousness. He used to live

in Qala Bajorr [قلعہ بجوڑ] where his prayers were always answered. He was a man of many overt and covert qualities. He was reckoned as an excellent man of his time due to his uprightness and moderation. He had died in 1027 Hegira (1617 AC) according to Tabaqat-e-Shanshahi [طبقاتِ شہنشاہی]. He was buried in his village, near Bajorrah [بجواڑہ] (***Rood-e-Kosar*** [رودِکوثر] ***Page No.409***).

Sheikh Ahmed Shon Panni [شیخ احمد شون پنّی]:

We have already explained that, according to Makhzan Afghani [مخزن افغانی] the word Panni [پنّی] was clearly mentioned with his name. He had cultivated the ultimate love for Allah [عشقِ حقیقی] Almighty *par excellence* after when he was able to transcend many theosophical and mystical [عرفان و سلوک] levels. He was an outstanding scholar of his time by virtue of his several distinguishable scholarly qualities. He was considered to have an outstanding position amongst his contemporary Sufis [صوفیا] (mystics) and Aoleya Allah [اولیا اللہ] (spiritualists). He used to spend most of his time, in the company of a Sufi saint namely; Khawaja Khizer [خواجہ خضر] which in fact had come to the knowledge of the general public when he had mentioned his name with red ink, on a copy of the Holy Quran. The copy of the Holy Quran with his noting was handed down to his heirs, during the reign of the Emperor Jahangeer [شہنشاہ جہانگیر]. The aforementioned reasons had earned him the worthy status and his name was incorporated in Makhzan Afghani [مخزن افغانی]. The said book was written and compiled during the reign of Emperor Jahangeer [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] (***Makhzan Afghani*** [مخزن افغانی] ***Dron Part No.3 Page No.37***).

Mollana Khizer Panni [مولانا خضر پنّی]:

He was a proclaimed Qutab [قطب] (spiritual pole). He had hailed from a Panni tribe. *Idée reçue* once a group from said tribe had approached him with a complaint that, the Serdani Pathans [سردانی پٹھان] were loaded with assets as well as water reserves whereas, said group was without these assets. They were keeping their legs straight barely, in order to quench their thirst. Mollana Khizer Panni [مولانا خضر پنّی] was on his two legs immediately, on receiving their complaint. He had walked towards the Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان] (*which is the cradle of Panni nation*) and then, he was able to reach the Draben River [دریاے درابن] where the Serdani Pathans

[سردانی پٹھان] were based. There he had opted to offer the prayers first and he had also prayed for the people of the Serdani Pathans [سردانی پٹھان] tribe. The said gesture had softened the hearts of the Serdani Pathans [سردانی پٹھان] and they were inclined to share their water with the people of Mollana Khizer Panni [مولانا خضر پنّی], voluntarily. The said act had resultantly brought an ease in the lives of the people from both sides (***Urdu translation Akhbar-al-Aoleya Qalmi*** [اخبارالاولیا قلمی].

Baba Kandahari [بابا قندھاری]:

We have already explained in detail that, the Kandahari [قندھاری] Pathan are in fact from the Panni [پنّی] nation. The people of said tribe were very carefully, pragmatic regarding Islam just due to entering very late into the realm of Islam. Akhwan Abdul Ghafoor Khan Panni [اخوند عبدالغفور خان پنّی] was also from the Safi [صافی] offshoot of the Panni nation. The mausoleum of Baba Kandahari [بابا قندھاری] No.1 is at Hasanabadal [حسن ابدال]. He was a saintly person. There were various narratives of apocalyptic contests, which had taken place between Baba Nanak [بابا نانک] and Baba Kandahari [بابا قندھاری]. There was one Sikh [سکھ] pilgrim from India who had visited Punja Sahib [پنجہ صاحب] at Hasanabadal [حسن ابدال] and he had disclosed to the writer that when, the Sikh pilgrims visit Punja Sahib [پنجہ صاحب] then, most of them feel it incumbent to offer Salam at the shrine of Baba Kandahari [بابا قندھاری] and are located on the nearby hill.

There was a shrine of another Baba Kandahari [بابا قندھاری] in Moza Faizabad [موضع فیض آباد] near Tandlinwala [تاندلیانوالہ] in district Faisalabad [فیصل آباد] where, his annual festival (Urs [عرس]) is celebrated every year. There was a general perception that, there was another Baba Kandahari [بابا قندھاری] and his shrine was in the suburbs of the Shahdra [شاہدرہ] town Lahore. The people of the Kandahari [قندھاری] groups had embraced Islam gradually as mentioned above and they were known as Neemcha [نیمچہ] during their transitional phase. They were called as Safi [صافی] on attaining the maturity of understanding the full scope of Islamic values. There was another shrine of a similar person from the Kandahari [قندھاری] tribe which used to be in the town of the Anao [اناؤ] district (*United Areas*), in India. The said town was established although by a Brahman [براہمن] yet, the Safi Derwaish [صافی درویش] had become so popular that, the town was famous as Safipur [صافی پور] until recently (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.21 Page No.350, Gazetteer***

District Awadh [آودھ] ***Page No.224***). There was another shrine of Pir Kandahari [پیر قندھاری] near Sadder Bazaar, Lahore.

Hazerat Shah Mohammed Sulieman Tonsvi (Jafferia Panni)
[حضرت شاہ محمد سلیمان تونسوی (جعفریہ پنّی)]:

The name of the father of Hazerat Shah Mohammed Sulieman Tonsvi (Jafferia Panni) [حضرت شاہ محمد سلیمان تونسوی (جعفریہ پنّی)] was Zakria [زکریا]. Zakria [زکریا] was the son of Abdul Wahab [عبدالوہاب], son of Umer Bun Khan [عمر بن خان]. The name of his mother was Bibi Zulaikha [بی بی زلیخا]. He was an Afghan [افغان]. He was from the Jafferia [جعفریہ] family and are an offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni [پنّی] nation. Shah Mohammed Sulieman [شاہ محمد سلیمان] was known as Roheila [روہیلہ] popularly. He was born in 1188 Hegira, in the town of Lerrgohie [لڑگوہی] which was located in Koh Werag [کوہ ورگ] which was about thirty miles away from Tonsa [تونسہ], in the west. He had died in 1267. The mighty and strong elite of the state and some lords used to be his venerators. Shah Shujjah [شاہ شجاع] was also among his admirers. When, he had moved from Afghanistan with the support of the British administration, he had opted to stay for a night, at Tonsa [تونسہ] (***Pathans Page No.101, Sofia-e-Punjab Page No.627***).

Dress and language [زبان اور لباس]:

The Panni Pathans of many areas have already adopted the local dresses as well as, languages and most of them have also given up their ancient traditions. They remember this much however that their origin was from a particular tribe which was the Panni nation.

The Panni Pathans of the plain areas have obliterated their identity virtually. They have taken the Rajpoot [راجپوت] tribes etc. as their origin. The families which used to live in the surrounding areas of Delhi [دہلی], Jaypur [جے پور], Jodhpur [جورھپور] and Aaheer [آھیر] (*India*) Rohtak [روہتک], were under the impression mostly that, the Rajpoot [راجپوت] tribe was their origin. There were some families of the Lona [لونا] offshoot *fons et origo* of the Panni nation which were based in a village, in district Sheikhupura [شیخوپورہ] in Pakistan. They use to treat themselves as Rajpoot [راجپوت], as well. There were some members of the Rajpoot [راجپوت], who had adopted the Baloch [بلوچ] traditions and culture as well as dresses just by virtue of living in the Baloch

areas. They used to consider themselves as Baloch [بلوچ]. There were the Nawabs of the Panni nation from the Sibi [سبّی] area who used to prefer intermarriages, with the Nawabs of Qalat [قلات] (***Haturam*** [ہتورام] ***Page No.666***). The Panni male folks of Baluchistan used to dress-up in white clothes whereas the females used to like black dresses (***Afaghana*** [افاغنہ] ***Page No.198, 218***). The Panni Pathans of tribal areas speak Pashto language mostly whereas those who used to live in Afghanistan, they used to speak the Persian language. There were others however, who used to live in Baluchistan and they used to speak the Baloch language only. Those who used to live near Sevi [سیوی] across the Shanghan [سانگہاں] lake, used to speak a peculiar language which was known as Seriakie [سرائیکی]. The people on the other side of the lake, used to speak the Pashto [پشتو] language (***Official Article in Daily Imrose*** [امروز] ***Lahore 20th January 1961***). The Panni Pathans of Ghazni [غزنی], Kandahar [قندھار], Herat [ہرات] and Balkh [بلخ] etc. used to speak Persian language. The language of the Safi Panni Pathans, who used to live in the northern mountainous range of Pakistan, was somewhat similar with the language of Kafiristan [کافرستان] (***Imperial Volume No.14 Page No.12***). The Panni people of central India used to speak, Urdu and Bengali languages. The Panni people of Indo-Pak Subcontinent and the northern areas of Pakistan used to speak, the parochial tongues as well as, other local languages. They were immersed in the local traditions in the literal sense. They had also changed their dresses etc.

General division [مجموعی تقسیم]:

We can examine the Panni nation by dividing it into two parts, generally. There used to be a group which was known by its ancient name Panni [پنّی] whereas, the other group was known by its patronymic identities due to the migration of its people, from time to time. The word Panni [پنّی] had become the taxonomic recognition therefore, for the new offshoots. Thus, when such families had multiplied in numbers at their respective local level, the space which they used to occupy, was also rendered inadequate for their further proliferation. Then, they used to migrate occasionally to other places and they used to adopt the new leaders, as their Sardars. They were resultantly known with the new patronymic identities (***Tareekh Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہان] ***Page No.65***). The family of the writer as well as, the families of the people in the district Multan and Pannian [پنّیاں] (*There is a village in District Hazara* [ہزارہ]) and the Panni people of Bangladesh, along-with people of many other places were in the former category whereas, there were various other offshoots which were in the latter category and were like, Hasan Zai [حسن

زئی], Mahie Zai [ماہی زئی], Umer Zai [عمرزئی] Panni etc. including many other offshoots, which we have mentioned in the preceding pages. These had become popular in a patronymic manner. Then, they were known as Hasan Zai [حسن زئی], Mahie Zai [ماہی زئی], Umer Zai [عمرزئی] etc. The people of those tribes were also identified by virtue of the name of their locality. The names of Sebi Panni [سِبی پنّی], Khajak [خَجک پنّی], Sanghan [سانگہاں پنّی], Dehpal [دھپال پنّی] and others can be quoted in this regard, as well. The abovementioned were just the names of some places. There were some places which were also popular by virtue of the inhabitance of the people in those areas. There was for instance a village by the name of Loni [لونی] in the province of Baluchistan. There were two villages between Ghazni [غزنی] and Maker [مکر], in Afghanistan which were also known as Loni [لونی]. This fact had proved that the Loni [لونی] was in fact, the name of an individual of the Panni nation. The Loni [لونی] and Zerghon [زرغون] are based, in Loni [لونی] and Khajak [خَجک] as well as, in other areas besides, having abodes in the adjoining villages of Sevi [سیوی]. Since, some people of the Loni [لونی] tribe used to live near a river therefore, said river was also known as Loni Derya [لونی دریا]. Then, there was a river (Derya) with the same name in Rajasthan, as well (***Record of Expeditions Page No. 506, 66, 641, 317, 321, 325, 330, 339, 372***). There was a town by the name of Merghzan [مرغزان] in district Mardan. The people of the area as well as, the people of the Sibi [سبّی] area are known as Merghzani Panni [مرغزانی پنّی] by virtue of said name. The Panni nation was sub-divided into hundreds of offshoots, over the years.

We have tried to explain the achievements of some of the leading personalities of some distinct offshoots, on the strength of abovementioned facts. They had hailed from the Panni nation but, in order to avoid the unnecessary and subjective details, a large number of offshoots were not considered for this book. The compiler of Tazkera Afghani [تذکراہ افغانی] had explained clearly that, many a Khail [خیل] had emanated from the "Panni" [پنّی] nation but, all those tribes and groups were known as "Panni" [پنّی] collectively or they were known as the "Pannie" [پني] tribes (***Page No2, Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***Census report 1910, 1941 & 1961***). There was no doubt that, the reliance was placed on some very old entries to prepare those census reports whereas, the tribal elders or Sardars had revealed the other stated facts to the government officials. The Sardars of the Panni nation as well as, other nations had prepared the details collectively, regarding their traditions and cultures. They had gotten these approved officially, as well. The incorporated lists were printed belatedly and despite that, they were declared authentic lists, officially.

We will try to explain the history of the Panni nation in the next chapter which had emanated from the Ghandaharah [گندھارہ] region. We will try to explain in this regard, how they had landed in the Subcontinent by leaving behind their glorious rule which had perpetuated for many centuries.

PANNI PATHAN

Chapter-VI

THE PANNI NATION FROM ITS ANCIENT CENTERS, INTO VARIOUS PARTS OF THE SUBCONTINENT

[پنّی پٹھان اپنے قدیم مرکزوں سے برصغیر کے مختلف مقامات تک**]**

The incident of separating the eastern part of Iran from the rest of the country and then the creation of a new independent state with the name as Afghanistan had taken place at such a juncture in history, when the political chess game of the Muslim Panni rulers was about to be wrapped up after remaining in place for centuries in the length and width of the Subcontinent [برِصغیر]. The shaky edifice of the Punjab rule was also simultaneously at the verge of implosion. The causes for the creation of Afghanistan were examined earlier in the list of subjects in this book and were picked up in the geographical order. We begin our narrative therefore which pertains to the specific political achievements of the Panni nation in Afghanistan.

Establishment of the Afghanistan Sultanate [سلطنتِ افغانستان کا قیام]:

When, Nadir Shah Afshar [نادر شاہ افشار] had entered into the Iranian territory, through the eastern part after looting and plundering Delhi [دہلی], he was murdered in his tent by a person who had also seized all his looted and plundered wealth subsequently. The name of said person was Ahmed Khan Abdali [احمد خان ابدالی]. He was from Herat [ہرات]. He was the chief of the Sadozai [سدوزئی] tribe. The founder of the Sadozai [سدوزئی] tribe was Saad Ullah Khan [سعد اللہ خان]. Ahmed Khan Abdali [احمد خان ابدالی] had reached Delhi [دہلی] along-with Nadir Shah Afshar Turkman [نادر شاہ افشار ترکمان] by leading a lashker of about ten thousand people. (*Sadozai* [سدوزئی] *is an offshoot of the Panni nation*) (***Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***Page No.54 and Makateeb*** [مکاتیب] ***Page No.39)***. Since, the Pathans of Herat [ہرات] were also known as "Abdali" [ابدالی] therefore Ahmed Khan [احمد خان] was remembered by the same name in the books of history (***Races Page No.29***). Saad Ullah Khan [سعد اللہ خان] was the founding father of his nation. He was able to establish his own rule after expelling the Iranian governor. The people under him in Herat [ہرات] were as a matter of fact from the Panni nation. The coronation ceremony of Ahmed Khan Abdali [احمد خان ابدالی] was also arranged at a place where

Ahmed Khan Abdali [احمد خان ابدالی] was able to seize the plundered wealth from Nadir Shah Afshar [نادر شاہ افشار]. The same was also the place where he had proclaimed his name as Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی]. He had left for Kandahar [قندھار] thereafter to join his native people (*Kandahar* [قندھار], *even in those days like nowadays, was the main center of the Panni nation* (*Writer*). He had added a prefix and a suffix with his name in Kandahar [قندھار] and he had proclaimed it officially as Dur-e-durran Ahmed Shah Durrani [دُردُراں احمدشاہ درانی]. He had established his kingdom as a ruler thereafter with the name as Dure-durran Ahmed Shah Durrani [دُرِدُراں احمدشاہ درانی]. The said reign was in the entire area of present Afghanistan. He had established said kingdom in 1747 exactly two hundred years prior to the independence of Pakistan. He had placed the first foundation stone, by virtue of the same, for a new and an independent sultanate for the local Pathans. The Durrani [دُرانی] people were named as such so as to make their tribe distinct from other tribes. They used to tuck the pearl [دُر] tops in their ears (***Afghanistan and the Pathans-Races Page No.20 Syed*** [سید] ***Page No.311***). The Durrani [دُرانی] tribe was also a confirmed offshoot of the Panni nation ***(Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***Page No.52, 54,)***. We (*Writer*) had the privilege to see some Pathans in Lahore with the pearl [دُر] tops in their ears. The word "Dur-e-durran" [دُرِدُراں] means "Pearl of the Pearls" i.e. the elder of those who used to tuck the pearl [دُر] tops in their ears. The said term was just like "Ata Turk" [اتا ترک] which was the honorific title like Kamal Pasha [کمال پاشا] and the meaning is "father of Turks". Allama Iqbal had proclaimed Ahmed Shah Durrani [احمدشاہ درانی] as the pioneer of "Pathan unification".

Attacks in the Subcontinent [برِصغیر پر حملے]:

Ahmed Shah [احمدشاہ] had launched several attacks thereafter in the Subcontinent [برِصغیر]. The first attack was the attack which he had launched on the invitation of Shah Wali Allah [شاہ ولی اللہ]. The Merhattas [مرہٹہ گردی] fanatic reign was at its climax in those days. The Mughal rule was confined within the four walls of Lal Qala Delhi [لال قلعہ دہلی]. The Merhatta groups, in large numbers, used to be on the loose to collect the illegal pittance from the Bazaars of the famous capital Delhi during the Mughal era. Their declared objective was the Punjab areas. Ahmed Shah Durrani [احمدشاہ درانی] had launched an attack and he had confronted them in the battlefield of Panipat [پانی پت]. He had rendered them spineless in such a manner that it had changed the course of history in the Subcontinent and more especially in the central and northern areas. Had Ahmed

Shah Durrani [احمدشاہ درانی] not moved out to encounter the Merhattas then one can very well imagine the situation of the Muslims of those areas in Hindustan in particular and the situation of the Muslims of present Pakistan in general. It will not be out of place to mention that, the Sikh fanatics [سکھ گردی] had already subjected the Muslims of Punjab and the frontier areas to terrorism, in those days. There was some voluminous historical evidence available in this regard and if the Sikhs [سکھ] and Merhattas [مرہٹہ] were allowed to join hands in Punjab then, what certainly would have been the likely scenario of all four provinces, which was imaginable without any comments, with regard to the present Pakistan. The decisive battle of Panipat [پانی پت] had brought the eternal glorification however to Ahmed Shah Durrani [احمدشاہ درانی] which was perhaps his most brilliant "Pearl of the Pearls" i.e. Dur-e-durran [دُرِدُراں] in the history of the Subcontinent. There was a very unfortunate fact that, the *inter se* rivalries of the liege lords among the Muslims and their struggle for power and lack of understanding about the golden Islamic principles and the absence of mutuality of cause and the mutual consultation had always paved the way for a futile rivalry. They were always expected to contribute however for the welfare of the entire Muslim community, collectively. The way the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had handled the Merhattas [مرہٹہ] and then Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] had inflicted a humiliating defeat on them, which had always incited the people like Sardar Walbh Bhaie Patail [ولبھ بھائی پٹیل] of the Hindu Congress and every other Merhatta [مرہٹہ] leader to harbor the revengefulness against the Muslims. They had implemented and executed their revengeful plans of satisfying said historical grudge even at the time of the independence of Pakistan. There was a big carnage of innocent Muslims resultantly and this had helped them extinguish their fire of revenge. Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] had died in 1773.

Descendants and civil war [اولاداورخانہ جنگی]:

We feel that there was no need to render the detail account of Ahmed Shah Durrani Panni [احمدشاہ درانی پنّی] and his descendants. There were a number of books in which said subject was discussed explicitly. The fact which was essential however was to dilate upon some significant areas in this context so that the readers may be able to analyze the causes and effects which had become the principal cause of downfall for the Muslims and for the demise of their rule. Timor [تیمور], the son of Ahmed Shah Durrani Panni [احمدشاہ درانی پنّی], had become the king after his death. Timor [تیمور] had many sons and some of them were granted the governorates even in

different areas. Shah Zaman [شاہ زمان] had seized the power thereafter. He was a real stalwart and was a conscientious person but, there was yet again a very unfortunate fact that, he had also preferred his personal aggrandizement over the collective interest of his nation when he had passed on the leadership of Punjab to the Sikhs. He had committed thus a blatantly incredulous act and was an unpardonable mistake in history. Had he extended his hand of friendship towards Ghazi Nizam-ud-Din [غازی نظام الدین] of Qasoor [قصور] then, the murky page of the Sikh terrorist reign [سکھ گردی] certainly would not have had any room in the history of Punjab. Mahmood [محمود] was the brother of Shah Zaman [شاہ زمان]. He had also maintained the continuity of the predisposed entanglements. Paienda Khan Barak Zai Panni [پاینده خان بارک زئی پنّی] was among the most respectable and outstanding Viziers of Shah Zaman [شاہ زمان]. He was awarded the honorific title of Serfraz Khan [سرفراز خان]. The Vizier of Shah namely, Rahmat Khan (*who was later on awarded the honorific title of Wafadar Khan* [وفادار خان]) had developed some bias for some reasons against Paienda Khan Barak Zai Panni [پاینده خان بارک زئی پنّی] and against some other aged Sardars. He had pitched the Shah against all of them and he had concocted such stories that, Shah was so agitated that he had got murdered Paienda Khan Barak Zai Panni [پاینده خان بارک زئی پنّی] and some other Sardars as a consequence thereof. The Barak Zai [بارک زئی] (Panni [پنّی] *Writer*) of Paienda Khan [پاینده خان] was a very large tribe and Paienda Khan [پاینده خان] had twenty two sons. They all had taken a defiant stance against the Shah at that time. The eldest son of Paienda Khan [پاینده خان] was Fateh Khan [فتح خان]. He was a brave and cunning person. He had joined Mahmood Shah [محمود شاہ] and he had attacked Kabul [کابل]. Zaman Khan [زمان خان] had managed his escape however into Hindustan after facing a defeat and as soon as, he had opted to stop at Jalalabad [جلال آباد] among the people of the Aashiq Shanwari [عاشق شنواری] tribe to take some rest, they had arrested him. Mahmood Shah [محمود شاہ] had incarcerated him and then he had deprived him of his eyesight by puncturing the eyeballs with a hot iron bar (***Tatima-Tulbeyan*** [تتمہ البیان] ***Page No.308***). When, Mahmood [محمود] had become "Shah" [شاہ], he had appointed Fateh Khan Barak Zai Panni [فتح خان بارک زئی پنّی] as a head to look after all those aforementioned affairs. The real brother of Zaman Khan Panni [زمان خان پنّی] namely, Shah Shujjah Panni [شاہ شجاع پنّی] had fought for a long time and he had never got a chance to sit back and relax. He was able to reach Ludhiana [لدھیانہ] via Punjab, ultimately. Zaman Shah [زمان شاہ] had opted to go to Iran and then he had landed into Ludhiana [لدھیانہ]. The British used to give him Rs.2000/- as an allowance. He had died in 1845. The son of Mahmood Shah [محمود شاہ] had disapproved the rule of Fateh Khan [فتح خان] and as soon as the time was

opportune, he had him assassinated. The brothers of Mahmood Shah [محمود شاہ] were autonomous rulers in different areas at that time whereas Herat [ہرات] alone was with Mahmood Shah [محمود شاہ] and Kamran [کامران] (***Tatima-Tulbeyan*** [تتمہ البیان] ***Page No.309***). The names of the Durrani rulers were in the order, as below:

> Ahmed Shah [احمدشاہ], Timor Shah [تیمور شاہ], Shah Zaman [شاہ زمان], Shah Shujjah [شاہ شجاع], Mahmood Shah [محمود شاہ], Shah Shujjah Makrer [شاہ شجاع مکرر], Mahmood Shah Makrer [محمود شاہ مکرر], Ali Shah [علی شاہ] (*in Kabul*), Ayub Shah [ایوب شاہ], Kamran Shah [کامران شاہ], Shah Shajah Bar III [شاہ شاجع بار سوم] and Fateh Jung [فتح جنگ]. They all had ruled from 1747 to 1842 (***Fermanrawayan-e-Islam*** [فرمانروایانِ اسلام] ***Page No.248-247***).

Rule of the Barak Zai Panni dynasty [بارک زئی پنّی خاندان کی حکومت]:

The murder of Paienda Khan Barak Zai Panni [پایندہ خان بارک زئی پنّی] had brought an end to the rule of Shah Zaman [شاہ زمان]. The murder of Fateh Khan Barak Zai Panni [فتح خان بارک زئی پنّی] had wrapped up the rule of both Sadozai [سدوزئی] Panni Sardars (***Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***Page No.54***). Thus, the Barak Zai Panni [بارک زئی پنّی] had become the actual ruler in a major portion of Afghanistan. They had divided the sultanate in the manner, as below:

> **Kandahar** [قندھار]: Purdil Khan [پُردِل خان], Shir Dil Khan [شیردِل خان], Rahm Dil Khan [رحم دِل خان], Mehr Dil Khan [مہر دِل خان] and Khandil Khan Panni [کہن دِل خان پنّی] all of them were brothers and they were sons of the same mother.
> **Ghazni** [غزنی]: Mir Mohammed Khan [میر محمد خان].
> **Kabul** [کابل]: Dost Mohammed Khan [دوست محمد خان].
> **Peshawar** [پشاور]: Yar Mohammed Khan [یار محمد خان].
> **Kohat** [کوہاٹ]: Sultan Mohammed Khan [سلطان محمد خان].
> **Hadt Nager** [ہشت نگر]: Said Mohammed Khan [سید محمد خان].

Azeem Khan [عظیم خان] was the second eldest son after Fateh Khan Barak Zai Panni [فتح خان بارک زئی پنّی]. He was also the most talented person among his brothers. He had fought a bloody battle against the Sikhs at Nosherah [نوشہرہ] in 1823. Habib Khan [حبیب خان], his son had succeeded

him after his death. Dost Mohammed Khan [دوست محمد خان] had overwhelmed however all of them ultimately because he was gradually able to extend his rule of governance over the entire area of Afghanistan. Yar Mohammed Khan [یار محمد خان] and Sultan Mohammed Khan [سلطان محمد خان] used to live at Peshawar [پشاور]. They used to visit Kabul [کابل] quite often. *The detail of the same will be given, later*. We may point out that Yar Mohammed Khan [یار محمد خان] was the same person who was involved in the ploy against Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] and Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. They both had to face many difficulties due to the impediments which Yar Mohammed Khan [یار محمد خان] had created for them (*How very unfortunate it was that, a secularly powerful Muslim had created difficulties for a great Mujahid of Islam* (*Writer*). Those two brothers had *inter se* differences and Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had tried his level best to resolve their differences but, it was all in vain (*Syed Ahmed Shaheed* [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.309***). The district Hazara [ضلع ہزارہ] was a part of Afghan sultanate during the reign of Abdali regime. When district Hazara [ضلع ہزارہ] had experienced the turbulent phase, which was due to the fact that said district had a peculiar significance by virtue of its location. The same was connected with the passage leading to Kashmir. The Durrani Panni rulers had never interfered however in the affairs of the local Khans as well as in the affairs of lords of Hazara. They had not even appointed any governor for said area. They used to get a trivial sum of revenue from a very small portion of flat area. When, the senior lords used to visit Kashmir, the locals of the area used to extend the hospitality. They used to make the boats available for them. They used offer them expensive gifts during their visit and thus they used to earn their pleasure. The Abdali regime was quite content with regard to the placidity of state of affairs in district Hazara [ضلع ہزارہ] (*Syed Ahmed Shaheed* [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.411***).

When, the bloody skirmishes between the Sadozai [سدوزئی] and Barak Zai Panni [بارک زئی پنّی] tribes had brought down the fluttering high flag of the Afghan sultanate, the lords of Hazara had also become indifferent with regrad to their aforementioned traditional hospitality and amity. They had started consolidating their status collectively with their taxonomical tribalism. There was an incident however which had taken place in the autonomous frontier area which was not really unusual according to its nature yet it had opened the doors for a new force in respect of making decisions and determining the course of history. The hardships which had befallen the people of Hazara due to said incident which had also rendered them bleed profusely for about thirty to thirty five years subsequently. The story of said period was full of remorse because it

had paved the way of penetration for the Sikh community into the area. The same was followed by the emergence of the ferocious and brutal Heri Singh Nalva [ہری سنگھ نلوہ] on the scene in Hazara. Then, the Sikh community had the access up to the areas of Ghandaharah [گندھارا] and beyond. Then, their iron grip on the areas of Punjab as well as some other atrocities had stigmatized the reputation of Muslim leadership of said era for all times to come. The responsibility had devolved upon Afghanistan however and on the Sadozai [سدوزئی] and Barak Zai Panni [بارک زئی پنّی] rulers of the frontier area and Hazara region (*Syed Ahmed Shaheed* [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.412***). They had failed to spot their real enemy and had remained engaged in settling their communal rivalries only.

The Barak Zai Panni [بارک زئی پنّی] rulers, who had ruled from 1826 to 1901, were in the manner, as below:

> Dost Mohammed Khan [دوست محمد خان], Sher Ali [شیر علی], Yaqoob Khan [یقوب خان], Amir Abdur-Rahman [امیر عبدالرحمان] and Ameer Habib Ullah Khan [امیر حبیب اللہ خان]. Afzal [افضل] and Azam [اعظم] were the rulers in Kabul [کابل]. Heri Singh Nalva [ہری سنگھ نلوہ] had hailed from Gujranwala. The writer had seen the words written as “Heri Singh Nalva” [ہری سنگھ نلوہ] on a house, in Gujranwala.

FORMER STATE OF SWAT [سابق ریاست سوات]

The former state of Swat [ریاست سوات] is located in the northeast of Pakistan which is close to the state of Dir [دیر] and Chitral [چترال]. The said area is about four thousand square miles in size whereas the population is approximately four to five thousand people. The area in question had earned a great popularity immediately after the independence of Pakistan just because of its natural beauty and picturesquely healthy environment. There were numerous fully developed touristic spots with modernized facilities. Saido Sheriff [سیدو شریف] is the capital of the state and “Mingora” [منگورہ] is its biggest trade center whereas Mena [مینا] is a health resort. The visit of a spectacular natural scenery along-with Moti Mahal [موتی محل] (*White Palace*) in Swat can always be a worthwhile touristic venture. The natural fountains are in abundance in the area. The same area is also known for its apple production. The water of the area is good for health and is considered as a natural tonic. The indigenous produce like millet [جوار], ghee [گھی], walnuts

[اخروٹ], cumin seed [زیرہ] wool and honey is traded to the other parts of the country from said area. There is a natural honey processing plant in the area as well. The telephonic communication and the mail delivery system in the area are very good. The system of education and health facilities were improved considerably ever since independence but, the area demands to be improved more rapidly. There are very good restaurants and the area of Swat, besides being the treasure house of valuable herbs, is rich with mineral deposits and unique antiques. The greenery in combination with water and stones makes the valley of Swat a gestalt of beauty and a marvel of nature. The said area by virtue of same qualifies without any reservation to be called Switzerland of Pakistan.

Archaeological discoveries [آثار قدیمہ کی دریافت]:

The efforts of discovering the archaeological effects were initiated in Swat immediately after when Pakistan had come into being. There was a very strong realization during the course of some excavation that said area of Pakistan had enjoyed a very conspicuous status since times immemorial and was the centre of the Buddhist culture and civilization. There were about seven thousand items of sculptures and about two hundred stupas which were discovered during the excavation. The excavation was carried out close to the end of year 1942 which had brought forth unique discoveries and had thrown light abundantly on its way of life and its progression in the Ghandaharah region. The said area had played a key role for the establishment of Buddhism in Tibet and China region. The archaeological relics, which were discovered from Swat, had included buildings, sculptures, *plafond,* Puttary coins and old graves and were as old as three to four centuries B.C. These had also affirmed that Swat was not only the centre of various cultures and civilizations since times immemorial up to the sixth century B.C rather it was the base *point d'appui* of various cultures. The discovered archaeological effects had also thrown light on those historical areas which were obscure from the rest of the world. Those archaeological effects can also play a very significant role in bringing forth some additional information to streamline the ancient history of the world. The former Wali (head) of said area had belonged to the Safi [صافی] offshoot of the Panni nation. The compiler of the book which was captioned as "Hayat Afghani" [حیات افغانی] had expressed his views in this regard that, Akhund Sahib [اخوند صاحب] of Swat had hailed *fons et origio* from the Kandahari [قندھاری] branch of the Panni nation (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 415***).

History and geography [تاریخ اور جغرافیہ]:

The Swat area in fact consists of Swat Valley, which can be divided however into two parts i.e. one the mountainous Swat [سوات] whereas the other as the main Swat [سوات] area. The latter can again be divided into two parts i.e. one as "Bar" [بار] i.e. the upper Swat [سوات] whereas the other part as "Kaz" [کز] i.e. the lower Swat [سوات] which runs parallel with river lengthwise up to seventy miles approximately. The jungle in the mountainous area is full of the Cedar [دیودار] trees. The most ancient reference of Swat had come from the Greek historian namely, "Arrian" whereas Alexander the Great had marched along-with his army up to the area of Bajorr [بجوڑ], Bunair [بنیر] and Swat [سوات], in 326 B.C according to him. The Saloks, who were his successor(s), had granted those areas however to Chnder Gupt [چندر گپت] twenty years thereafter. The locals of the area were from the Hindi origin at that time and most of them used to practice Buddhism. The locals used to consist of the non-Pathan nations like Gojar [گوجر], Toorwal [طوروال] and Gerdais [گردیس] etc. Then, the Indo-Greek, the Sathi Panni Parthian and the Kashans had also ruled the area but when the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] people had moved from Zob into said area, they had penetrated deep into Bunair [بنیر], Swat [سوات] and the Panjkorah Valley [وادئ پنج گورہ]. The religion Islam was also introduced into the area by the sixteenth century with the advent of those Pathans. The Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] had also solemnized a political marriage with the daughter of the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] Sardar of the area namely, Malik Shah Mansoor [ملک شاہ منصور]. The renowned saint Bayazeed [بایزید], who was known commonly as "Pir Roshan" [پیرروشن], had also started his movement from the same area. Akhund Derwizah [اخونددریزہ] had opposed said movement. He was the same person who had written the history of the Yusuf Zai people. The ruler of Kabul [کابل] namely, Zane Khan Kokalrash [زین خان کوکلتاش] had conquered the entire area in 1595. Those areas were the center of activity of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] and his Mujahedeen [مجاہدین] in 1829. Then, Syed Sahib and Syed Ismaeel [سید اسماعیلؒ] had to embrace Shahadat because of the Sikhs in 1831 at Balakot [بالاکوٹ] which was due to the treachery of some Pathans. Then, a saintly person by the name of Akhund Abdul Ghafoor [اخوند عبدالغفور] was made ruler of the area in 1835. He had ruled said area till 1877. The British had established their rule in Peshawar valley in 1849 but they had not moved towards Swat. The British had dispatched two to three expeditions however into the area later but those

expeditions had failed to achieve the desired results (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.42 Page No.183-184***).

The founder of state, Akhund Abdul Ghafoor Khan Sahib Kandahari Panni [بانئ ریاست اخوند عبدالغفور خان صاحب قندھاری پنّی]:

The family of Hazaret Akhund Swati [حضرت اخوند سواتی] was the ruler of state of Swat until lately. The actual name of Hazaret Akhund Swati [حضرت اخوند سواتی] was Akhund Abdul Ghafoor [اخوند عبدالغفور]. He was not only able to excel in the realm of spirituality by virtue of his piety and asceticism rather the people of his area had accepted him as their religious mentor and temporal leader which was due to his splendid organizational qualities. The people of said area had selected their leaders from amongst his descendants even after his death. The said spiritual leader was known by the name of "Akhund Sahib Swati" [اخوند صاحب سواتی]. He was remembered by the same name until recently. The word "Akhund" [اخوند] means the teacher.

The birth of Akhund Abdul Ghafoor Khan Sahib [اخوند عبدالغفور خان صاحب] had taken place in the northern area of Swat in 1794 AC (1211 Hegira) or somewhere around said period, in the village of Shami Zai [شامی زئی] which was known as Jaberoti [جبروٹی]. The detail history of his parents was unknown but there was a general perception that, he was *terrae filius* son of very poor parents. He was a herdsman by profession. The name of his father was Abdul Wahid [عبدالوحد] whereas his tribe was known as Kandahari [قندھاری] which was an offshoot of the Panni nation (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 209***). The word "Kandahari" [قندھاری] had perhaps the folk-etymologic link with "Kandahar" [قندھار] city and is in Afghanistan where the people of the Panni nation used to live in great numbers in past. This was the largest and the main center of said nation and was always known to have their existence. The very *raison d'être* of the word "Kandahari" [قندھاری] may well be due to the word "Ghandaharah" [گندھارا] (***Kero Page No.362, Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 315***). Akhund Abdul Ghafoor Khan Sahib [اخوند عبدالغفور خان صاحب] had also adopted the profession of his father (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.23Page No.187***). He used to roam about whole day long as a child along-with his grazing animals in the mountains. Since, the Safi [صافی] people had embraced Islam belatedly therefore their religious fervor had more vivaciousness as compared with other traditional Muslims (***Kero Page No.362)***. Akhund Sahib [اخوند صاحب] used to perform the religious duties like Namaz [صلوۃ] and Fasting

[صوم] very religiously. He used to remain occupied in meditation for seeking guidance from Allah Almighty. He had opted to retire into Moza Hern Gola [موضع ہرن گولہ] as a religious recluse when he was just eighteen years old. He had learnt reading and writing and he used to be a busy learner for a long time. Then, he had moved to Gojar Gharrih [گوجر گڑھی] area of the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] tribe which was close to Mardan. He used to live there in the mosque of Abdul Hakeem Akhundzada [عبدالحکیم اخوندزادہ]. He had moved to Tor Waharri [توروہڑی] thereafter where he had submitted himself for the pupilage of Sahibzada Mohammed Shoaib [صاحب زادہ محمد شعیب]. He was also known for his piety and religious discipline. The locals of the area were motivated by his religious dedication and general behavior. They had started praising his spiritually exalted stature. He had associated himself then with a saint of Moza Baiki [موضع بیکی] near River Indus which was linked with Hund [ہنڈ]. He had built a cottage and then he had lived in there for about twelve years. He used to remain busy in worshiping almighty God while attaining his spiritual exaltation. He had moved to the mainland of Hund [ہنڈ] thereafter. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] was also involved in the Jihad against Sikhs in those days. The Sardar of Hund [ہنڈ] namely, Khadi Khan [خادی خان] was deadly against Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] and he was his deadly enemy. The followers of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had murdered him and then they had accused Akhund Sahib [اخوند صاحب] for it. There were some local people who had also turned against him as a consequence thereof. Akhund Sahib [اخوند صاحب] had to manage his escape therefore and he had landed into Moza Saleem Khan [موضع سلیم خان], which was at the foot of the Mahaban [مہابن] area. He had earned a big name in said locale and thereafter had moved to Tord Henamai village [تورڈہرنامی] which was close to Akorra [اکوڑہ] (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 209***).

Participation in Jihad [جہاد میں شمولیت]:

When, the war had taken place between the Sikhs and Afghans in 1835, Ameer Dost Mohammed Khan [امیر دوست محمد خان] of Kabul [کابل] had extended an invitation to Akhund Sahib [اخوند صاحب] to participate in the Jihad of Khyber [خیبر]. He had moved to Khyber [خیبر] therefore along-with his number of followers and pupils. When, Sultan Mohammed Khan [سلطان محمد خان] had succeeded in confusing the situation and the army of Ameer Dost Mohammed Khan [امیر دوست محمد خان] had moved out before time, the disheartened Akhund Sahib [اخوند صاحب] had also decided to move out pursuant thereto. Thus, he was compelled to seek shelter in Bajorr [بجوڑ]

where his companions had left him alone subsequently. Then, he had moved to Sam Rani Zai [شام رانی زئی] of the Malak area after some time where his name had become even more popular. He had moved to the area of Patkhaila [پتخیلا] of lower Swat thereafter where he had decided to settle down in the south of River Swat near a fascinating hilltop of Saido Sheriff [سیدو شریف]. The people of said area had also surrendered some land in his favor voluntarily. He had lived a well settled life there. He was married in a tribe which was known as Naik Bi Khail [نیک بی خیل] or Naikpan Khail [نیکپن خیل] of the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] offshoot. There were some people however who used to take him as from the Yusuf Zai [یوسف زئی] tribe just because of his marriage in said tribe (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 210***). When, the mountainous people of Ranbaila [رنبیلہ] and Banair Wali [بنیر والی] etc. had participated in the Jihad against British colonists in 1893 then, Akhund Sahib [اخوند صاحب] had also joined hands with them and the people of the area had resultantly selected him as their ruler.

Akhund Sahib [اخوند صاحب] had died at the age of ninety three on 7th Moherram 1255 Hegira. He was buried at Saido [سیدو] and the name of "Saido" [سیدو] was changed to "Saido Sheriff" [سیّدو شریف] just because of his shrine. The Durbar of Akhund Sahib [اخوند صاحب] used to be *point d'appui* accessible place for all and sundry during his lifetime. The Langer [لنگر] i.e. the public charity kitchen used to continuously remain operative. He used to issue the expert decrees [فتوی'] in the matters requiring religious interpretations. The followers of the Suni school of thought used consider him as an Imam [امام]. They used to give him extraordinary respect and honor. He used to have a large following in said locale. He had remained committed devotedly in achieving the fulfillment of the religious objectives as long as he was alive. He used to fast during the day as a matter of routine. The people of western Afghanistan used to respect him a lot as well. He used to exercise good influence over people of the area and his shrine is still a visiting place for people of all walks of life (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 209, Kero Page No.362***).

Mian Gul Abdul Khaliq [میاں گُل عبدالخالق], son of Akhund Baba [اخوند بابا], had succeeded him. The people of the area had also accepted him as their Ameer [امیر] just because of his personal qualities. He had made all out efforts to make Swat a peaceful place. Mian Gul Abdul Khaliq [میاں گُل عبدالخالق] had died in or about 1893 at his prime age. Then, Mian Gul Abdul Wadood Badshah Sahib [میاں گُل عبالوودود بادشاہ صاحب], who had won the certificate of autonomy from the British raj in 1926, had succeeded him just on the strength of his organizational qualities. Mian

Gul Abdul Wadood Badshah Sahib [میاں گُل عبالوودود بادشاہ صاحب] had transferred his authority with regard to the state affairs in favor of his son namely, Gul Jahan Zeb Khan [گل جہاں زیب خان] H-P-K, H-Q-A, C-I-P-E on 12th December 1949. The first Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawab Liaqat Ali Khan [نواب لیاقت علی خان] as a result, was pleased to perform his encaenia [دستار بندی] ceremony. The state of Swat was in fact the state which was established by the Panni people of the area by exercising their collective free volition. The state of Swat had acceded to Pakistan in 1969 however when the people had lost faith and confidence due to the bad governance of the rulers.

State of Dir [ریاست دِیر]:

The rulers of Dir [دِیر] were also *fons et origio* from the Panida Zai [پنّیدازئی] offshoot of Panni nation (***Ghrabat Nigar*** [غرابت نگار] ***Page No.636***). We do not intend to pen the history of said family hereunder just to avoid prolongation and deviation from the main subject.

District Hazara [ضلع ہزارہ]:

The people of the Panni nation had entered in large numbers in the magnificent plains of district Hazara [ضلع ہزارہ] of Pakistan. They had penetrated very deep into the mesmerizing and scenic corners where they are leading a simple life in their nice bucolic abodes since times immemorial. There was no authentic reference to the effect that when and from which area those people had migrated into their present fragrantly fresh and mercurial milieu. There were some ancient books of history which had contained however some specious references only in this regard. We can draw some inferences on the basis of the same but not very eruditely. There was a clear proof that, those Panni people of Hazara had migrated as nomadic groups and flocks and they had landed into their respective areas from time to time on the same pattern on which the other Pathan tribes had migrated from the northern mountain range of Pakistan (*which is hundreds of miles from Gilgit* [گلگت] *to Gwader* [گوادر]) as well as, from the south. There was also a possibility that, they had accompanied perhaps some invaders and they were able to establish their military camps in said area. Those camps were known as the “Hazara” [ہزارہ] or “Ming” [مِنگ].

Etymology [وجہ تسمیہ]:

The word “Hazara” [ہزارہ] had emanated from the Tatar terminology which means “Taman” [تمن] i.e. “Camp” or military base. The said word was used for a legion or for a platoon of an army. When, Changaze Khan [چنگیز خان] was on the move, he used to have the company of his lashker, male and female folks, herds of animals and household effects etc. The accompanying each tribal legion or a platoon used to be categorized by its tribal name e.g. Hazara [ہزارہ], Jughori [جغوری], Hazara Bay Sori [ہزارہ بے سوری], Hazara Zungi [ہزارہ زنگی], Hazara Jamshadi [ہزارہ جمشیدی], Hazara Char Emaghi [ہزارہ چار ایماغی], Tameeni [تمینی] and Hazara Kerabghi [ہزارہ کرابغی] etc. The terminology of Hazarajat [ہزارہ جات] is very much in vogue in the southwestern areas of Afghanistan. There was also a historical fact that, Changaze Khan [چنگیز خان] had set-up the special military bases in the vast areas of district Hazara [ضلع ہزارہ] and it was quite possible that, said area had acquired its present name just because of those military bases i.e. Ming(s) [مِنگ]. There was also the likelihood that, some people of the Panni nation had also accompanied those lashkers in the form of a “Ming” [مِنگ] just like other nations and their legion was known as Hazara Pannian [ہزارہ پنّیاں] or Hazara Baniyan [ہزارہ بنیان]. Then, said name was shortened as Hazara [ہزارہ] only which was evolved perhaps due to its vernacular use in the figure of speech. Then, there can also be the presumption that, some people had decided to move out due to some internal shuffle(s) whereas the others, who were more concentrated on the basis of area occupancy, had assumed the recognition as Pannian [پنّیاں] only. There was also a very pertinent fact that, the name of district Hazara [ضلع ہزارہ] was mentioned as “Hazara Baniyan” [ہزارہ بنیان] in some books of history (***Afghans Page No.225***). The location, no matter wherever it was located initially, was known as “Bhogerr Ming” [بھو گڑ مِنگ]. This was located in the area of Dwari [دواری] in district Hazara [ضلع ہزارہ] (***Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No.158***). There was also a similar place in Azad Kashmir which was also known as “Ming Hazara” [ہزارہ مِنگ]. The aforementioned references had brought forth the remembrance from the olden times and periods when, the Mongol sub-rulers had occupied the area as legions along-with their ten thousand troops. The camp which was established in such manner was known as “Ming” [مِنگ].

Historical references of the Moza Pannian and its significance [موضع پنّیاں کے تاریخی حوالے اوراہمیت]:

The study of history had revealed that when the author of Tabaqat Naseri [طبقات ناصری] was able to reach Hindustan via, Ghazni [غزنی] from the rural direction of Herat [ہرات] he had actually landed in Baniyan [بنیان]. When, Sultan Alta-mash [سلطان التمش] had fallen sick in 633 Hegira (1235-6 A.C) and he had no choice but, to return to Delhi where he had ultimately died, he had to also adopt Chainhut [چین ہٹ] as his route (*Hub of Jhelum and Chenab*). Then, Malik Saif-ud-Din Hadan Kerlogh [سیف الدین حسن کرلوغ], who used to own the area, had left Ghazni [غزنی] and Kirman [کرمان] in 626 Hegira (*which is in the vicinity of Karm* [قرم] *and extends up-to Baniyan* [بنیان] *Hazara*). He had decided to settle in Baniyan [بنیان] firstly and then, he had moved out from there via, Doaba Sindh Sager [دوآبہ سندھ ساگر] and had adopted the direction of Multan [ملتان] and Sindh [سندھ]. He was able to ultimately occupy Multan [ملتان]. When, his son Nasir-ud-Din Mohammed Kerlogh [ناصر الدین محمد کرلوغ] was in Delhi, he had also joined his father in 635 Hegira (1237-8 A.C) as an immigrant whereas, Malik Saif-ud-Din Hadan Kerlogh [سیف الدین حسن کرلوغ] was able to settle down in Baniyan [بنیان] by that time. He was killed however by Malik Balban Kashto Khan [ملک بلبن کشتو خان] near Multan in 646 Hegira (1248-9 A.C). He was a Jagirdar in the area. Nasir-ud-Din Mohammed Kerlogh [ناصر الدین محمد کرلوغ] had enjoyed the military eminence which was matching with the Mughals in all respects. The Mughals had spared him some area which was the dominion of his father which had also included the region which was known as "Baniyan" [بنیان] and besides that when, Naseer-ud-Din Mohammed Shah Sultan of Delhi was enthroned in 644 Hegira (1246-7 A.C) he had opted to move towards Sindh and Baniyan [بنیان] so as to get rid of the Mughals. He had covered one stage after the other and was able to reach the banks of Sindh. Since, he was unable to go past said area therefore the Baniyan [بنیان] area had remained inaccessible for him. The aforementioned historical references had revealed the fact that, Baniyan [بنیان] was located somewhere at the eastern bank of River Indus rather than at the western bank as it was generally perceived. The back and forth movement of the rulers used to be in the area which was known as Baniyan [بنیان]. There were various other references which had identified its exact location. The other inferences, which can also be drawn from those references, were that the location of Baniyan [بنیان] was most likely to be at some other place in district Hazara. The local versions and narratives had endorsed the fact that, the location of Baniyan [بنیان] was not the present area of village Pannian [پنّیاں] in Hazara. The village Pannian [پنّیاں] was established at its present location by the locals perhaps after some calamity or due to some other natural disaster. There was another fact that, the village Pannian [پنّیاں] was in existence since times immemorial. The vicissitudes of time and history or perhaps

some other historical events had introduced the dimensional changes in the location of the Pannian [پنّیاں] village.

The aforementioned references had also proved that, the location of Baniyan [بنیان] was the area which was known amongst the ancient Muslims as "Koh-Jod" [کوہ جود] i.e. the northern area of Doaba Sindh Sager [دوآبہ سندھ ساگر]. There were some people who were of the view that whatsoever was the location of Baniyan [بنیان], it was the plain area of Pakhli [پکھلی]. This was ten miles in length and twelve miles in width and was located near Mansehra [مانسہرہ], which was three thousand feet from sea level. The same was possibly extended into three crater-lets from said level which was also a place in which Kerlogh [کرلوغ] Turks were placed in some sanctuaries as allies of the ancient Mughals and they had enjoyed full protection. We have also witnessed some ruins in the present area of Pannian [پنّیاں] and in other cities and towns which had proved the fact that, some cities and towns used to enjoy a very active social life at some point of time in the course of history. The present status was although nothing more than a Moza [موضع] yet, the ancient names of were still alive. The village Pannian [پنّیاں] was also somewhat similar in its character because the English alphabet "P" or "پ" of the Urdu language was replaced with "B" and "ب" in both languages respectively under some rules of the Tajik [تاجک] and Persian [فارسی] languages. There was also a possibility that, the word "Pannian" [پنّیاں] was replaced with word "Baniyan" [بنیان] during some catachresisic phase or said replacement was a result of some typographical mistake or the two dots were dropped by chance from the word "Pannian" [پنّیاں] according to some rule of morphology. The said word had persisted nonetheless as "Baniyan" [بنیان] whereas it was pronounced as Pannian [پنّیاں] in some sense of semantics. We may point out that there was no identifiable place as Baniyan [بنیان] in district Hazara [ہزارہ]. There were although several references of Baniyan [بنیان] in Tabaqat Naseri [طبقات ناصری] yet, the exact dimensions were not specifically identifiable. There were some people who had identified the location of Baniyan [بنیان] in the north of "Koh Nampak" [کوہ نمک] or it was presumed otherwise to be an area in the west of Ghazna [غزنہ] (***Tabaqat Naseri*** [طبقات ناصری] ***Page No.750***).

Pannian an important ancient city [پنّیاں ایک خاص تاریخی مقام]:

The Panni people of district Hazara were placed in an irregular order in the remote areas in about sixteen villages. There were some people however who were known with the name as "Panni" only. The others were their offshoots and their collective strength used to be about sixteen thousand individuals whereas their main centre used to be Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں]. They were known in the area with the name as "Panni" only and the name of the village was derived seemingly from the word Panni. The Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] is located at the thirteenth mile on the left side of the road which leads from Hadanabadal [حسن ابدال] to Abbotabad. The Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] runs thus parallel with the road about two ferlangs. The Moza Pannian [پنّیاں موضع] used to have very deep stretch on both sides of road according to the elders of the area and the limits used to be up to the village Dahre [ڈھیری] in the east which was about one mile from Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں]. The village Dahre [ڈھیری] was built on the debris of a demolished fort and was named as Dahre [ڈھیری] just because of heaps of debris. There was also a common perception that the demolished fort was also within the precincts of the area which was under the occupation of the Panni people. We may also point out that Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] was plundered and looted during the skirmishes between the Durranis (*who are also Panni*) and Sikhs and was set on fire several times and most of the area was destroyed and most of its people had to embrace Shahadat [شہادت] while protecting their honor and life. Then, there were some people who had managed their escape and had sought refuge in the far flung areas. There was also an established fact that Heri Singh Nalva [ہری سنگھ نلوہ], who had hailed from Gujranwala where he had a house as well, was an active anti-Muslim General of Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ]. He had unleashed the terror and he had inflicted atrocities upon the Muslims of Hazara with absolute impunity. He had destroyed Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] presumably and then he had established adjoining area after his own name as "Heripur" [ہری پور]. He had reduced Moza Pannian [پنّیاں موضع] probably to its present size just because of "Heripur" [ہری پور] which is just five miles away from Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں]. The village "Heripur" [ہری پور] with its unchanged name exists even today. The Mujahedeen of Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں], who had embraced Shahadat [شہادت] during the fight against invaders, were buried at village Dahre [ڈھیری]. The graves of those martyrs were made distinct by affixing big tombstones. Those shrines like graves were well maintained until recently. The said portion of the graveyard was known as "Graveyard of Martyrs" [شہیدوں کا قبرستان]. The new graves were not allowed to be created in said portion out of sheer reverance for those martyrs. The excavation at the site of village Dahre [ڈھیری] had brought forth evidences which had proved that said site was used in the past, for some fort. The Panni

people therefore, who used to live in and around Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] were the descendants of those luminaries seemingly who had fallen from the heavens during the course of history of yester years. The antiques, relics and remains, which were discovered from the mountains of Khanpur [خانپور] and Taxilla, had also substantiated said analogy. The prosperity of the area can be gauged further from the statement of a local person. There used to be more than one hundred and fifty people at that time according to him who were associated in said area with the profession *passementerie* of gold-beating. They had to bid farewell to their native place however just due to aforementioned insurrection and devastation in the area. There was an old man whose name was Zerian [زریں]. He used to live in the area of Hadtnager [ہشت نگر] Peshawar. He was among the descendants of the families which had migrated from said area. He had lived his entire life as a schizoid. He used to curse the Sikh terrorists while he used to hanker for his native abode. He used to say that; "His ancestors were victims of Sikh terrorism and they were forced to escape from Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] and then they had sought refuge in Peshawar" (***Shir Bahader Khan*** [شیر بہادر خان پنّی] ***"Tareekh Hazara"*** [تاریخ ہزارہ] ***Statement, Colonel Mohammed Younus Khan Panni*** [کرنل محمد یونس خان پنّی] ***r/o Moza Pannian*** [موضع پنّیاں]). The situation was regrettable in the sense that, the scenic and picturesque area of Hazara was denied development on the modern lines whereas it had deserved all kind of development without any reservations. Then, the natural resources of the area had also demanded some attention because said area is rich enormously with the same.

We would like to quote an excerpt from "Tareekh Hazara" [تاریخ ہزارہ] in this regard, which was quite informative. The ancestors of the writer of said book had hailed *fons et origio* from Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں]. He had expressed his views in said book under the caption as "Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Shah" [سلطان ناصر الدین شاہ] in the manner, as below:

> "When, Sultan of Delhi was enthroned in 1246-47 he had opted to go to Pannian [پنّیاں] and to the banks of river Indus while pursuing the Mughals. Since he had not crossed river and he had restricted himself to Pannian [پنّیاں] therefore Pannian [پنّیاں] was located undoubtedly on the eastern bank from where the distance of river was about ten miles. The area, which was known as Koh-Jod [کوہ جود] i.e. the northern area of Doaba Sindh Sager [دوآبہ سندھ ساگر] was seemingly located therefore within the precincts of Baniyan [بنیان] and was connected with the plain area of Pakhli [پکھلی] which used to consist of three crater-lets in the north where Kerlogh [کرلوغ] Turk used to live under the hegemony

of the ancient Mughals as their allies. There were several ancient remains in the area of present Pannian [پنّیاں], which were the ruins of ancient cities and towns. Those ruins were known in the area as "Pind" [پِنڈ] i.e. the high place. There used to be "Pannian Pind" [پنّیاں پِنڈ] close to the road of the village Pannian [پنّیاں] towards the south. Then, there used to be "Mankeray Ka Pind" [مانکراے کا پِنڈ] towards the north of Pannian [پنّیاں] on the road of "Moza Dehndah" [موضع ڈھینڈہ]. Then, there used to be the area near "Moza Bahra" [موضع بھیرہ] which was known as "Bernagerr Ka Pind" [برنگڑ کا پِنڈ]. Then, there used to be "Mahndra Pind" [مہندرا پِنڈ] (*Small Pind*) in the west of Pannian [پنّیاں] on "Generali Serak" [جرنیلی سڑک] in the south (*In front of village Kamalpura*) which was perhaps the old name. The archeologists had unearthed from those ruins from time to time, the earthen pots, sculptures and copper coins whereas there was a farmer who had accidently discovered in recent times, some ornaments and gold bangles as well. The big cites of yester years, which were reduced to smaller towns lately, were known by ancient names until lately. The village Pannian [پنّیاں] was of course among them. The alphabet "پ" ("P" *English*) and "ب" ("B" *Persian*) are synonyms in Tajik [تاجک] as well as, in Persian [فارسی] languages and are interchangeable. The present village Pannian [پنّیاں] or Baniyan [بنیان] was in fact, the location of Baniyan [بنیان] in our opinion. The same was associated with ancient Kerlogh [کرلوغ] Turks. There was also a possibility that Moza Bahra [موضع بھیرہ] used to be a city with a large population in olden days. There were also remains of a water reservoir of ancient times, which used to be the source of water for the locals at some point of time. The structures and the construction of the water reservoir had some resemblance with ancient architectural work. If that was correct, then one can also presume that, Ameer Timor [امیر تیمور] may well had ordered the Kerlogh Ming [کرلوغ مِنگ] or Hazara [ہزارہ] to occupy said area to protect his own people" in the event of their incursion in the area (*Ameer Timor* [امیر تیمور] *had attacked the area, in 1392*) (***Tareekh Hazara*** [تاریخ ہزارہ] ***Shir Bahader Khan*** [شیر بہادر خان پنّی] *Page No.6-195* [The source of said excerpt was Tabaqat Naseri [طبقات ناصری] *Writer*).

A glimpse of Pannian of 1873 [1873 کے پنّیاں کی ایک جھلک]**:**

The compiler of the book, which was captioned as “Central Asia” and which was published in 1873, had reflected Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] of ancient times in such a manner that said narrative had provided an interesting account of the magnitude of its erstwhile social and economic conditions. It had further proved that, the civic conditions of the city had deteriorated with the passage of time whereas the city used to have great significance because of its ancient past. The book had brought forth the views in the manner, as below:

> “There used to be a place which was known as Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] in the “Heripur” [ہری پور] division, district Hazara which was just five miles away from Heripur [ہری پور] and was located right on the road in the southwest at thirteenth mile from Hasanabadal [حسن ابدال]. There were 314 houses, 12 shops and 8 Mosques in the village whereas the total population was about 1632 individuals. There were seven wells which used to supply good natural water to the area in sufficient quantity. The produce in the area used to be rice, millet, pearl millet and cotton which used to be supplied in bulk, to other areas. There used to be about 31 horses, 489 domestic animals, 40 sheep and goats and camels, 49 donkeys and 18 other animals in the area. The name of the Sardar of Moza [موضع] was Qaim Khan [قائم خان]. He was from the Panni tribe (***Volume No.2 Page No.514***).

Directory Gazetteer, district Hazara and Pannian:

The Directory Gazetteer of distract Hazara had contained the citation in the manner, as below:

> The Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] was a large village and was located on the road leading from Hasanabadal [حسن ابدال] to Heripur [ہری پور] which had its front on the road and its location was at five miles in the west. The population of the area as per census was about 1,830 individuals. The total area used to measure about 2375 acres out of which about 2080 acres was agricultural land. The land was quite fertile and there were few wells, as well. The owners of the area were from the Panni nation. They were handsome, strong and well built and courteous people. They were highly skilled agriculturalists and said Moza [موضع] had four Lumberdars [نمبردار]. The head Khan was an aged person namely, Jagirdar Ahmed Khan Panni [جاگیرداراحمدخان پنّی]. He used to own the adjacent village which was known as

Ghaniya Jagir [گُنیا جاگیر]. He was very well conversant with the historical events of the Durrani era. He had rendered excellent services during the period of Major Abbot. The per annum worth of his Jagir was about six hundred Rupees whereas the maximum prize money for any event was fixed at Rupees one hundred only. Fazal Khan Panni [فضل خان پنّی], son of Jagirdar Ahmed Khan Panni [جاگیرداراحمدخان پنّی], was a professional courtier and his brother namely, Yaqoob Khan Panni [یعقوب خان پنّی] was the prize winner of Rupees one hundred and fifty only (***Page No.247***).

There was a group photograph at page No.20 in which Fazal Khan Panni [فضل خان پنّی] was quite visible while standing at position No.3 in the last row.

The book which was captioned as Tareekh Hazara [تاریخ ہزارہ], which was compiled in 1974 and the name of Jagirdar Ahmed Khan Panni [جاگیرداراحمدخان پنّی] was among those who had the official entitlement, to be offered a chair [کرسی نشین] according to said book (***Page No.1331***). The name of Mir Hassan Khan [میر حسن خان] of the Panni nation, resident of Moza Pannian [پنّیاں موضع] Jagal Pergana Heripur [جاگل پرگنہ ہری پور] was also mentioned among the Jagirdars [جاگیردار] of the area in said book. He was mentioned as a lifetime Jagirdar [جاگیردار] which had also included the statements of the elders and Jagirdars [جاگیردار] of Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] with regard to the culture and traditions of other nations. The names of the nations, which had migrated from Afghanistan, had also included the name of the Panni nation. Those nations had landed in Tehsil Heripur [ہری پور] which was mentioned distinctly, at page No.1154. The population of the area was quoted as 1371 individuals. The farming was mentioned as a common profession (***Page No.1180***).

War waging ability of the Panni people [پنّی باشندوں کی جنگی صلاحیت]:

We are going to reproduce below an excerpt from a report which the people of Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] along-with people of the surrounding villages had presented to the deputy commissioner of district Hazara on 3rd October 1940 at Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] and which had reflected the military adventurism and love for expeditions of people of Moza Pannian [پنّیاں موضع]. This was a source to ascertain the capacity of the people to wage any war.

"Respected Sir, the actual native place of the Panni nation was Kandahar [قندھار] and Afghanistan [افغانستان] where they were in millions until lately and from where they had landed into Baluchistan, Punjab and in other areas of Hindustan. The people of said nation were based therefore in Zob [ژوب], Quetta [کوئٹہ] (*Baluchistan*), Khawaja [خواجہ] and Blundshaher [بلند شہر] of Hindustan mostly. The said nation had landed in the plains of Hazara in the beginning of the sixteenth century A.C whereas they were based currently at Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں], Taodo [ٹوڈو], Guniya [گُنیا], Serya [سریا], Kangerra [کانگڑہ], Bukka [بکہ] and Deghairr [دگھیڑ]. The capital was however the village Pannian [پنّیاں]. The population of said nation was around twelve to thirteen thousand individuals in those areas. The Mushwani [مشوانی] nation was based in the west of those areas and was an offshoot of the grandson of the Panni (*Allegedly*) genealogically. The Jadoon nation of Rish [رِش] area was also the descendent of Panni. The proof was "Mir Ameerpur Band Panni" [میرامیرپوربنڈپنّی] who was present in person. The history of the Panni nation had revealed that said nation was very peace loving and progressive by nature and agriculture used to be always their source of income. When, the British colonists had landed in the area said nation had rendered great services collectively to maintain peace and order. They were granted prizes and pensions in return along-with worthy certificates of appreciation"

"The individuals of the Panni nation had joined the regular army and had rendered great services during the battle of 1857. The children of those brave soldiers had opted for marriages in Delhi and were also there in the Pannian [پنّیاں] village. The soldiers of the Panni nation had also participated in the battles of Afghanistan, Tera, Waziristan, Egypt, Transwal and Sudan etc. and some of them were still alive. The tales of their adventures of yester years was always the source of motivation for the Panni nation".

Those who had presented said report they were not unmindful of fact that, there was a regiment of the Panni nation which had revolted against the British colonists in the world war of 1914. The British had lost resultantly the faith and confidence which they had reposed in them. The aforementioned report was apparently a tactful attempt of providing a cover up perhaps to the aftermath of said revolt.

The further probe about the ancient city of Pannian [پنّیاں] at this juncture of our narrative shall encumber our subject with some unnecessary details therefore we would like to conclude the narrative on Pannian [پنّیاں] just with a note that: How Pannian [پنّیاں] used to be in the recent past because its history demands to be revisited to highlight its golden chapters separately.

Leading personalities [مقتدر شخصیات]:

The well-known well-wisher and a friend of the people of Pannian [پنّیاں], Raees (*Khan Sahib* [خان صاحب]) and Haji Mohammed Asfrah Khan Panni [حاجی محمد اشرف خان پنّی] had joined the Muslim League during the British Raj. He was constrained to surrender however the honorific title of "Khan Sahib" [خان صاحب] while he was still in the service. He had retired as E.A.C and had kept himself busy after his retirement to serve the needy and poor people of his area.

The leading scholar of the village Pannian [پنّیاں] was Dr. Shir Bahader Khan Panni [شیر بہادر خان پنّی] MBBS, (*Retired*) Deputy Inspector General Jails, N.W.F.P. He was an author and compiler of the books like "Tareekh Hazara" [تاریخ ہزارہ], Afadat Mehr [افادات مہر] and Deed-o-Shuneed [دیدوشنید].

There were many individuals of the Panni nation who had rendered military services in France, Iraq and in the plains of Africa under Rasala No.8 No.9 No.17, as well as, in Platoon No.62, No.74 and No.82 during the world war of 1914. The leading names among them were Rasaldar Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [رسالداردوست محمد خان پنّی] Jagirdar, Rasaldar Faiz Ullah Khan Panni [رسالدار فیض اللہ خان پنّی]. He had provided as a matter of fact, 127 best individuals for conscription whereas he was able to get commissioned directly Jamadar Mohammed Ismaeel Khan Panni [جمعدار اسماعیل خان پنّی]. Those best individuals had included, Khan Mir Alam Khan Panni [خان میر عالم خان پنّی], father of Haji Mohammed Asfrah Khan Panni [حاجی محمد اشرف خان پنّی] (*Retired*) E.A.C. who had earned the privilege of getting the "King Commission" in Rasala No.17. There were about one dozen direct commissioned officers, sixty to seventy Dafahdar [دفعدار] and Hawaldar [حوالدار] and six to seven hundred people of the Panni nation who were recruited in the regular army in cavalry and infantry units. The doors of progress were closed however on said peace loving, calm and gallant nation after 1918 because the education was made a merit of recruitment in the army other than nepotism. The bravery and gallantry by then was not reckoned

as the only merit. Then, some people of Pannian [پنّیاں] had also joined superior services whereas there was no individual from the Panni nation who was given commission in the army after 1930. The Jagirdar of the Panni nation namely, Sardar Fazal Khan Panni [سردار فضل خان پنّی] had served for a longtime as a member of district board. He was succeeded by Rasaldar Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [رسالداردوست محمد خان پنّی]. The representation of the Panni nation had disappeared thereafter and the Panni nation resultantly was left in a lurch. The efforts were made also for ensuring their representation in the legislative assembly but, all in vain. The efforts were always in progress in this regard to protect the political rights of the area (*It was the gallantry of those people which was praiseworthy. It was not how they were associated with the British colonists. We may point out that when they had revolted against the British Raj during the war of 1914, their regiment was knocked down and the usurper government had victimized the Panni people thereafter, Writer*) (***Terjman*** [ترجمان] ***Peshawar dated.17th October 1940 News clip, provided by Hajji Mohammed Asfrah Khan Panni*** [حاجی محمد اشرف خان پنّی].

Mohammed Asfrah Khan Panni [محمد اشرف خان پنّی]:

Why the people of village Pannian [پنّیاں] had put this fact into the oblivion that, there was a very charismatic son of village Pannian [پنّیاں] namely, Aslam Khan Panni [اسلم خان پنّی] who had refused to open fire against the Turks along-with his regiment during the war of 1914 (*The detail account of the same will be given, later*) and his entire regiment was condemned into exile at Kalapani [کالاپانی] as a punishment. The nation which had produced sons like Aslam Khan Panni [اسلم خان پنّی] and the soldiers of his regiment, whose love for their land and resolve was unquestionable then, how the British could have trusted their loyalties. They were destined to be victimized by the British colonists because they were rooted deeply in their soil (***Mollana Charagh Hadan Hadrat*** [مولانا چراغ حسن حسرت] ***the famous scholar, writer and journalist, who was also in the army during the war of 1914, had also discussed with the Writer, the fate of the Panni regiment, several years ago***).

Colonel Nawal and Pannian [پنّیاں]:

> I had visited Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] Tehsil Heripur [ہری پور] district Hazara as a liaison officer of government to ensure the welfare of the overseas soldiers. The

village Pannian [پنّیاں] was amongst sixteen villages and the most popular names among those villages were Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں], Bheara [بھیرا], Kalo Pind [کالو پِنڈ], Taodo [ٹوڈو] or Kot Najeeb Ullah [کوٹ نجیب اللہ], Paharo [پہاڑو] and Kangerra [کانگڑہ]. The Panni Pathans used to live in those villages. They had three thousand houses approximately. They had landed in the area about four hundred years ago from Zob Valley of Baluchistan. They had provided 25 volunteers to the government during the battle of 1857. Mr. Abbot was indebted for their faithfulness. They had provided also another contingent to the government during the second expedition of Koh Seyah [کوہ سیاہ] which was across the frontier area. The government had extended the facilitations and respect with thanks for proving their faithfulness.

The Panni Pathans were enrolled in the cavalry regiment No.1 and they had rendered services during the first Afghan war under said regiment. The cavalry regiment No.1 was changed to cavalry regiment No.17 subsequently which was due to the reason that, there were some disturbances within the cavalry regiment No.18 during the war of 1914-18. The cavalry regiment No.18 was knocked down resultantly. (*It was the same regiment which had refused to open fire against soldiers of Islamic countries, Writer*). Then, there were vacancies for about one hundred and fifty soldiers during the restructuring process of said regiment. The Panni Pathans were selected in this regard and Rasaldar Faiz Ullah Khan Panni [رسالدار فیض اللہ خان پنّی] and Jamadar Mohammed Ismaeel Khan Panni [جمعدار اسماعیل خان پنّی] had provided a batch of soldiers from Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] and from the adjoining villages. Then, said cavalry regiment was also dismantled after the war. The relationship with the Panni Pathans of the area was severed permanently as a consequence thereof. There were only fifty Panni Pathans in the army during the World War II as compared with the war of 1914 when, there were about four hundred people who were serving in the army.

The family members of the Panni Pathan soldiers used to get a sum of Rupees five thousand under the head of salaries during the war of 1914. They used to spend a big portion of said amount in purchasing land. The price of one kanal land had shot up resultantly from Rupees seventy to Rupees one hundred and fifty. The land prices had come down however when there was a break in the remittances. Thus, the soldiers who used to be desirous to multiply their money by investing in the land, had received a financial set-back which was a very sorry state of

affairs and then some special reformative measures were introduced to promote money saving habits pursuant to said dismal market trend. The opportunity was also provided to the soldiers with respect to the payment of tithe and canal dues which was made payable on mutually negotiated terms. There was another incentive which was given to the soldiers was, the exemption for life in the payment of annual tithe and canal dues provided, a lump sum payment was made once, at the rate of Rupees two hundred per kanal only.

> "The Panni Pathans were known for their skill of peasantry. There used to be an expression in the area that "Barah Sewan Kanak Noo, Diakh Kanak De Jharr" [بارہ سیواں کنک نوں،دیکھ کنک دی جھاڑ] i.e. if the field soil was softened twelve times by plowing then, the yield of wheat was bound to abound. The land used to be plowed however more than even twelve times usually in the area of Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] (***Printed statement Colonel A.W.C. Novail. C.I.E.D.S.O Military Newspaper Dated.18.10.1941 Page No.22***)

We may point out that, said expression was recorded during the World War II when a liaison officer was on a tour of frontier area to recruit new soldiers.

Loyalty with the British [انگریزوں سے وفاداری]:

Ghazan Khan Panni [غزن خان پنّی], son of Muneer Khan Panni [منیر خان پنّی], was deployed to provide the secret supplies to Major Herbert via river course. He was in confinement in Attock fort during the second battle of Sakhan [سکھاں] in 1848. Ghazan Khan Panni [غزن خان پنّی] was drowned in the river however, while he was on his way with the supplies. The sacrifice of Ghazan Khan Panni [غزن خان پنّی] and his other family members had elevated their status in the eyes of the British people. Major Abbot had promised pursuant to said incident, the assistance and due care of his family members. The brother of Ghazan Khan [غزن خان] was awarded a Jagir along-with certificates of appreciation. There was a certificate which was addressed to him in the manner, as below:

> "The Khan of the Panni nation namely, Qaim Khan [قائیم خان] had acquired a distinct status by virtue of his honesty, loyalty, perseverance and bravery since, the second battle

of Sakhan [سکھاں]. He was a straightforward and decent person. He had enjoyed his recognition as such in the entire Hazara region. The people who had disliked him, they were envious of his distinct status. He had taken the stand always for me along-with his brothers, sons and nephews at the time of extreme danger and had rendered his services with sincere dedication. He had refused to take any reward for his valuable services which he had rendered in the extreme hour of need. I had come to realize after the war that, he was not ready to seek any employment for his sons and nephews in the mobile police just because of his inherent coyness whereas they were the worthy ones who had deserved the employment in the order of priority. The fact of misjudging him had dawned on me after the opportune time. Then, I was not in a position to do much. Qaim Khan [قائم خان] had yet to get his due. I was all set although to bid farewell to this loyal friend yet, my departure was filled with the sense of remorse"

Signature:

J. Abbot former Deputy Commissioner Hazara

Dated.23.04.1953

(***Tareekh Hazara*** [تاریخ ہزارہ] ***Dr. Shir Bahader Khan Panni*** [شیر بہادر خان پنّی] ***Page No.204-205***).

When, Ghazan Khan Panni [غزن خان پنّی] was drowned in the river in 1853, the British government had fixed Rs.185/- as his lifetime pension for his son namely, Mir Hadan Khan. He had received said pension till 1897 when he had died (***Page No.210***).

We cannot take the bestowal of rewards and pensions by the British government as some kind of exaltation because these were insignificant from the point of view of nationalism. Those bestowals had established however the proof of uprightness and deep understanding of recipients with regard to the changing times as well as, the intelligence of flowing with the flow (***Writer***). Khuda Bux Khan Panni [خدابخش خان پنّی], son of Muneer Khan Panni [منیر خان پنّی], had taken charge after him and one of his sons namely; Aslam Khan Panni [اسلم خان پنّی] had set a great historical example of brotherhood, equality and nationalism. Khuda Bux Khan Panni [خدابخش خان پنّی] was a troublemaker whereas his son Mohammed Aslam Khan Panni [اسلم خان پنّی] was a handsome and tall man. He was posted in Iraq in the war of 1914-918. The history will always

praise him however for his nationalistic spirit because he had the courage of ignoring the British orders with disdain during the war. He had refused to fight against the Turk soldiers and the rest of his army contingent had also supported him in this regard. He was condemned into exile at Kalapani [کالاپانی] as a punishment along-with his entire contingent. He was able to manage his return home however after a very long time. He was an expert equestrian and he was assigned the duty in the Rasala for horse training (***Tareekh Hazara*** [تاریخ ہزارہ] ***Dr. Shir Bahader Khan Panni*** [شیر بہادر خان پنّی] ***Page No.211***). The aforementioned was the reason due to which the British government was reluctant to recruit the soldiers in army from the Panni nation. The total population of Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] was 2600 male and female individuals in accordance with the census of 1941. The number of literate people was 480 and there were 515 houses. The total area of Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] was 2396 acres (***Part No.5 Page No.34***).

Other villages of Hazara [ہزارہ کے دوسرے دیہات]:

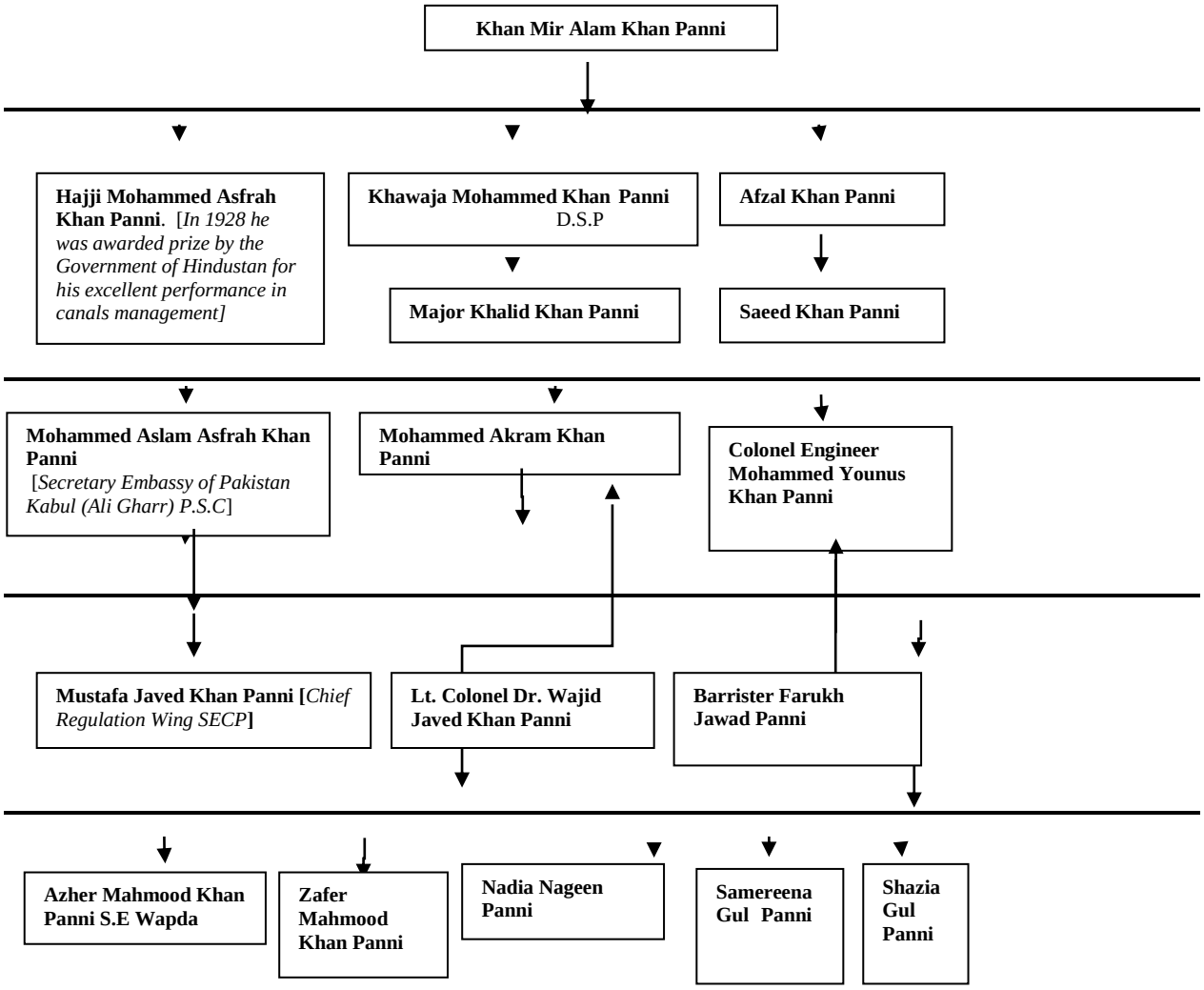
There were about fourteen to fifteen thousand people of the Panni nation who were also based in the other areas of district Hazara besides Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں]. The area of Dogherr [دوگھیڑ], Dhand [ڈھنڈ], Dahre [ڈھیری] Sandolah [سندولحہ], Gunjan [گنجان], Seri Pandori [سری پنڈوری], Baka Purana [بکہ پرانا] and Abdullahpur [عبداللہ پور] were more significant in this regard. Mr. Reverty had mentioned in the Notes on Afghanistan that, besides the Jadoon [جدون] and Pernie [پرنئی] who used to live in the west of River Indus, there were about six to seven thousand people of the Pernie [پرنئی] families who used to live in district Hazara (***Page No.18***). The legal heirs of Naemat Ullah Khan Mazrie Panni [نعمت اللہ خان مزرئی پنّی] and Hadayat Ullah Khan Musa Khail Panni [ہدایت اللہ خان موسی' خیل پنّی] had opted to move into the area of Moza Bheara [بھیرا موضع] from Moza Pannian [موضع پنّیاں] which was a barren land. They had taken possession of the area and had developed it. The area of Kalo Pind [کالو پِنڈ] was also included in the area of Paharo [پہاڑو]. Heri Singh [ہری سنگھ] had separated one third of the area however during the Sikh reigning period and had handed it over to Sher Ullah Khan [شیر اللہ خان] and Muez Ullah Khan Musa Khail Panni [معز اللہ خان موسی' خیل پنّی] son of Hayat Khan. The rest of the area was under the possession of Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی]. The Moza Guniya [گُنیا] was the Jagir of Afzal Khan Panni [افضل خان پنّی]. The area of Taodo [ٹوڈو], which was under the possession of the Muslims, was a part of Moza Dolta [موضع دولتا] which was a deserted area at that time. Kot Najeeb Ullah [کوٹ نجیب اللہ] was established at the same site subsequently. The people of the

Panni nation were based in all those villages. The Paharo [پہاڑو] was established by Paharo Khan [پہاڑو خان] therefore it was named as such. The Paharo [پہاڑو] area was set on fire by Sumender Khan Durrani [سمندر خان درانی] (*Panni*). Then, this was reestablished during the period of Dewan Moleraj [دیوان مولراج]. The Moza Kangerra [کانگڑہ] was reestablished by the Panni nation during the Sikh era when most of the villages of Hazara were set on fire by Dewan Moleraj [دیوان مولراج] and said Moza Kangerra [کانگڑہ] was also reduced to ashes. Then, the ancestors of the present residents of the area had to reestablish it. The inhabitants of aforementioned places were mostly from the Panni nation (***Information mentioned hereinabove was taken from the private diary of Hajji Mohammed Asfrah Khan Panni*** [حاجی محمد اشرف خان پنّی] ***A.C resident Pannian***).

The well-wisher and friend of the people of Pannian, Raees (*Khan Sahib* [خان صاحب]) Haji Mohammed Asfrah Khan Panni [حاجی محمد اشرف خان پنّی] had joined Muslim League during the British Raj. He had surrendered the honorific title as “Khan Sahib” [خان صاحب] while he was still in service. He had retired as E.A.C. and he had dedicated his remaining life in serving the needy and poor of the area.

The Newspaper “Jamhoor” had declared him as “Sir Syed” of Pannian.

A LEADING FAMILY OF PANNIAN IN HAZARA


Khan Mir Alam Khan Panni
Hajji Mohammed Asfrah Khan Panni. [In 1928 he was awarded prize by the Government of Hindustan for his excellent performance in canals management]
Khawaja Mohammed Khan Panni D.S.P
Afzal Khan Panni
Major Khalid Khan Panni
Saeed Khan Panni
Mohammed Aslam Asfrah Khan Panni [Secretary Embassy of Pakistan Kabul (Ali Gharr) P.S.C]
Mohammed Akram Khan Panni
Colonel Engineer Mohammed Younus Khan Panni
Mustafa Javed Khan Panni [Chief Regulation Wing SECP]
Lt. Colonel Dr. Wajid Javed Khan Panni
Barrister Farukh Jawad Panni
Azher Mahmood Khan Panni S.E Wapda
Zafer Mahmood Khan Panni
Nadia Nageen Panni
Samereena Gul Panni
Shazia Gul Panni

Kashmir [کشمیر]:

The way different nations, which had landed in the areas of Rawa [رَوہ] and Ghandaharah [گندھارہ] and then they had moved everywhere and they had settled down in the nook and corner of those areas, the Pathan nations had also landed in Kashmir in the similar manner. They consisted of numerous people of the Afridi [افریدی], Sadozai [سدوزئی], Barak Zai [بارک زئی], Hadan Zai [حسن زئی] and Durrani [درانی] (*Panni*) Kabali [کابلی], Niazi [نیازی] and Kakay Zai [ککے زئی] tribes. They were all known as "Khan" [خان] collectively (***Tareekh Aqawam Kashmir*** [تاریخ اقوام کشمیر] ***Page No.192***). The people who call themselves as Sadozai [سدوزئی], Barak Zai [بارک زئی], Hadan Zai [حسن زئی] and Durrani [درانی] all of them had hailed *fons et origio* from the Panni [پنّی] nation, according to our study. There were some non-Pathan nations however which

also used to live in Kashmir which used to consist of Butt [بٹ], Kakro [ککڑو], Loan [لون], Sufi [صوفی] and Panni [پنّی] according to historians. Those nations were also supposed to be treated as Pathan people in accordance with our research whereas the rest were supposed to be treated as Punni [پنّی] except, Butt [بٹ] and Kakurro [ککُڑو]. The people of Kashmir as a matter of habit abbreviate the words. They like to accentuate the words frequently with the vowel sign like [ُ] of the Arabic language. They also use the letter "Wao" [و] very frequently e.g. Shungloo [شُنگلو], Grutoo [گُرٹو], Supro [سُپرو], Nuzro [نُزرو], Wurnacho [وُڑنچو], Kunko [کُنکو], Kuchro [کُچارو], Tako [ٹکوُ], Kakurro [ککُڑو] and Matto [متُو] etc. ***(Tareekh Aqawam Kashmir*** [تاریخ اقوام کشمیر] ***Page No.43***). Those who were known as Butt [بٹ] were in fact the same people who were known as Battan [بٹن] or Bateen [بتین] in the genealogical tree of Pathans, according to our viewpoint (*Writer*). They were also known as "Battni" [بٹنی]. There was also an area which was known by the same name. We may also point out in order to substantiate said view that the Butt [بٹ] tribes of Kashmir used to include both communities i.e. Hindus as well as Muslims. Those who had embraced Islam, had branched themselves out from their other tribesmen and said exercise had taken place subsequent to Hindu Raj when Islamic teachings had already overwhelmed the area. Sheikh Batton [شیخ بٹن] or Bait Baba [بیٹ بابا] was a famous Sufi poet of the Pashto language according to "Tazkera-tul-Aoliya" [تذکرۃالاولیاء]. He was there from 330 Hegira to 410 Hegira and was considered to be the agnate of many Pashto speaking tribes (***Pashto Zaban-o-Adab*** [پشتو زبان وادب] ***Page No.37***). There was a possibility that the word "Butt" [بٹ] was the abbreviation of the word "Batton" [بٹن] just like many other names.

The families, which were known as "Kakurro" [ککُڑو] in Kashmir, were people from the same offshoot of the Saka [ساکا] or Sathi [ستھی] nation according to our study and were known as "Kakarr" [کاکڑ] amongst the Pathans. Since, the Saka [ساکا] and Panni [پنّی] nation were related with each other consanguinly therefore both of them were also treated as brother nations in those ancient times. They were also mentioned in the similar manner in the Genealogical Trees which were prepared, in those days. There were big areas in Baluchistan where the Kakarr [کاکڑ] people used to live and these were known as "Kakerristan" [کاکڑستان]. Baluchistan was the biggest center of the Panni nation until recently. There were many good references of their big leaders and their names were also available in the history. The spread over of the Afghan nation was in east and in west and in Seistan [سیستان], Kafiristan [کافرستان], Hazara [ہزارہ] and Hindustan [ہندوستان] according to "Tareekh Khursheed Jahan" [تاریخ خورشید جہاں]. The population of those people had

multiplied manifold as a consequence thereof and the space had become insufficient in the Ghor [غور] area resultantly to accommodate all of them (***Page No.65***).

There were also people from another nation. They were known as "Loan" [لون]. They used to live in Kashmir whereas a number of people who were known as "Loan" [لون] had opted to live in Pakistan as well. They used to take Kashmir as a place of their origin. The word "Loan" [لون] was distorted by the illiterate people as "Loon" [لُون] of the Punjabi language which means salt. The Loan [لون] is an offshoot of the Lonarr or Lona [لونڑ یا لونا] or Loana [لوانا] or Loni [لُونی] or Lon [لون] or Loran [لورن] tribe of the Panni nation according to our research (***Lugha***t [لُغت] ***Page No.234, Pathans Page No.184, "Across the Border" Page No.58***). The people of said tribe were based in large numbers in district Sibi [سبّی] as well. They used to also live in Afghanistan (***Ferist Aqwam Baluchistan and Lughat*** [لُغت]). There may not be very many people who are familiar with the fact that, the family of the famous Rustam-e-Zaman [رُسمِ زمان], Gama Pahlwan [گاما پہلوان] (*wrestler*) had also hailed from the same tribe. Gama Pahlwan [گاما پہلوان] was known at the initial stages of his career as "Gama Pahlwan Loon Walla" [گاما پہلوان لُون والا] instead of "Loan" [لون]. The meaning this was that, he was a person dealing in "Loon" [لُون] i.e. salt which is a word of the Punjabi language. The ancestors of Gama Pahlwan [گاما پہلوان] were from the Kashmir area. The present descendants of Gama Pahlwan [گاما پہلوان] were supposed to be treated therefore as people of the Panni nation. There was another caste which was known as Sufi [صوفی] and which was the distorted form of the Safi [صافی] offshoot of the Panni nation according to our study. Those who were known as "Safi" [صافی] they were the same people who were initially known as Neemcha [نیمچہ]. They were placed, at that time, in the initial phase of imbibing the teachings of Islam in a gradual manner. They had qualified to be called as "Safi" [صافی] i.e. the purified people only when they were purged fully from profanity after passing through said initial phase of purging themselves. The people of said branch of the Panni nation were based in large numbers in Afghanistan. *The detail account of the same has already Benn given, above.*

There was another tribe of the Panni people which was known as "Toor Zai" [طورزئی] (***Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***Page No.54***). The people of said tribe also used to live in Dera [درہ], Pewarr [پیواڑ], Kohat [کوہاٹ], and Loralie [لورالائی] as well as, in Kashmir besides living in Baluchistan. They were known there as "Toor" [طور] "Toori" [طوری] or "Terie" [طرئی]. There used to be a Toor [طور] family in Lahore as well. The word "Panni" [پنّی] with the addition

of a vowel sign as [ُ] of the Arabic language was given the frequentative use as "Punni" [پنّی] in the Kashmiri language (***Jamia Lughat*** [جامع لغات] ***Volume No.1 Page No.111***). There was a family which used to accentuate the word "Panni" [پنّی] as "Punni" [پنّی] and it used to live at Gwalmundi Rawalpindi. They had some relatives in Lahore as well. The said family was based in fact at Shimla [شملہ] (*India*) and they used to pronounce word "Panni" [پنّی] as "Punni" [پنّی] or even as Poeen [پوئیں]. The eldest son of said family namely, Khawaja Mohammed Umer [خواجہ محمد عمر] (*Inspector Police*) had revealed the fact that, the family of former Governor of Pakistan Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din had informed him prior to independence of Pakistan that, were from a Panni [پنّی] tribe of Kashmir. The said disclosure was made through a letter which was addressed to Khawaja Mohammed Umer [خواجہ محمد عمر] and they had left behind said letter at Shimla [شملہ] (*India*) among other things at the time of migration for Pakistan. The family origin of Allama Iqbal [علامہ اقبال] was from the Supro [سُپرو] tribe according to one version. The word "Supro" [سُپرو] means, "A knowledgeable person" or an intellectual whereas the origin of word "Supro" [سُپرو] was from Iran. The etymological source of word "Supro" [سُپرو] was either the Pahlavi [پہلوی] or the Armenian language as it was explained by Allama Iqbal [علامہ اقبال]. There was an established fact that, the Panni nation had ruled Armenia for about five hundred seventy five years. There were many people in the Kashmir Valley who used to include the word "Khawaja" [خواجہ] as a prefix with their names which was an old terminology but, the word "Khawaja" [خواجہ] was used initially by those people who had migrated from Iran and they had landed in the Kashmir Valley. The Iranian features of those families had provided seemingly the confirmation said fact. The word "Khawaja" [خواجہ] was a Persian word etymologically and was used in Iran for respect as a substitute of Aaqa [آقا], Mian [میاں] or Chaudhery [چودھری]. The Sassanid [ساسانی] rulers had usurped the power in Iran in 226 A.C from the last ruler of the Panni chain of rulers. They had effaced all their historical achievements from the archives of history. Then, they had also banished them from Iran despite the fact that, the Panni nation had ruled said area for about five hundred and seventy five years. The Sassanid [ساسانی] rulers had expunged their name by design from the Iranian history. Thus, those people were constrained to migrate slowly and gradually into various parts of the Ghandaharah [گندھارا] and Baluchistan. There were some migrants who had opted to move into Kashmir during the same stint of migration. The use of the Persian word "Khawaja" [خواجہ] by them had also endorsed the aforementioned reality. The gradual migration of the people of said nation into Afghanistan and Ghandaharah [گندھارا] and into other directions was also a proof of the fact that, Iran was the place of their origin. We

leave the job of carrying out further research for some other writer with regard to discovering the family origin of Allama Iqbal [علامہ اقبال].

District Peshawar [ضلع پشاور]:

The initial base of the Panni Pathan nation was Peshawar Valley. Then, said nation had infiltrated into the Subcontinent through various routes of Derra Khyber [درۂ خیبر]. Then some of the families were able to settle down in Dera Khyber [درۂ خیبر] with the Atman Zai [اتمان زئی] tribe and the others had settled down in Peshawar Valley. The aforementioned fact was established by the very existence of the Kariger [کاریگر] and the Lonerr [لونڑ] offshoots which were based in the area of Aasiya [آسیا] and Kocha Lonerriyan [کوچہ لونڑیاں] in Peshawar city. The local Municipal Corporation had affixed the name plates of those tribes conspicuously. There was an offshoot by the name of "Kasi Khail" [کاسی خیل] which was based in Hashtnager [ہشت نگر]. The Arbab [ارباب] tribe was the sub-branch of Kasi Khail [کاسی خیل]. The Arbab [ارباب] tribe used to enjoy a particular social recognition in district Peshawar and in the Peshawar city. There was yet another offshoot of said nation which was known as "Shinwari" [شنواری]. The people of which were based in the area of Khyber [خیبر] (***Dictionary 1910***). The book which was captioned as "Tareekh Peshawar" had rendered the descriptive account of various Tapas [تپہ] and villages of said nation. There was another offshoot of said nation which was known as "Jadoon" [جدون]. The people of which were based in Kohat and Peshawar area (***Expeditions Page No.1***). The Afridi [افریدی] people used to live around Derra Khyber [درۂ خیبر] and in the south of Tera [تیرہ]. The Safi [صافی] people used to live under their protective hegemony (***Problem Page No.62***). The people of "Rani Zai" [رانی زئی] had the bases from the border of Peshawar up to River Punjkora [پنج کورہ] (***Problem Page No.78***). The people of the "Ali Zai" [علی زئی] tribe also used to live among the people of the Mahsood [محسود] tribe (***Problem Page No.65***). The family of the famous Surkhposh [سرخ پوش] leader namely, Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan [خان عبدالغفار خان] had also hailed from the Mohammed Zai [محمد زئی] offshoot of said nation.

Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان]:

The river course had destroyed the bustling city of Dera Ismail Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] just within a short span of about five years i.e. around 1875. Sher Mohammed Khan Sadozai Panni [شیر محمد

خان سدوزئی پنّی] had reconstructed the destroyed city around 1881. Then, he had named once again the new city as "Dera Ismail Khan" [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] (***Tareekh Dera Ismail Khan*** [تاریخ ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] ***Page No.122, Amada Altwareekh*** [عمدہ التواریخ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.126***).

District Mardan [ضلع مردان]:

There was a general perception, according to the book Sheikh Mili [شیخ ملی] that, the people of the Kakarr [کاکڑ] and Panni [پنّی] tribes had got their respective shares in Moza Pir Sado [موضع پیر سدو] in the Mardan [مردان] area. Then, there was a portion of Qutab Gharr [قطب گڑھ] which was also awarded to them. They were based in those areas with the name as Kakarr [کاکڑ] only until recently. The people had believed generally that, the Kakarr [کاکڑ] and Panni [پنّی] were the descendants of two real brothers. When, some more land was distributed in district Hazara, which was contiguous with Mardan then, some of the Panni [پنّی] people of Moza Pir Sado [موضع پیر سدو] and Qutab Gharr [قطب گڑھ] were able to settle down in their new habitats whereas some of them had opted to stay back in Moza Pir Sado [موضع پیر سدو]. There was only one family which had opted to stay back in Qutab Gharr [قطب گڑھ] and the people of said family were very much there, until recent times. They had enjoyed the dual identity as Kakarr Panni [کاکڑ پنّی] and/or Panni Kakarr [پنّی کاکڑ]. The Panni [پنّی] people had lost their separate identity resultantly. They were able to avail the share of their land also in the area of Moza Jhonghara [موضع جھونگڑا] whereas some of their families had the land ownerships in Kat Ghanj [کاٹ گنج], Dahre Shakray Baba [ڈھیری شکرے بابا], Moza Saleem Khan [موضع سلیم خان] and Muhee [محیی] in district Mardan. They were known by the name as Gherghashti [غڑغشتی] because the Kakarr [کاکڑ] and Panni [پنّی] were allegedly the grandchildren of Gherghashti [غڑغشت]. They were believed to be the sons of Dani [دانی] (***Tareekh Hafiz Rahmat Khan*** [تاریخ حافظ رحمت خان] ***Page No.667-668***).

There was a town by the name of Swabi [صوابی] in district Mardan [مردان]. The historians had maintained the unanimous view that Swabi [صوابی] was the distorted form of the word Safi [صافی] which was an offshoot of the Panni nation which had belatedly, embraced Islam. This had proved the fact that, the people of said offshoot had existed there in large numbers or perhaps they were still there in good numbers. There was another town in Mardan [مردان] by the name of Merghaz [مرغز] (*The plural of which is Merghzan* [مرغزان]) which was also an offshoot of the Panni nation. There was a place by the name of Merghzan [مرغزان] in Swat area as well. The

people of said offshoot also used to live in Sibi [سبّی]. There was a residential place of a family which was also known as "Merghzan House" [مرغزان ہاوس] ***(Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***1941 Page No.54)***.

Panni Panini [پنّی پانینی]:

The area of Mardan [مردان] was also an active center of the Panni nation in ancient times. There were several monuments in the area and were a vivid proof of the same. The Archeological Department was planning to carry out further excavation in said area therefore there was a possibility of new historical discoveries. The monuments referred herein above shall be discussed later under the caption of "Archeological Discoveries". We intend to discuss a great personality of the area at this stage which was known as "Panini" [پانینی] or Panni [پنّی] and he was a great grammarian (***Collier Encyclopedia Volume No.15 Page No.411***). There was a common perception that, he was from the area which was known as "Samutala" Moza Lahore [موضع لاہور], Tehsil Swabi [تحصیل صوابی]. The Chinese traveler had named said place as "Salatora" and there was also an ancient Dahre [ڈھیری] (*mount*) which was known as Ratta Panerr [رتہ پنّڑ]. The same place was also called as "Surkh Dahrie" [سرخ ڈھیری] in the Pashto language. The word Surkh means color "Red" in Pashto language. Since, there were many scattered potsherds [ٹھیکریاں] on the surface of "Surkh Dahrie" [سرخ ڈھیری] therefore these used to give a reddish look. The village of Panini [پانینی] was buried under Surkh Dahrie [سرخ ڈھری] according to some historians. Mr. Agarwar an officer of the Archeological Department had written a thesis on Panini [پانینی] prior to independence of Pakistan and was resultantly awarded the doctorate degree. There was a Muslim officer of Archeological Department who had expressed his views that, he had accompanied Mr. Agarwar in 1932 and they had walked together towards Surkh Dahrie [سرخ ڈھری]. Mr. Agarwar had explained contemplatively that: "How very strange was the fact that, the village of Panini [پانینی] was buried under said mount" and he had mentioned the same fact probably in his thesis as well. Mr. Agarwar had expressed his views further that, the Panni nation which had come from Baluchistan in the beginning of first century A.C, had ruled the entire area which was known as the province of N.W.F.P (KPK) and which had included the area of Taxilla as well. Then, they were also known as "Pathans" among other Pathan people according to historian Ferishta [فرشتہ]. The Gandhapuri Pathans [گنڈافری پٹھان] of Colachi [کلاچی] had also belonged to said Panni Parthian nation. They had

acclaimed the linkage with the Parthian Gandaferi king in the order of genealogy (***Letter Dated 11th April 1966 addressed to the Writer, by Khan Mohammed Wali Ullah Khan*** [خان محمد ولی اللہ خان] ***"Tamgha Imtiaz"*** [تمغہ امتیاز]).

The renowned historian and writer of the Pashto and Urdu languages of Takhat Bie [تخت بائی] namely, Abdul Haleem Khan Aser Afghani [عبدالحلیم خان اثر افغانی] had expressed his views while referring to the abode of Panini [پانینی] that, "He used to live on the river bank at Hund [ہنڈ] towards Qutab [قطب] in the area of "Awara" [آوارہ] in a historical village which was known as Lahore [لاہور]". The Director General John Marshal and pioneer of Asiatic Society Mr. William Johns (1846) had also given the reference of Panini [پانینی] in 1872. He had expressed his views in this regard that, Panini [پانینی] was also discussed in various books of the Pashto language. The European historians were familiar with him by the name of "Pannini" and his reference was also available in Rig-Veda as "Panini" (*patronymic meaning "descendant of Pani*"). He was known by 4th century BC as an ancient Indian and Sanskrit grammarian from Puslalavati Ghandaharah which is in the area of present day Pakistan. He was proficient in Aramaic, Colerain, Hebrew and Sabina languages. He was a teacher at the University of Taxilla. He was an author of a book which was captioned as "Semerkerta" and was available in the McMahon Library Quetta. The word "Panini" means: the saint or Sardar [سردار] according to Abdul Haleem Khan Aser Afghani [عبدالحلیم خان اثر افغانی]. He had also referred to some other monuments of the Panni nation which were available in Mardan [مردان] area. The same were exposed to rapid decay due to lack of requisite supervision (***Monthly Oolus*** [اولس] ***Quetta December 1964 Page No.36 to 40***). The Panini [پانینی] was a great grammarian and an expert of syntax and semantics. He had written a book which was captioned as "Astadhyayi" (*Eight Chapters*). He was also known for Sanskrit and in particular for his formulation of 3,959 rules of Sanskrit morphology, syntax and semantics which was the foundational text of the grammatical branch of the Vedanga and the scholarly but, the auxiliary disciplines of Vedic religion.

The Astadhyayi was one of the earliest known grammars of Sanskrit and Panini [پانینی] had referred although to the previous texts like Unadisutra, Dhatupatha and Ganapatha yet, this was the earliest known work on descriptive linguistics and generative linguistics which were clubbed with the work of his immediate predecessors Nirukta, Nighantu, Pratishkyas. He was among the

pioneers therefore in the history of linguistics. The theory of morphological analysis of the Panini [پانینی] was more advanced than any equivalent western theory before mid 20th century whereas his analysis of noun compounds used to be taken as a basis until recently. The modern linguistic compounding theories such as "Bahuvrihi" and "Dvandva" were indebted therefore to the Sanskrit terms (***Collier Encyclopedia Volume No.15 Page No.411***). The outline of "Tareekh Hafiz Rahmat Khan" [تاریخ حافظ رحمت خان] had revealed that Panini [پانینی] was a Hindu and his actual name was Panni [پنّی]. The historians had linked him with Ghurghasht [غڑغشت] genealogically. The Afghan historians had placed the Panni [پنّی] tribe as one of the pioneer tribes of the Afghans in accordance with the genealogical tree. The Panni [پنّی] tribe was based irregularly at various places including district Chittagong [چٹاگانگ] which had a town by the name of Pannian [پنّیاں]. The abode of the Ghurghasht [غڑغشت] tribes was the Suleiman mountain range [کوہ سلیمان] (***Page No.478-479***). There was a publishing department in Allahabad [الہ آباد] India under the name and style of "Panini Publishing House". The *Writer* has examined some voluminous books in the Public Library Lahore which were in the English language and were published by said department.

District Kambelpur [ضلع کیمبل پور]:

There used to be a village by the name of Panni Walla [پنّی والا] in district Cambelpur [ضلع کیمبل پور] Attock (***Letter Fazal Ahmed Khan*** [فضل احمد خان] ***Dated.02.09.1960***).

District Rawalpindi [ضلع راولپنڈی]:

There was a town by the name of "Ghurghashti" [غور غشتی] in Rawalpindi. Since, the Kakarr [کاکڑ] and Panni [پنّی] tribes used to live together at some places therefore their individual identity had become extinct. They had amalgamated into their collective identity and thus they had assumed the name of their common agnate and they were known resultantly as "Gherghashti" [غرر غشتی]. There was seemingly no other morphological explanation of the aforementioned name. The intermingling process of the Kakarr [کاکڑ] and Panni [پنّی] tribes had worked so well that an offshoot of the Kakarr [کاکڑ] tribe had come into being with the name as Panni Zai [پنّی زئی] The individual identity of Panni [پنّی] tribe had remained intact nonetheless at some places and the Panni [پنّی] people had assumed the dual identity i.e. Panni Kakarr [پنّی کاکڑ].

District Lahore [ضلع لاہور]:

The people of the Panni nation exist in large numbers in Punjab and most of them live in small cities and villages. The family of the writer was the only family which had opted to live in the capital of Punjab i.e. Lahore [لاہور] city. Since, most of the people of the Panni nation used to lag behind somewhat in the field of education therefore they had failed to earn any significant role in the society despite being in a sizable majority. They used to hold large chunks of land and most of them used to be in the profession of agriculture. They were unable to achieve however the high ranks professionally despite joining the regular army. There was one family however which was able to earn a conspicuous place in the history of Punjab which had maintained the political and religious dignity of the people at a very crucial juncture in history. Then, the ruling elite had preferred the Sikhs plunderers unfortunately over the Mujahedeen of said family due to some vested interests. The said family was a Nawab family in Qasoor [قصور] which was known later on as Nawabs of Mamdot [نوابانِ ممدوٹ]. They were able to earn a great recognition and a big name in the history of Punjab since 1209 Hegira (1794 A.C) up to 1376 Hegira (1947 A.C).

HAKIM QASOOR GHAZI NIZAM-UD-DIN KHAN HADAN ZAI AND OTHERS

[حاکم قصوری غازی نظام الدین خان حسن زئی وغیرہ]

1209 Hegira (1794 A.C) to 1376 Hegira (1947 A.C)

The Mamdot [ممدوٹ] cricket club used regularly to arrange and organize cricket matches for years because of its well recognized status internationally. The word “Mamdot” [ممدوٹ] was used very commonly but there were very few people who were familiar perhaps with the great achievements of Mamdot Nawabs [نوابانِ ممدوٹ] of the former state of Mamdot [ممدوٹ] and about their incessant struggle and missionary spirit with which they had struggled against the Sikh terrorist reign. The general public was also unaware about the fact that the “Mamdots” [ممدوٹ] had belonged to the Hassan Zai Panni [حسن زئی پنّی] tribe of Pathans (***Nairang-e-Khayal*** [نرنگِ خیال] (***Monthly***) ***August 1968***). They were epoch making people of the Panni [پنّی] nation. The history of said family was available randomly in various books which had yet to be compiled in the form of one composite history book according to our (*Writer*) information. The Nawabs of Mamdot [نوابانِ ممدوٹ] had not taken however very keen interest in this regard. The founder of the

state namely, Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] and his relatives had contributed practically in the Jihad with sword [جہاد بالسیف] at the decline of Muslim rule and during the struggle against the Sikh reign of terror. The said role had turned out to be in fact a somber chapter of history in the province of Punjab during the ensuing period of Muslim rule. (*We may point out that, the Subaydar of Punjab namely, Abdus-Smad Khan* [عبدالصمد خان] *had died in 1737 and his son Zakria Khan* [ذکریا خان] *had died in 1745. Mir Munoo* [میر منو] *who was on his way to Lahore, he had fallen from a horse after defeating the Sikhs and he had died near Qasoor* [قصور], *Writer*). This was the period when Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] and Shah Ismaeel Shaheed [شاہ اسماعیل شہید] had promoted the struggle against the Sikh reign of terror and the renaissance of Islam in the frontier province. The disloyalty of some treacherous Muslims of the frontier area had changed however the course of history of the Muslims. Had Zaman Shah [زمان شاہ] of Afghanistan demonstrated some farsightedness in those days and instead of handing the control of Punjab over to the Sikhs he would have opted to strengthen hands of Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] (*He was founder of the state*) and had he also backed him up then the fate of politic body of Punjab and the entire history of the area would have been different most definitely. The Muslims of the area would have also been able to avoid the disgrace to which they were subjected during the Sikh reign of terror.

The Mamdot [ممدوٹ] area of Ferozepur [فیروزپور] was located at 34 miles from India. There was a time when said area used to enjoy the recognition as the "States beyond Sutlej" [ریاست ہائے ماورائے ستلج] and resultantly said Reyasat [ریاست] was considered as a Jagir. The population and the income of said Jagir in terms of its size was much more than that of the other neighboring states. The reason for reducing its status was apparently that the British government of said era was all inclined to weaken the Muslims of Punjab so as to demoralize and paralyze them. The same policy was set afloat by design with the objective of weakening the political hold of the Muslims in other parts of the Subcontinent. The British government was also disinclined to handover the controlling powers to anyone else other than Sikhs.

From Kandahar to Qasoor [قندھار سے قصور تک]:

We have already mentioned that the province of Kandahar [قندھار] (*from where some coins of the Panni era were disinterred, recently*) used to be the stronghold of the Panni nation. Then, the

Hills of Feroza [فیروزہ] and Koh Seyah [کوہ سیاہ] was the area of the Panni nation and was their hatchery until lately. We have already mentioned that the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] had waged a war against the Panni people in the area of Feroza. The Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had also fought three battles against the Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] people in order to establish his entrée into the Kandahar [قندھار] area. The Panni people of Kandahar [قندھار] had to pay per force, the annual cess and other payables according to Aien-e-Akberi [آئین اکبری]. There was a group of about 3500 Pathans who had migrated to Hindustan in 1575 during said period which was the reigning era of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The said group was able to settle down in Qasoor [قصور] near Lahore (***Itehad Afghan*** [اتحاد افغان] (***Monthly***) ***Ludhiana*** [لدھیانہ] ***May 1940, Tazkera*** [تذکرہ] ***340***). The elders of the Nawabs of Mamdot [نوابانِ ممدوٹ] were also in the aforementioned group of Pathan people. They were known as the "Hassan Zai Panni" [حسن زئی پنّی] tribe. They had remained in Qasoor [قصور] along-with the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people till the downfall of the Mughal Empire. The word "Qasoor" [قصور] (*palaces*) was used as a plural for the word Qaser [قصر] (*palace*). The Qasoor [قصور] area was named as such because there was a cluster of small forts or palaces. The source of income of the people of said area was mostly from serving as soldiers or by working as traders. They were not dependant on the state and were generally self-reliant. When, the Muslims had lost the administrative grip in Punjab then, the unruly Sikhs had become overambitious (***Itehad Afgan*** [اتحاد افغان] (***Monthly***) ***Ludhiana*** [لدھیانہ] ***May 1940, Tazkera*** [تذکرہ] ***340***). The Sikh troupes used to conduct looting and plundering at will and then they used to disappear in the mountains which used to be their sanctuaries. There used to be a Sardar [سردار] for each troupe [جتھہ] and the Sikh members of the troupe [جتھہ] were known as "Missal" [مسل]. The Sardar used to be known as Jathaydar [جتھے دار]. There were eight "Missals" [مسل] of similar type in said period and one of them was known as "Bhangi Missal" [بھنگی مسل]. There were two very prominent and brave individuals of the Panni tribe namely, Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] and Qutab-ud-Din Khan [قطب الدین خان]. They were the sons of Muez-ud-Din Khan [معز الدین خان] and had decided to step out ultimately to take a stand against the Sikh terrorism and they had taken charge as leaders of the Pathan tribes of Qasoor [قصور]. They had united the Muslim population against the Sikhs and Ghazi Nizam-ud-Din Khan [غازی نظام الدین خان] was able to banish the Sikhs eventually from the Qasoor [قصور] area in 1794 A.C. Thus, he was also able to lay the foundation of his own rule in the area. We may also point out that, the province of Punjab was not a well defined administrative unit in those days. There was also no constitution for governing the Punjab area. There was no effective Muslim ruler to maintain the

law and order in the province of Punjab. There was a general misperception however which was instilled in the hearts of the public of the area that, Ghazi Nizam-ud-Din Khan [غازی نظام الدین خان] and his brother had some kind of understanding and collaboration with the Sardar of "Bhangi Missal" [بھنگی مسل] (***Islamic Culture Hyderabad Deccan (English Quarterly) 1969, Tazkera*** [تذکرہ] ***340***).

Ban on Azan and an offer to Shah Zaman [اذان پر پابندی اور شاہ زمان کو پیشکش]:

The spirit of Muslim brotherhood among the Afghans had ultimately received a jolt when the Sikhs had imposed restrictions on offering five times Azan [اذان] in the mosques. Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] and Qutab-ud-Din Khan [قطب الدین خان] had decided to take a stand in reprisal pursuant to said restriction. They had come out in the middle and they had publically opposed the restrictions on Azan [اذان]. (***Itehad Afgan*** [اتحاد افغان] (***Monthly***) ***Ludhiana*** [لدھیانہ] ***May 1940,***) Thus, they were able to drive out Gulab Singh [گلاب سنگھ] from Qasoor [قصور] in 1794 (***Islamic Culture Hyderabad Deccan (English Quarterly) 1969***) which was perhaps the beginning of Jihad. Sardar Gulab Singh [گلاب سنگھ] of Bhangi Missal [بھنگی مسل] had decided to launch a retaliatory attack in Qasoor [قصور] area pursuant to said expulsion. He had all the plans of subjugating the entire area but he had failed miserably in his pursuit. Then, Zaman Khan Panni [زمان خان پنّی] of Afghanistan was able to enter Lahore in 1211 Hegira (1794 A.C) with the intention to conquer Punjab. Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] had extended his cooperation to keep the situation under control and had assured him to bring peace and tranquility in Punjab within one year provided, some troops and some money was made available to him. He had also assured the return of the Abdali troops, provided his own lashker was strengthened for said release. He had demanded Rupees five lacs as annual tribute money from him for onward payment to Kabul [کابل] and said money he had demanded to be paid up front. The ironic part of the situation was that both the negotiators had hailed from their respective Panni tribes and their native place was also the same i.e. Kandahar [قندھار].

Myopic approach of the Abdali and appointment of Ranjeet Singh
[ابدالی کی کم اندیشی اور رنجیت سنگھ کا تقرر]:

There was a very unfortunate factor that, Zaman Shah Sadozai Panni [زمان شاہ سدوزئی پنّی] had not accepted the proposal and he had used the delaying tactics instead. He was desirous to weigh the situation differently due to the revolt of his brother namely, Mahmood [محمود]. He was compelled to pack-up in the process and make his return to Heart [ہرات]. The history had also taken a very wicked turn at said juncture due to lack of foresightedness of Abdali [ابدالی]. He had handed over Punjab to Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] though for a year instead of handing over the control to Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان]. Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] had captured Lahore hurriedly in 1799. Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] was also a Sardar and he was backed up by a Missal [مسل]. When, Zaman Shah Sadozai Panni [زمان شاہ سدوزئی پنّی] had attacked Peshawar in 1798 according to some books of history, he had sought help and cooperation from Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] to sort out the Sikhs terrorists who used to live in the area at that time. We may well take said view as correct then it was also possible that, Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] was supposed to be appointed as the Subaydar [صوبیدار] of Peshawar as a measure of reciprocity which was also not something out of place under the then prevailing circumstances. Zaman Shah Sadozai Panni [زمان شاہ سدوزئی پنّی] had ignored his proposal. Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] had presumed probably in the wake of said appointment of Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] in Punjab that, the stay of Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] in power and his son Zaman Shah [زمان شاہ] was an act of blowing hot and cold in the same breath. He had abstained resultantly from entangling with the Sikhs. The Pathan collaborators of Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] had planned to settle the account in the meantime with Zaman Shah [زمان شاہ]. He was on his way to Kabul [کابل] for resolving some family feuds. Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] had no other option but to get along with the Sikh Missals [مسل] as a consequence thereof. There were some historians who had drawn the inference that, Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] had some tacit understanding perhaps with the Sikh Missals [مسل]. They had failed to take the analytical view of political constraints in the backdrop of aforementioned circumstances.

Apprehensions of Ranjeet Singh, due to the Mamdot conquest

[تسخیرِ ممدوٹ سے رنجیت سنگھ کو خدشہ]:

The sun was likely to come out of eclipse for the reign of Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] as he was deemed to have concluded his control over Lahore by 1800 A.C. The Khan Brothers were also not ready to sit back as a result of his strong grip on the reign. Qutab-ud-Din Khan [قطب الدین خان]

had moved forward therefore and he was able to capture the Mamdot [ممدوٹ] area and then he had annexed it with Qasoor [قصور]. The intrigues among the family peers of Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] in Afghanistan had also helped Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] to strengthen his rule. Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] was a capable and a brave officer according to historian Bakhingum. He was matching equally in strength with Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ]. He had also seven thousand horsemen and a few cannons at his disposal which was an impossible situation even for Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] because tolerating an enemy in the neighborhood of his capital Lahore was an open insult to his prowess and might. When, Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] was in the process of sorting out the competitor Bhangi Missal [بھنگی مسل] after the capture of Lahore, Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] had also provided him the regular support with the confidence that he had an old association with him. The fatal mistakes of Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] and his son, in the light of aforementioned events, had proved to be instrumental in creating an opportunity of the Sikh occupation of Punjab. How very ironical was the situation when the father was able to break the backbone of the Merhattas [مرہٹہ] and the son had extended a helping hand to the Sikhs to hoist the flag of their triumph.

Attack of Ranjeet Singh against Qasoor and strategy of the family
[رنجیت سنگھ کا قصور پر حملہ اور خاندان کی حکمتِ عملی]:

When, Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] and Booty Shah [بوٹی شاہ] were able to besiege the Chaniot [چنیوٹ] area in 1801, according to historian Mohan Lal [موہن لال] then a rumor was dissiminated that Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] had launched an attack against Lahore. We can very well imagine that, Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] must have lost his equilibrium on receiving said news. He must have felt all constrained for an all-out battle against Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] without even having any regard for the consequences. Then, he had deferred the idea of conquering Chaniot [چنیوٹ] and instead he had dispatched his camel riders immediately and he had launched an attack in collaboration with Fateh Singh Ahlo [فتح سنگھ اہلو] against Qasoor [قصور] in 1803. He was the ruler of Kapoorthala [کپور تھلہ]. When, the locusts like lashker of collaborators was able to land in the suburbs of Qasoor [قصور], Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] had also walked out with all the grace and grandeur because a large section of the army was directly under his command. The remaining army was under the command of his brother. Then, there were thousands of people who were killed when the battle had started and both sides were

not ready to budge an inch from their respective entrenched positions. The said incident was also among those events in which Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] was present in person, in the battlefield. The prospects of victory by a sheer stroke of luck were turned in favor of the Sikhs and Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] was compelled to seek refuge in a fort which had the reputation that it was unconquerable. Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] was also taken aback perhaps by the sudden change in the fortunes of war because he was not desirous to prolong the battle. He was also cognizant of the fact that, the solution of Qasoor [قصور] issue had required the time of months therefore he had extended the offer for an armistice. Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] had not left any stone unturned for materializing the victory in sight but he had to agree to accept said offer. Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] had demanded the tribute money as usual and he had returned after accepting said gratification. Thus, the foresightedness and strategy of putting-up the resistance by Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] and his brother had worked well and Qasoor [قصور] was thus secured from falling into the clutches of Sikh terrorists. The people of Qasoor [قصور] had enjoyed the peace and tranquility for quite some time thereafter.

Advent of Qutab-ud-Din Khan Panni [قطب الدین خان پنّی کی آمد]:

Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] had occupied the Jagir of his brothers-in-law namely, Wasil Khan [واصل خان], Haji Khan [حاجی خان] and Najeeb Khan [نجیب خان] without any reason just, one year after the aforementioned battle. They had no option resultantly but to launch a retaliatory attack in which Wasil Khan [واصل خان] had killed said famous ruler namely, Sardar Nizam-ud-Din Khan Panni [سردارنظام الدین خان پنّی]. He had given him just one blow of the sword which had proved to be too fatal for him. The grave of Sardar Nizam-ud-Din Khan Panni [سردارنظام الدین خان پنّی] was believed to be in the southeastern corner close to the pond in the Qaberistan (Graveyard) Nizam-ud-Din Khan [قبرستان نظام الدین خان] which was outside Kot Azam Khan [کوٹ اعظم خان]. The incident of his death had taken place in 1817.

When, the aforementioned incident had taken place the brother of Sardar Nizam-ud-Din Khan Panni [سردارنظام الدین خان پنّی] was not in Qasoor [قصور]. When, he was able to know about the death of his brother he had rushed to Qasoor [قصور] and was able to apprehend the murderers without much ado. Haji Khan [حاجی خان] was able to escape however to Deccan (*India*) whereas

Wasil Khan [واصل خان] and Najeeb Khan [نجیب خان] were subjected to meet the fate which they had deserved.

Another attack of Ranjeet Singh and defeat [رنجیت سنگھ کا دوبارہ حملہ اور شکست]:

The control of Qasoor [قصور] had devolved upon Qutab-ud-Din Khan Panni [قطب الدین خان پنّی] despite the fact that, his only son namely, Fateh-ud-Din Khan Panni [فتح الدین خان پنّی] was also there. The dictates of time had demanded a worldly wise and a seasoned commander to hold the reins of power therefore any young person was likely to invite more problems as a ruler. The troublemakers as it normally happens, they were already there and the supporters of Fateh-ud-Din Khan Panni [فتح الدین خان پنّی] had also become very active. They had instigated Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] to create a mess and avenge the murder of Wasil Khan [واصل خان] and Najeeb Khan [نجیب خان]. Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] was able to exploit the opportunity and he had launched an attack against Qasoor [قصور]. Qutab-ud-Din Khan Panni [قطب الدین خان پنّی] had also tried to take him on board and he had assured him his cooperation despite the fact that, the heinous designs of Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] were quite obvious. Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] was unable to do much however during said attack. He was constrained to withdraw and then he had no other option but to take a detour. The complexity of the situation had turned into a humiliating defeat for Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ].

Migration to Mamdot [ممدوٹ میں نقل مکانی]:

Qutab-ud-Din Khan Panni [قطب الدین خان پنّی] had ruled with peace and tranquility and there was no interference till 1897. The cancroids of envy tend to corrode even the healthy body politic. The fact of the matter was that, the internal schism had always unhinged the Pathans from their pivots of power. The Pathans of Qasoor [قصور] were divided into two groups despite the fact that, Qutab-ud-Din Khan Panni [قطب الدین خان پنّی] had married the daughter of Sardar Khewa Khan [سردار کھیوا خان] with the intention to suppress the differences. Thus, he was able to multiply his strength. He had awarded a Jagir to Sardar Khewa Khan [سردار کھیوا خان] in return which was worth Rupees ten thousand yet, he had failed to plug the holes of revolt and rebellion in his realm of power. Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] was in Doar [دوار] in those days. When, he was able to learn about the internal rift of Pathans, he had reached Lahore without delay. Then, he

had launched the third attack against Qasoor [قصور]. Qutab-ud-Din Khan Panni [قطب الدین خان پنّی] had also fought with gallantry and bravery and had taken the entrenched position in a fort. Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] had besieged said fort for a good three months and then, he was able to devise a ploy in the league with the internal machinates. He had chocked the food supply line to the fort and Qutab-ud-Din Khan Panni [قطب الدین خان پنّی] was forced to succumb to pressure due to food shortage as a consequence thereof. Then, he had no choice but to sign an armistice on the terms and conditions of Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ]. Qutab-ud-Din Khan Panni [قطب الدین خان پنّی] had gone across River Sutlej [ستلج] into the Mamdot [ممدوٹ] area along-with his relatives pursuant to the armistice. Khewa Khan [کھیوا خان] had also accompanied him.

تا سماں کردباخود انچہ کرد
گردشِ دوراں بساطش در نورد
از دلش تاب و تبِ سیماب رفت
خودبدانی آنچہ بر پنجاب رفت
خالصہ شمشیر و قرآں را ببُرد
اندراں کشور مسلمانی بمُرد
Iqbal

Translation:

Heavens had ordained what was not a gain
So times had to lay chess game again
Mercurial splendor from heart had disappeared
Because Punjab was so badly steered
Quran and sword, Sikhs had crushed
Thus, Musalmani in the world was hushed.

Rule of Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی کا اقتدار]:

The situation had deteriorated to its irredeemable limits when the son of Sardar Nizam-ud-Din Khan Panni [سردارنظام الدین خان پنّی] namely, Fateh-ud-Din Khan Panni [فتح الدین خان پنّی] while hoping against the hope had decided to consolidate his own rule and all his hopes had proved to be just a mirage [اے بسا آرزو کہ خاک شدہ] because Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] had amalgamated Qasoor [قصور] into Punjab. He had given a Jagir as a lollypop to Fateh-ud-Din Khan Panni [فتح الدین خان پنّی] in the area of Gogera [گوگیرہ] of Maroop [ماروپ]. Then, the repentance had besieged

Fateh-ud-Din Khan Panni [فتح الدین خان پنّی] right in the middle of nowhere when he had accepted said Jagir and had initiated his struggle in a desperate manner to usurp the area of Mamdot [ممدوٹ] from Qutab-ud-Din Khan Panni [قطب الدین خان پنّی]. The said reactionary struggle was a desperate attempt of providing some consolation to his badly wounded self-esteem.

Qutab-ud-Din Khan Panni [قطب الدین خان پنّی] was although based in Mamdot [ممدوٹ] yet, he was not as venomous as he used to be after his eviction from Qasoor [قصور] but despite that, he was considered to be an irritant by Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ]. He was cognizant of the fact that, Qutab-ud-Din Khan Panni [قطب الدین خان پنّی] was a brave commander therefore he had helped Fateh-ud-Din Khan Panni [فتح الدین خان پنّی] in 1831 AC with a particular intent. He had made him launch an attack against his uncle across River Sutlej [ستلج] in collaboration with Dodgers [ڈوگر]. The said attack was organized at such a time when the army of the latter was in torn and tatters and the same had proved to be quite fatal. Qutab-ud-Din Khan Panni [قطب الدین خان پنّی] was resultantly compelled to escape to Amritsar [امرتسر] after receiving multiple injuries. He had died there because of those injuries. Thus, his own people had killed the second brave and gallant General which was the third critical juncture in fact, in the history of Punjab whereas the fourth attack was just in the making because Fateh-ud-Din Khan Panni [فتح الدین خان پنّی] was all set to recapture Mamdot [ممدوٹ] after making his uncle runaway. Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] had deceitfully assigned said area to Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی]. He was the eldest son of Qutab-ud-Din Khan Panni [قطب الدین خان پنّی]. The aforementioned area was assigned with the objective of outmaneuvering Fateh-ud-Din Khan Panni [فتح الدین خان پنّی]. He had made however the third and fourth attempt in capturing Mamdot [ممدوٹ]. The British government had also exploited those attempts and they had used theses as a pretext for their intervention. They were able to wrap up his entire game plan in the process. Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] had stopped Fateh-ud-Din Khan Panni [فتح الدین خان پنّی] in other words from executing his plans of capturing the Mamdot [ممدوٹ] area at the instigation of the British intruders.

New moves on the political chess game [بساطِ سیاست پر نئے مہروں کی چالیں]:

The aforementioned events were the outcome of *inter se* rivalries of the Panni family of Qasoor [قصور] which had pushed them from the top position into obscurity, in the politics of Punjab. They had succumbed resultantly to the subservience of their hegemonic rival forces. When, the

British had initiated the first Kabul [کابل] war Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] had dispatched his Rasala [رسالہ] to Peshawar immediately under the command of Khyer-ud-Din [خیرالدین] son of Khewa Khan [کھیوا خان]. General Polack and Major Macson were pleased really with the performance of those troops. Khyer-ud-Din [خیرالدین] being a smart man had tried to get the entire credit for himself. He was able to enlarge his Jagir under the British rule through Sher Singh [شیر سنگھ] because he had replaced Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ]. When Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] was able to learn about said mischief, he had occupied the Jagir of Khewa Khan [کھیوا خان] which he was given in exchange for his Jagir in Qasoor [قصور]. The cunning and shrewd person like Khyer-ud-Din [خیرالدین] had severed his ties with Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] as a result of said adventurism and he had joined his father. Thus, the intriguing paradoxes had besieged the active Muslim leaders of Punjab and had subjected them to the British colonialism.

Role in the battle between the Sikhs and British [سکھوں اور انگریزوں کی لڑائی میں کردار]:

Then, there was a battle between the Sikhs and British Government in 1845 which had put Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] in a difficult situation to decide that with whom he was supposed to side during said perplexing situation because his position was not more than that of a silent spectator. He had opted to side with the Sikhs according to some historians and he had fought against the British colonists. The excuse which he had presented in this regard was that since his cousin namely, Fateh-ud-Din Khan Panni [فتح الدین خان پنّی] was killed during the battle of Ferozepur [فیروزپور] "Madki" [مدکی] while fighting against the British colonists therefore he had to support the Sikh adventurers. The said excuse was considered as baseless and awry in the case of Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] because the act of collaboration by Fateh-ud-Din Khan Panni [فتح الدین خان پنّی] with the Sikhs against the British colonists was an unjustifiable pretext to support the Sikhs. Fateh-ud-Din Khan Panni [فتح الدین خان پنّی] was his cousin and he was already killed. He was deadly against his family however because they had murdered his father Qutab-ud-Din Khan Panni [قطب الدین خان پنّی]. Then, it was also impossible for Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] to ignore the fact that when Fateh-ud-Din Khan Panni [فتح الدین خان پنّی] had planned to occupy the area of Mamdot [ممدوٹ] during his second attempt which was at the instigation of the British colonists, Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] had preempted Fateh-ud-Din Khan Panni [فتح الدین خان پنّی] from executing his plans. The said logic

was unsupportive because Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] had also joined the same army in which Fateh-ud-Din Khan Panni [فتح الدین خان پنّی] was also a member. There were a number of events however which had unveiled the situation and according to which, Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] was more inclined towards the British rulers. When, the Sikh troops which were based at Ferozepur [فیروزپور] had made the life of Sir John Taylor difficult and when the situation was very critical, Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] had risked his life and he was able to save Sir John Taylor from the clutches of the Sikh adventurers. The British rulers had awarded him the area of Mamdot [ممدوٹ] permanently in recognition of said favor. The British rulers had occupied Qasoor [قصور] on 11th December 1846.

Defeat of Dewan Molraj [دیوان مولراج کی شکست]:

When, the ruler of Multan [ملتان] namely, Dewan Molraj [دیوان مولراج] had declared an open revolt in 1848, Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] had sent the troops against him under the command of his younger brother namely, Jalal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جلال الدین خان پنّی]. The British rulers had awarded him the honorific title of "Nawab" [نواب] in recognition of those services and they had also relaxed the surveillance against him. *Idée reçue*, some wicked friends of Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] had made a clandestine move against him and they had brought forth a very cogent proof which had turned out to be a cause of great concern for him. He was not left with any way-out of said subterfuge therefore he had to ultimately concede to the truthfulness of said proof. Those wicked friends had succeeded in their heinous designs and the British rulers had reduced his authority in the backdrop of said rigmarole and resultantly they had converted the status of his state into a Jagir in 1855. The said Jagir was subjected to the control of government thereafter. They had further decided that, the income of the Jagir was supposed to be paid to the Nawab in Lahore subject to the deduction of expenses. He had lived in Lahore till 1862. The district Machiwarra [ماچھی واڑہ] was converted into district Ferozepur [فیروزپور] thereafter which was the place where Nawab had died in a state of coma ultimately, in 1863. The irony of the fate was that, the brave and courageous General who had aspired to establish the Muslim rule in Punjab his all aspirations had seen the culmination in the form of just one Jagir which was also without any administrative authority.

Appointment of Jalal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جلال الدین خان پنّی کا تقرر]:

The historical importance of our subject stands concluded apparently with the mention of the death of Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی]. The chain of events of the tremendous sacrifices of the descendants of said family in the establishment of Pakistan were worthy of a comprehensive descriptive account. The reason was that the flame of patriotism and the will of keeping aloft the dignity of the Muslims had flickered in many hearts just because of them therefore an explicit mention had deserved a place in this book. The Jagir was passed onto the eldest son namely, Bahader Khan Panni [بہادر خان پنّی] after Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] in accordance with the rules of primogeniture. The very well connected uncle of Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] had deprived him from this however, by using his influence. He had also succeeded in obtaining a perpetual certificate in his favor for ruling the Mamdot [ممدوٹ] area and not only that he had obtained the right to rule for his lineal descendants as well. He had to surrender in return some of the concessions which were awarded to him. Jalal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جلال الدین خان پنّی] was awarded the title therefore as Nawab of Mamdot [ممدوٹ] in 1864.

Descendants of the Nawab in Lahore [نواب کی اولاد لاہور میں]:

Jalal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جلال الدین خان پنّی] had decided to stay in Mamdot [ممدوٹ] after his appointment as Nawab [نواب]. The British rulers had fixed the stipends for the heirs of Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] and they had opted to live inside Mochi Derwaza [موچی دروازہ] Lahore. Khan Bahader Panni [خان بہادر پنّی] had made an attempt once against Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] for the division of property but, it was declined by the British government by declaring the property as indivisible.

Appointment of Nizam-ud-Din Khan Sani [نظام الدین خان ثانی کا تقرر]:

Nawab Jalal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جلال الدین خان پنّی] had died in 1875. The British government had acknowledged the son of brother-in-law of Nizam-ud-Din Khan Sani [نظام الدین خان ثانی] as "Nawab" and thus, the administration of the Jagir was assigned to the court of Wards. The deputy commissioner Ferozepur [فیروزپور] was appointed as its administrator and pursuant to said appointment the income of the Jagir had shot up from Rupees fifty thousand per annum to

Rupees one lac and thirty two thousand per annum. Since, the river course had swept away most of the area of the Mamdot [ممدوٹ] town therefore the capital of Mamdot [ممدوٹ] was set-up just two miles away from the shrine of Nawab Jalal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جلال الدین خان پنّی] in Jalalabad city. When, Nizam-ud-Din Khan Sani [نظام الدین خان ثانی] had attained the age of maturity in 1883, the Jagir was transferred to him by the court of Wards. He had started spending the money lavishly and resultantly the Jagir had become bankrupt. Then, a son of the Nawab was born in 1889 but, said young Nawab had died at his juvenile age. Qutab-ud-Din Khan Sani [قطب الدین خان ثانی] was proclaimed as the crown Prince pursuant to said death. He had died issueless and the right of inheritance was thwarted permanently as a result of the same. There was no descendant of Jalal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جلال الدین خان پنّی] to inherit.

Nawab Shahnawaz Khan Panni, Nawab Aftikhar Hussain Khan

[نواب شاہنواز خان پنّی،نواب افتخار حسین خان]:

The honorific title of Nawab [نواب] was restored to the descendants of Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] once again pursuant to aforementioned situation. The area of Mamdot Ferozepur [ممدوٹ فیروزپور] was just 34 miles away from India. There was a time when said area was considered as "the states beyond Sutlej" [ریاست ہائے ماوراے ستلج] and the Reyasat [ریاست] was declared as a Jagir which was treated as such, subsequently. The said Jagir was bigger than other states in terms of vastness, population and income. The reason of reducing the status of Reyasat [ریاست] to a Jagir was that, the British colonialists were desirous to reduce the Muslims in Punjab in their overall sway. They were desirous to bulldoze the vestiges of glorious past of the Muslims with the objective to demoralize them. Thus, they had the desire to penalize them by strengthening their own rule. The love for Islam and the desire of establishing the Muslim rule in Punjab had also resurfaced among the descendants of Jamal-ud-Din Khan Panni [جمال الدین خان پنّی] even after those two leaders of the Panni tribe i.e. Nizam-ud-Din Khan [نظام الدین خان] and Qutab-ud-Din Khan [قطب الدین خان]. The persona of those two had reemerged as Sir Shahnawaz Khan Panni [شاہنواز خان پنّی] and Nawab Aftikhar Hussain Khan Panni [نواب افتخار حسین خان پنّی] former Wali of Mamdot [ممدوٹ]. Sir Shahnawaz Khan Panni [شاہنواز خان پنّی] had spent lacs of Rupees in this regard to strengthen the Muslim League in India and for the implementation of its programs. Nawab Aftikhar Hussain Khan Panni [نواب افتخار حسین خان پنّی] had struggled for years constantly for the establishment of Pakistan and in this regard he had spent the money lavishly.

He had sacrificed his Jagir in the process whereas the worth of said Jagir was in millions of Rupees at that time. The said Jagir had consisted of 86 villages including the city of Jalalabad [جلال آباد]. They were able to see the fulfillment of dreams of their two ancestors however in 1947 when Pakistan had come into being. The independence of Pakistan was the realization of their passionate dreams because they had dedicated their lives for the same since eighteenth century. Nawab Aftikhar Hussain Khan Panni [نواب افتخار حسین خان پنّی] was the president of Pakistan Muslim League. He was the right-hand-man of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah [قائداعظم محمد علی جناح] as well. We leave the discovery of history for other historians with regard to the struggle of both father and son in the context of independence of Pakistan.

We had relied on Nairang-e-Khayal [نرنگِ خیال] (monthly) August 1968 to write this treatise and we had also benefitted from the books, as below:

i. "Punjab Chief" Volume No.1 Page No.152, 154, 155, 156, 157. Compiled by Sir Geranium and printed in 1865.

ii. "Tareekh Sikhan" [تاریخ سکھاں] Page No.8, 102, 120, 131, 135. Compiled by Bakhingum.

iii. "Tareekh Punjab" [تاریخ پنجاب] Page No.155, 159 by Kenya Lal.

iv. "Yadgar Darbâr" [یادگار دربار] 1911 Part II Page No.425.

v. "India under War" Page No.35 compiled by Khosala.

vi. "Pacts and Certificates" Volume No. 8 compiled by Sir John Reeks 1347 Hegira.

vii. "Tazkera Rosa-e-Punjab" [تذکرہ روسائے پنجاب] compiled by Syed Nwazesh Ali [سید نوازش علی] Page No.341, 348.

viii. "Islamic Culture" (*Quarterly*) Hyderabad Deccan July 1929.

ix. "Itehad Afghan" [اتحاد افغان] (*Monthly*) Ludhiana [لدھیانہ] May 1940.

x. "Qalmi Tareekh" [قلمی تاریخ] by Booty Shah [بوٹی شاہ].

xi. "Tazkera Rosa-e-Punjab" [تذکرہ روسائے پنجاب] printed in Lahore in 1911.

xii. "History of the Sikhs" by I.D Kininghum.

District Sialkot [ضلع سیالکوٹ]:

The city of Sialkot is although located in a corner towards the frontier of Jammu and Kashmir [جموں و کشمیر] which is away from Sher Shahi road [شیر شاہی شارع] yet, it appears that it had some deep links with the Pathans. The vestigial proofs of the same were available until recently. There was a possibility that when the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had uprooted the Panni Pathans of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] then, most of the Pathans had to migrate to the other parts or they were probably pushed towards those areas. The history had provided the supportive evidence of the fact that, the Afghans had migrated from their country in 1579 mostly and they were able to settle down in Punjab. The Pathans used to create trouble for the locals according to Abul Fazal therefore the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had ordered his governor namely, Saeed Khan [سعید خان] to reduce them into smaller groups with the objective to settle them down in different areas randomly. The compliance of his orders was thus carried into the effect, practically (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.252 reference, Akbernama*** [اکبر نامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.247).*** We may also point out that, the Pathan bases were like clusters of the tribes in various parts of Hindustan. They used to form the lashkers of their own tribes. There was also a possibility that, the present Pathan tribes of Multan [ملتان] and Sialkot [سیالکوٹ], which consist of thousands of people from the Panni tribes, were descendants of those people whose tribes were reduced in size and they were made to disperse under the orders of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر]. There was a fort in Sialkot by the name of Qila Kakerran [قلعہ کاکڑاں] which was very much in existence until recently. There were also villages like Kotala Afghanan [کوٹلہ افغاناں], Mundi Khail Afghanan [منڈی خیل افغاناں], Bostan [بوستان], and Tapa Pathanan [تپہ پٹھاناں] Darianwali Pathanan [ڈیریانوالی پٹھاناں] etc. There were a number of villages in Multan [ملتان] where people of said Panni tribe were based until recently. *The same will be discussed, later*. The placement of the Pathan people in the aforementioned areas was seemingly due to the compliance of the Pathan specific policy which the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had devised for some reasons.

Wazir Khan Panni [وزیر خان پنّی]:

The village Darianwali Pathanan [ڈیریانوالی پٹھاناں] was located on the way to Narowal [نارووال] from Lahore at about two miles from the Railway station Pechowali [پیچووالی]. There used to be a family of the Panni nation which was based there until recent times. The head of said family was Wazir Khan Panni [وزیر خان پنّی]. The palatial house of said family was the living proof of their gorgeous and glorious past. The village Darianwali Pathanan [ڈیریانوالی پٹھاناں] was established by

their ancestors according to an aged person of said family namely, Feroz Khan Panni [فیروز خان پنّی] whereas some of their relatives were also based in Lukhnow [لکھنو] (*India*). The family ties had remained vibrant with them only for some time then had become mundane with the passage of time. The aforementioned statement was substantiated by the fact that, there were some Panni families in the city of Awadh [آودھ] (*India*). *The detail account in this regard will be given, later*. The ancestors of said elderly person had participated in the freedom movement in 1857. *The same will also be discussed, later*. The factual position was that, the families of the Panni nation which used to live at Awadh [آودھ] had participated in the freedom movement in 1857 with a particular planning. The ancestors of said person were known in fact for their dexterity in using the lance and sword. Since, those people had not have much cultivatable land according to Feroz Khan Panni [فیروز خان پنّی] and they were trading the horses and buffalos mostly therefore they had to accept the military services also for earning their living. He had also stated that one of their relatives had opted to settle down in district Sahewal [ساہیوال] where he had bought large chunks of land. The Sahewal [ساہیوال] area used to be the declared as infertile in olden days. Lord Montgomery had placed many people there and he had awarded them free land hold rights due to the same reason. Sahewal [ساہیوال] used to be known as Montgomery in the past. There were also some Panni families which were based in said area. *The detail of the same will be given, later*.

There was a village by the name of Kalbajoyain [کل باجویاں] near village Darianwali Pathanan [ڈیریانوالی پٹھاناں] where the relatives of said family were based. There was another village in its vicinity which was known as "Moza Kalayki" [موضع کالے کی] where some Mohmand [مہمند] Pathans used to live. They used to prefer always intermarriages with said family and their old brick houses were still there in Darianwali Pathanan [ڈیریانوالی پٹھاناں]. Those houses were somewhat like an old Hawaili [حویلی] in appearance which used to present a very gorgeous look by virtue of style of construction. The said spectacle was also the proof of their past glamour and grandeur. Those huge houses were perched on a high mount right in the middle of the town with colorful mosaic and *plafond* like ceilings. Those houses had the basements and said family was known as Mahaloonwalay [محلوں والے] (people of palaces) just because of those gorgeous houses. There were some members of said family who used to live also in Lahore for their businesses only. There used to be a common talk in the area with regard to the affluence of said family that, they used to place orders for Handian [ہانڈیاں] (cooked food) in the past which used to be transported from Delhi [دہلی] for them. There was another instance with regard to the affluence of

said family and according to the same, a Barrat [بارات] (*wedding procession arranged by the bridegroom*) had paraded with all the pomp and show on the elephants in one of the family weddings and the elephants had marched up to the house of bride.

District Sheikhupura [ضلع شیخوپورہ]:

There were a number of houses of the Lona [لونا] offshoot of the Panni nation in a village in district Sheikhupura [ضلع شیخوپورہ] of Pakistan. Those people were well established and they were popular for their profession of peasantry. They had remained miles away however from the modern education despite the fact that, they used to live close to Lahore which was a modern developed city and that was the reason perhaps, they had little knowledge about their past. The Writer (*of this book*) notwithstanding the same was able to get hold of an educated individual namely, Mohammed Ismaeel Lona [محمد اسماعیل خان لونا] and according him his uncle who was based in a foreign country, he was the only educated person in their family. The farming was generally the main profession of the entire family. When, he was enquired about the origin of his family, he had expressed his view in the manner that their origin was probably from the Rajpoot [راجپوت] caste whereas Lona [لونا] was either their caste or was their tribe. When, it was disclosed to him that, the Lona [لونا] was a confirmed offshoot of the Panni nation, he had admitted his ignorance very frankly in this regard. The Lona [لونا] was an offshoot of the Panni Pathans according to the research of the Writer. The historians had also endorsed the fact that, some Panni people used to consider themselves as Rajpoot [راجپوت] just by mistake. We have rendered an undeniable descriptive account in this regard through this book in the context of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah [قائداعظم محمد علی جناح]. There was a possibility that, the way the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had driven out and displaced the local families due to their *inter se* chicaneries through his governor of Punjab [پنجاب] namely, Saeed Khan [سعید خان], the Lona [لونا] people had also moved on in the same wave and they had landed in their present village in district Sheikhupura [ضلع شیخوپورہ]. The district Sheikhupura [ضلع شیخوپورہ] and Faisalabad [فیصل آباد] (*Lyallpur*) were established under the British rule but prior to that, the areas in between both districts used to be called as “Bar” [بار] i.e. “the contiguous arid land between two districts” and the cultural touch had missed said area by miles which was treated thus as a country side area. There used to be one area among the towns of district Sheikhupura [ضلع شیخوپورہ] which was

known as “Manowala Bar” [مانووالہ بار] which was very much in existence until recent times (***Statement Mohammed Mr. Ismaeel Lona*** [محمد اسماعیل خان لونا] ***B.A L.L.B Senior Civil Judge***).

District Multan [ضلع ملتان]:

The people of the Panni nation used to exist in great numbers in the province of Kandahar [قندھار] in Afghanistan. The coins of their ancient rulers were also disinterred from said area. The hills of Feroza [فیروزہ] and Sakhir [ساخر] used to be their abodes. There was a possibility that some of them had reached in Baluchistan via Derra Bolan [درۂ بولان], Khajak [خجک] and Touchy [ٹوچی] and/or from there, they had moved into the plains of the Subcontinent via Multan [ملتان]. Then, they had moved into Sindh [سندھ] and had landed in the Rajhistan [راجھستان] (*India*) area while going past Ahmed Pur Sherqia [احمد پور شرقیہ], Bahawalpur [بہاولپور] opposite to Cholistan [چولستان] through the ancient route near Qala Marot [قلعہ مروٹ]. Then, they had infiltrated perhaps into the distant places of the Subcontinent. The author namely, Minhaj Siraj [منہاج سراج] of an ancient book of history “Tabaqat Naseri” [طبقات ناصری] had reached Delhi [دہلی] in 648 Hegira (1250) from the same route. The village Jaypur [جئے پور], Jodhpur [جودھپور] and Marawarr [ماڑواڑ] which were known as “Dhanawer” [دھناور] collectively, used to be their abode. When, Bahlol Lodi [بہلول لودی] had invited the Pathans in the Subcontinent then, most of the people of the Panni nation had availed said invitation and thus they were accommodated in the aforementioned areas. They were also awarded Jagirs. They used to trade goods on camel backs including wood, salt, paint and powder-blue chemicals into the far-flung areas. The ancestors of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگ] *(about whom we shall discuss later)* used to live also in Bara Baste [بارہ بستی] of those villages prior to reaching Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] which was also known as “Daira” [دائرہ] because of their affiliation with the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought. They were also known as “Ahel-e- Daira” [اہل دائرہ] (***Makateeb Bahader Yar Jung*** [مکاتیب بہادر یار جنگ] ***Page No.39. 182***).

Tehsil Kabir Walla [تحصیل کبیروالا]:

There was a possibility that, some people from among the aforementioned people of the Panni nation had moved towards Multan and they were able to settle down in Bahta Kot [بھٹہ کوٹ], Molapur [مولا پور], Ameer Pur [امیر پور] and Gadarah [گدارہ] Kasi No.3 [3-کسی نمبر]. They had also

opted to settle down in Moza Manwala [موضع مان والا] where they were in thousands until recently. There was also a possibility that, they were placed there as already mentioned above, under the Pathan specific policy of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] under which they were thinned out from their concentration locations. The villages in the area were located at a distance of three to four miles from Kabir Walla [کبیروالا] and twelve to thirteen miles from the Khanewal [خانیوال] railway station. The location was probably in the west from Kabir Walla [کبیروالا] and in the north of Khanewal [خانیوال]. The total population of the Panni people was about two thousand one hundred and fifty sporadically in five villages. The village Bahta Kot [بھٹہ کوٹ] had the majority of the Panni people (***Letter by Mohammed Hayat Khan Panni and Zafar Khan Panni Advocates Khanewal*** [مکتوب محمد حیات خان پنّی ایڈووکیٹ، ظفر خان پنّی ایڈووکیٹ خانیوال]). We cannot quote with certainty in the absence of any cogent proof that when those inhabitants had landed in the area and how they had acquired the recognition as the combatants. The source of income of all those people was peasantry and each family used to generally own from three acres to six or seven squares of land.

The land was irrigated from Nahr Sadh Nay [نہر سدھ نئے] through a tributary whereas the inhabitants of the area were so much involved in the profession of agriculture that, none of their children until lately had gone past class four or five in general education. They used to take pride in their profession and they used to consider their herds as a dearest asset of life. They had preferred to live an isolated life despite the fact they were in a sizable majority. They were known for their dexterity in the field of agriculture but they had also started approaching lately the educational activities, trade and the profession of law, with the intention to catch up with the time. There used to be a trading firm under the name and style as “Pannian Brothers” [پنّیاں برادر] in Tehsil Kabir Walla [تحصیل کبیروالا]. The owners of the firm used to be recognized as “Panni” only ***Letter by Mohammed Hayat Khan Panni and Zafar Khan Panni Advocates Khanewal*** [مکتوب محمد حیات خان پنّی ایڈووکیٹ، ظفر خان پنّی ایڈووکیٹ خانیوال]).

Mozaat Mohammed Shah and Noor Shah [مواضعات محمد شاہ اور نور شاہ]:

The people of eleven families used to live mostly in Mozaat Mohammed Shah and Noor Shah [مواضعات محمد شاہ اور نور شاہ] besides, living in the above mentioned five Mozaat [مواضعات]. The Tehsil of the same was Mailsi [میلسی] whereas the post office was Shir Gharr [شیر گڑھ]. The

distance between abovementioned two villages was about two miles. The agriculture was their favorite profession. They were based in fact in Pindi Bhattian [پنڈی بھٹیاں] in district Gujarat [گجرات]. The statement of one of their family members had revealed that about one hundred and forty families of their ancestors had migrated in throngs to Makhdoompur Boherran [مخدوم پور بوہڑاں] in district Multan which was about three hundred years ago when said area was a total jungle. They had dug up some wells for making the area habitable but, they had discontinued their stay in the area a very long time ago due to unstoppable thefts and robberies. They were constrained to migrate into different areas prior to the advent of the British colonists. The Mozaat Mohammed Shah and Noor Shah [مواضعات محمد شاہ اور نور شاہ] used to be the part of those areas. Then, some of the migrants had moved into Kabir Walla [کبیروالا] and Khanewal [خانیوال]. Those people used to prefer arranged marriages with the Panni families. They were known as "Panni" [پنّی] as well as, "Pannian" [پنّیاں] according to one of their elderly person and some of their family members were able to reach the rank of General in the army whereas there were some others who used to be known as Nawabs (***Letter Mohammed Haseem Nabi Khan Moza Mohammed Shah*** [محمد حنیف نسیم نبی خان موضع محمد شاہ] ***Dated 01.02.1963 Post office Shirgharr, Tehsil Mailsi)***

Chuck No.R-10/96-A:

There was an affluent family of Khanewal [خانیوال] which was based in Chuck No.R-10/96-A. They used to own about fifteen to sixteen squares of land. There used to be another Panni family in the same area which had migrated from India (***Letter Dated.03.02.1964 by Mohammed Hayat Khan Panni Advocate Khanewal*** [مکتوب محمد حیات خان پنّی ایڈووکیٹ، خانیوال]).

The Panni people of Multan [ملتان] had a little knowledge about their past. They were acquainted at least with this fact that, some members of their families were Generals and Nawabs in the past. They had a fervent desire however to see the reemergence of their golden past. Those families were very well placed in the area (***Letter from Mohammed Hanif Naseem Nabi Khan Moza Mohammed Shah*** [محمد حنیف نسیم نبی خان موضع محمد شاہ] ***Dated 15.02.1963 Post office Shirgharr Tehsil Mailsi)***.

We have already explained from Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan that, Dehpal [دہپال] or Depal [دیپال] was an offshoot of the Panni nation. There was a town with the name as Depalpur [دیپال پور] which had remained a ground of battles for years and years (***Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***1941 Page No.54, Mr. Rose Page No.199, Afaghana*** [افاغنہ] ***Page No. 218, English Dictionary Page No.214, Imperial Volume No.24***). The dominant view was that, it was developed by the people of the Dehpal [دہپال] offshoot of the Panni nation. Sultan Feroze Shah Tughlaq [سلطان فیروز شاہ تغلق] had landed in said area in fourteenth century. The Mughals had attacked said area in 1521 A.C but, they had to face the defeat. They were able to capture the area in 1524 and then the same was managed during the reign of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] through Dehpalpur [دہپال پور] as its Headquarter. The area of Dehpalpur [دہپال پور] was managed however by Multan. The said area was managed in the same manner even during the Aurangzeb Alamgir [ورنگ زیب عالمگیر] era. There was an Afghan family which had retained the control of said area for about three generations and then, Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] was ultimately able to take the control from them, in 1808.

Depalpur [دیپال پور] was located at the old bank of River Beyas [دریاے بیاس] whereas said river had changed its course with the passage of time. The city was destroyed resultantly. The Khanewal [خانیوال] canal project had helped British establish their control and resultantly said area had become a focal point. Mohammed [محمد], son of Sultan Bulban [سلطان بلبن], was killed while he was engaged in a fight in the same city in 1285. Ameer Khusro [امیر خُسرو] was also arrested in the same city during said battle. He was released later on by the attackers but against the payment of ransom which had remained under the occupation of the Pathans, till 1808 ***(Imperial Volume No.24 Gazetteer Page No.430***).

District Hoshyarpur India [ضلع ہوشیار پور]:

Since times immemorial there used to be a few families of the Panni nation who used to live in the town of Her-do-Khanpur [ہردوخانپور] in eastern Punjab, in district Hoshyarpur [ضلع ہوشیار پور]. They used to enjoy a distinctive social status in the area. The examination of the title documents (codex), which was in the possession of those people, had revealed that they used to own a garden which was known as “Bagh Afghana urf Pannay” [باغ افغاناں عرف پنئے]. They used to own the large chunks of land as well. The family-head of those people had given an interesting

explanation of the name: Her-do-Khanpur [ہردوخانپور]. The actual name of the town was Khanpur [خانپور] but the non-Pathan Rajpoot [غیر پٹھان راجپوت], according to him, also used to live in the area. The Pathans [پٹھان] and Rajpoot [راجپوت] used to claim in their respective capacity that, said place was established by one of their elders exclusively. Khanpur [خانپور] was named therefore after the name of said elder but, each one of them used to claim to have the superior right due to the patronymic affinity. When, said controversy had overstretched and had propelled an unnecessary rift in the area then, the elders from both sides had decided to name the area as Her-do-Khanpur [ہردوخانپور]. Thus, the meaning of the same was construed in the manner that, said place was established by the elders of both sides i.e. Pathans [پٹھان] as well as, Rajpoot [راجپوت] people and both sides were entitled as consequence to enjoy the patronymic affinity jointly. Then, said decision was also endorsed when it was recorded officially and revenue records were also amended accordingly. There were some members of the Panni families of said area who had migrated to Lahore as well. They were engaged in the business as merchants and agriculturists. The members of said family were also in the government service after the independence of Pakistan. The documents which were prepared in 1751, 1761, 1775 AC the same had the mention of their caste along-with their names as, "Caste-Afghan urf Panni" [قوم پٹھان عرف پنّی]. There was a sentence as "Pewasta ast ba Bagh Afghanan urf Panay" [پیوستہ است بہ باغ افغانان عرف پنئے] which was additionally mentioned. The said addition was made on those documents just to identify the location of their abode.

District Merath [ضلع میرٹھ]:

There were some well known agriculturalist families of the Panni nation which used to live in Bahader Garh [بہادرگڑھ] of Tehsil Haperr [ہاپڑ] in district Merath [ضلع میرٹھ] of India. There were some members of said family who were already based in Lahore even prior to the independence of Pakistan. Basheer Ahmed Khan [بشیر احمد خان] and Siddique Ahmed Khan [صدیق احمد خان] and one of their brothers along-with their uncles had stayed back in Bahader Garh [بہادرگڑھ] at the time of the independence of Pakistan. The shape of the ears of Abdur Rahman [عبدالرحمان] had revealed during a face to face meeting that, he was an expert traditional wrestler and his family used to own a cultivatable piece of land according to him. They were owners of many separate houses besides that which used to have vast lawns and sitting rooms. He had expressed himself very confidently that his ancestors had migrated from Turkistan [ترکستان] and said information

had travelled from mouth to mouth in his family whereas some of his family members were well educated, as well. They also had a book which was regarding their family history but, was lost when the British had colonized India. The area of Bahader Garh [بہادرگڑھ] was established by the Pathans according to his personal views whereas their origin was from the Panni tribe. He had disclosed the fact on a question of achievements of his family that, there was a common perception in their family that, "the man who used to be reluctant to carry a batten four inch taller than his height, he was not considered as a member of the Panni family" and with said comment his face had started glowing red.

District Rohtak and Junaidh India [ضلع روہتک اورجنیدھ]:

There were a number of families of the Panni nation in district Rohtak [ضلع روہتک] of India and some of them had perhaps migrated to Pakistan. There were some families which were still based in the former state of Junaidh [جنیدھ] whereas their some members had migrated to Pakistan. Then, one of the families was able to settle down in Kamokay [کامونکے] in district Gujranwala [گوجرنوالہ]. There was another family branch which was able to settle down in Sargodha [سرگودھا] and in some other parts. The head of said family was Dr. Atta Mohammed Khan Panni [ڈاکٹر عطاء محمد خان پنّی]. He was based with his family in Kamokay [کامونکے] near Lahore.

TALE OF THE RISE AND FALL OF THE PANNI NAWABS OF BALUCHISTAN

[بلوچستان کے پنّی نوابوں کی داستانِ عروج وزوال]

Panni Tribes [پنّی قبائیل]:

The province of Baluchistan [بلوچستان] was the biggest center of the Panni nation. The Panni nation was not very dominant in the area yet, they were in great numbers in the province of Baluchistan [بلوچستان]. They had a very powerful majority voice until recently and they had maintained their Sardari [سرداری] system very effectively. They had also enjoyed a very significant status in the Zob [ژوب] and Loralie [لورالائی] areas and in Kandahar [قندھار] in the north across the Pak-Afghan border besides in the Sibi [سبّی] area, those who used to live in Sibi [سبّی] and were known mostly by the name as "Panni" [پنّی]. Those who used to live in Zob [ژوب] and Loralie [لورالائی] had given-up more or less the use of word "Panni" [پنّی]. They were known

instead by their sub-tribal names but, all of them were collectively known as the Panni tribes [پنّی قبائیل]. There was one group from amongst them which had come from the Ghazni [غزنی] area and they had entered into the Suleiman mountain range [کوہِ سلیمان] **(*Praaspa*)**. Then, they had gradually penetrated into the south which had generally included the people of the Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] offshoot. They used to exist in Tehsil Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] until recently. The second category was the Mando Khail [مندو خیل] people who were generally based in lower the Zob [ژوب] area. The Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] and the Eswat [آلیسوت] people, who used to live in district Loralie [لورالائی], their origin was from the Panni [پنّی] nation. There was another offshoot which had migrated from Dera Bolan [درۂ بولان]. Those people had landed in the Sanghan [سانگہاں] area and had gradually occupied the area of Badrra Kowait Mundi [بادرہ کویت منڈی] and Sevi [سیوی]. They had acquired so much power that, the ruler of Kandhar (Hakim Kandahar [قندھار]) had handed over the control of the Mazjan [مازجان] area to them which was subsequently passed on to the Murree [مری قوم] nation. The Zerghon Zai [زرغون زئی] or Zerkon Zai [زرکون زئی] people were comparatively among smaller offshoots of the Panni nation. The same were based in the Tehsil of Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل] and Kohlo [کوہلو] as well as, in Dhaki [دکی] (***Report Census Baluchistan 1921 Part No.1 Page No.96 District Gazetteer Sibi Page No.63***). Since, Dera [درۂ] was the only trade route between Pakistan and Iran therefore most of the Panni [پنّی] tribes had come presumably from Iran via Derra Bolan [درۂ بولان] and thus they had landed in said area. The latitudinous nations and tribes were based in the eastern and the southern parts of Iranian Empire according to Professor Fry which was the area which is presently known as Baluchistan. The area of Baluchistan, in other words, was a part of Iran (***Page N0.189***). The frontier limits of the Iranian Empire used to be from the River Euphrates and used to include the area of Herat [ہرات] up to the River Indus according to Sir Olaf Kero. Those limits used to include the area of Baluchistan as well (***Page N0.78***).

The second grade large offshoots [دوسرے درجے کی بڑی شاخ]:

The people of the Panni [پنّی] nation like the Kakarr [کاکڑ] nation were based in a large area according to census report of 1921. They used to live in various parts of Afghanistan besides in Sibi [سبّی], Zob [ژوب] and Loralie [لورالائی]. They were also based in the northwestern frontier province until recently. There were other groups which were connected with the Panni [پنّی] nation, were based at Sibi [سبّی]. The people of Zob [ژوب] and Loralie [لورالائی] had virtually

given up the use of the word "Panni" [پنّی]. They were known by the names of their individual sub-tribal offshoots. There were three large branches of the Pathans in Baluchistan which were known as Tareen [ترین], Kakarr [کاکڑ] and Panni [پنّی]. There was a booklet which was published in Calcutta during the British era in 1910 which was about the sub-tribes and offshoots of the Kakarr [کاکڑ] and Panni [پنّی] tribes. The reference has already been given in the preceding pages. The detail of the individual strength of those sub-tribes as well as, the area which was under their occupation is also incorporated in the pages to follow which was an explanation of their territorial division in Baluchistan and if the area of the few largest offshoots of the Panni [پنّی] people was consolidated then, their area was as large as that of the other two large tribes of the Pathans namely, Tareen [ترین] and Kakarr [کاکڑ]. There were those areas where number of the Panni [پنّی] people was about eighty five thousand approximately in or around 1867. We reproduce hereby the statistics from the census reports of 1911 and 1931 respectively. Those statistics were about five tribes only out of three hundred and fifty tribes. The members of those five tribes were authentic Panni [پنّی] people.

Census Reports:	**1911**	**1931**:
Authentic Panni [پنّی] People:	28,675	37,727
Musa Khail [موسیٰ خیل]:	6,714	4,972
Mando Khail [مندو خیل]:	16,302	13,140
Eswat [آلیسوت]:	6,966	3,870
Zerghon [زرغون]:	2812	2,610
Loan [لون] or Lona [لونا]:	2003	2,071

The bases of the authentic Panni [پنّی] people were in Quetta [کوئیٹہ], Pasheen [پشین], Qalat [قلات], Serawan [سراوان], Kachi [کچی] and Damki [دمکی] etc. besides in the abovementioned areas. They also used to live in the southern areas and probably in the areas of upper Sindh [سندھ] as well. We may point out that there were 358 offshoots of the Panni nation in accordance with the census reports of 1941 (***Census Reports of 1921 Part-I Page No.96***, ***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No. 415, Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***Page No.54, 55, 56)***. We have reproduced below a more interesting detail which was also about the people who were authentic Panni [پنّی] people. The said list had not included however the number of people from the Eswat [آلیسوت] and Loni [لونی] offshoots of the Panni people:

	Male:	Female:
Panni [پنّی] Businessmen:	8,589	06
Dependents Financially:	6,476	12,656
Dependants on Rental Income:	0,183	Nil
Dependants on Land Income:	6,765	Nil
Peasants working under others:	06	Nil
Dealers in fodder and herds:	1,068	Nil
Earning from mining business:	04	Nil
Cottage industrialists:	162	Nil
Goods forwarding agents:	100	Nil
Merchants:	13	Nil
Policemen:	87	Nil
Religious Scholars:	63	Nil
Doctor(s) and Lawyer(s):	02	Nil
Teachers:	01	Nil
Domestic Servants:	01	Nil
Other Professions:	50	Nil
Old and Sick:	53 male & female	(***Page No.106***) .

The statistics of the Eswat [آلیسوت] and Loni [لونی] people were mentioned separately on Page No.106.

The other authentic people of the Panni [پنّی] nation, who were based in the specific areas of Baluchistan, were in the manner, as below:

	Male:	Female:
Quetta and Pasheen:	17	18
Loralie:	9,501	8,097
Zob:	6,737	2,165
Bolan:	04	Nil
Areas under British Govt:	2,889	9,090
Qalat:	324	383
Serawan:	240	226
Kachi:	70	53
Damki and Kaheer:	05	04

The Eswat [آلیسوت] and Loan [لون] and the people from the other offshoots were excluded from said list:

	Male:	Female:
Educated:	168 per thousand	01
Persian Speaking:	101	01
Urdu Speaking:	54	Nil
Arabic Speaking:	86	Nil
English Speaking:	16	Nil

Report No.9 Page No.28.

The abovementioned statistics were from the census report of 1921. The present status of the people of the Panni [پنّی] nation in the area was assessable very easily in view of the same. There were 30 authentic Panni [پنّی] people only in 1911 in the population of one thousand eight

hundred and thirty two people. They were in the field of agriculture and administration. The same number had come down to 14 people only in 1921 (***Page No.119***).

The number of authentic Panni [پنّی] nomadic people in the entire Baluchistan was 372 whereas the semi-nomadic people were 947 only (***Page No.46***).

	Male:	Female:
Educated:	61per thousand	04
Urdu Speaking:	32	Nil
Arabic Speaking:	51	Nil
English Speaking:	14	Nil
Baloch Speaking in Sibi:	16	Nil
Janki Speaking:	3,555	Nil

(***Page No.106***)

The Shal Valley [وادئ شال] (***Quetta***), which was located in the north of Qalat [قلات] and which was seventy miles in length according to Sir Olaf Kero, was at the end of Derra Bolan [درۂ بولان]. The same had a distinctive status in the Pathan and Baloch occupied areas. The Quetta area was located in its center whereas rest of the area which was in its north, was the area of the Pathans whereas "Tareen" [ترین], "Achakzai" [اچکزئی], "Kakarr" [کاکڑ] and "Panerri" [پنڑی] "Panni" [پنّی] were well known Pathan nations of the area (***Page No.373***).

The people who had enjoyed the majority in Baluchistan according to the Imperial Gazetteer of 1908, they were the Afgan nations just like the Kakarr [کاکڑ], Tareen [ترین], Panni [پنّی] and Sherani [شیرانی]. The Panni [پنّی] people were meant as, the Panni [پنّی] inhabitants of the Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] and Sibi [سّبی] areas (***Volume No.6 Page No.289***).

Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] were among the most significant people in the district, other than the Eswat [آلیسوت] and Panni [پنّی] people in Sibi [سّبی] according to Gazetteer Loralie. The people of the Eswat [آلیسوت] tribe, other than Panni [پنّی] people were 11,094 in numbers, in 1901 (***Page No.79***).

The Panerri [پنڑی] of Zob were divided into three offshoots i.e., Lawanr [لوانڑ] or Lona [لونا], Mando Khail [مندو خیل] and Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] according to the Gazetteer Zob. They used to live in the southern Tera [تیرہ] as well as, at the River Kunder [دریائے کندر] in 1890 (***Page No.75***).

The Panni [پنّی] people also used to live in southern Hindh [جنوبی ہندھ] according to Gazetteer Zob. They had earned a good recognition from time to time by virtue of their special achievements (***Page No.75***).

The number of nomadic Panni [پنّی] people was 372 individuals in Baluchistan according to report of 1921 whereas semi-nomadic people were 9247 only (***Page No.46***).

The views of the author of Hayat Afghani [مصنف ''حیات افغانی'' کی نظر میں]:

The area in which the Panni [پنّی] and Kakarr [کاکڑ] people were amalgamated was known as Sevi [سیوی] under the heading as "Panni" [پنّی] in the book which was captioned as "Hayat Afghani: [حیات افغانی]. There were some other offshoots of the Panni [پنّی] nation from amongst the Kakarr [کاکڑ] people, as well. The Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] and Eswat [آلیسوت] used to live at a deserted mountain in a desert which was in the east of the area of the Kakarr [کاکڑ] people. There were two offshoots of the Musa Khail [موسی' خیل] people. The people of the Blail [بلیل] offshoot were more in number whereas most of them were agriculturalists. The second offshoot was known however as Herzai [ہر زئی]. They were less in number as compared with Blail [بلیل] and most of their individuals were loaders and herdsmen. The Lahon [لہون] offshoot was based in Chaman [چمن] and Kander [کندر] area which was in the west of the Kakarr [کاکڑ] area. The people of the Panni [پنّی] nation were somewhat like the Kakarr [کاکڑ] people in their traditions. The Amr Zai [امر زئی] offshoot, which was based in the west of the area of Aosteryani [اوستریانی] people, had the similarity in traditions with Sherani [شیرانی] people. They were more straightforward and belligerent as compared with the Sherani [شیرانی] people. The total population of the Panni [پنّی] nation was about eighty thousand only which used to live in their ancient abodes. The other offshoots of the Panni [پنّی] nation, which had migrated into other areas, will be discussed at the end of this chapter (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No.641***).

The aforementioned historical facts had proved that the Mehran [مہران] Mountain Range in the north of Baluchistan and the area beyond that was the central place of the Panni Pathans for many years. The people of the Panni [پنّی] nation used to enjoy a very significant status in the area in 874 Hegira 1470 AC according to Gazetteer Sibi [سبّی].

Brief history of Sibi [سبّی کی مختصر تاریخ]:

The Sevi [سیوی] or Sibi [سبّی] area was the famous district of Baluchistan province. The history of said area had emanated from the conditions of surrounding area. Since times immemorial said area had enjoyed a particular significance because it was located at the opening of Dera Bolan [درۂ بولان]. The surrounding mountains had separated it from the rest of the Baluchistan area. The geographical conditions had influenced its history very deeply. The area of Sibi [سبّی] used to remain annexed with the Subajat [صوبہ جات] of Multan in ancient times. The area which was between Dera Bolan [درۂ بولان] and Derrajat [ڈیرہ جات], was known as "Sostan" [سوستان] in those days. The same name was however no more in use. The said name was assigned perhaps to the area inappropriately because it was also shown to have been linked with the Bahker [بھکر] area of Multan which had nothing to do with "Sostan" [سوستان]. The gist of all the local narratives had revealed that, there used to be a Hindu family in ancient times which was known as "Sewa" [سیوا] which had ruled the entire area including Qallat [قلات]. The said area was about 4051 square miles whereas it had four Tehsils i.e. Kohlo [کوہلو], Sibi [سبّی], Shahrug [شاہ رگ] and Naseerabad [نصیرآباد]. The whole district had one city and 304 Mozas [موضعات] only. The population of the area was 73,893 people according to the census report of 1901 and their total population was about 112,813 people including the latitudinous tribes (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume Mo. 22 Page No.338***). The entire population of Sibi [سبّی] used to consist of the Panni [پنّی] people. They were generally known by their Panni [پنّی] tribal names.

Under different rulers [مختلف حکام کے تحت]:

We have no intentions to incorporate the complete history of the Sibi [سبّی] area herein below. There was a Hindu Raja and the word "Raye" [راۓ] was part of his name. He had ruled the area prior to eighteenth century. The capital of his state was the bustling city near Bahker [بھکر]. The name of the city was "Anwar" [انور] and the Hindu Raja was killed while fighting against the

Muslims in the Makeran [مکران] area. Then, the state had devolved upon his successor and said sultanate was accredited to the family of Raye Chuch [رائے چچ], ultimately. Mohammed Bin Qasim [محمد بن قاسم] had attacked Raja Daher [راجہ داہر] son of Raye Chuch [رائے چچ] in 92 Hegira 719 A.C. He was the ruler of the area at that time. Then, there were many other dynasties which had ruled the area thereafter. Then, there were different nations which had ruled Sibi [سبّی] as well as, the area in its vicinity after the downfall of the Arabs. Naseer-ud-Din [نصیرالدین] had liberated the Sibi [سبّی] area during the reign of Sultan Alta mash [سلطان التمش] in 608 to 634 Hegira which was considered as the seventh Walayat [ولایت] at that time and was under Multan. Sultan Hussain Mirza [سلطان حسین مرزا] had granted the area of the Shal Valley [وادئ شال] (***Quetta***) and Pashang [پشنگ] (Pasheen) as a Jagir to Shujja-ud-Din Zonnoon Jam Nizam Din [شجاع الدین ذوالنون جام نظام دین] (*Almaroof ba Jam Nanda* [المعروف بہ جام نندا]) in 875 Hegira 1470 A.C. Then, Kalay Shah Baig Arghoan [کلے شاہ بیگ ارغون] had captured the Sibi [سبّی] area in 917 Hegira 1511 A.C. He had died in 929 Hegira 1522 AC after receiving a defeat while fighting against the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر]. Then, his son Shah Hussain Arghoan [شاہ حسین ارغون] had succeeded him. He was issueless therefore he had granted said sultanate to Sultan Mohammed Khan [سلطان محمد خان], son of Mirza Afzal Kaltash [مرزاافضل کلتاش]. Shah Hussain Arghoan [شاہ حسین ارغون] had died in 962 Hegira 1554 A.C and his sultanate was divided into two parts. There was one part which was given to Mirza Esa ['مرزا عیسی] whereas the other part which was the Bahker [بھکر] province, was handed over to Sultan Mohammed Khan [سلطان محمد خان]. He had conceded however to the imperial rule of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] subsequently. The Bahker [بھکر] province had remained in his possession as a Jagir by virtue of the same.

The Panni were a practical force of Sibi [سبّی کے پنّی ایک فعال قوت تھے]:

The “Sibi” [سبّی] area had remained under the control of Multan till the end of the fifteenth century in accordance with Imperial Gazetteer of India sub-caption “Sibi” [سبّی] and was a part of the Ghazanawai [غزنوی] sultanate. There was an unpopular ruler by the name of Kabocha [کبوچہ] who had also ruled the area. Then, Shah Baig Arghoan [شاہ بیگ ارغون] had captured the same in 1500 A.C and “Sibi” [سبّی] was subjected to the control of Kandahar [قندھار]. The area of “Sibi” [سبّی] was committed once again under the control of Multan when the Mughals had established their rule in Hindustan. When, the Durrani [درانی] rule was established thereafter, then the area of Sibi [سبّی] had also come under their suzerainty and the Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] people had

retained control of it for several years. The Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] people were selected by the Durrani [درانی] rulers and since then said place was under the Afghan Panni [افغان پنّی] people predominantly, until recently. The area of "Sibi" [سبّی] was about 4152 square miles and it had four Tehsils i.e. Kohlo [کوہلو], Sibi [سبّی], Shahrug [شاہ رگ] and Naseerabad [نصیرآباد] (***Volume No.22***).

The study of history had revealed that, the Panni nation had infiltrated deep into the areas of Kandahar [قندھار], Herat [ہرات], Ghazni [غزنی], Kabul [کابل] and Jalalabad [جلال آباد] as well as, in Baluchistan prior to the advent of the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر]. The Panni people had become such a formidable force that, the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had considered it in the context of Kandahar [قندھار] to be worthy enough to be mentioned in his Aien-e-Akberi [آئینِ اکبری]. He had to also fight three battles against the Panni people of Sibi [سبّی]. The Panni [پنّی] people of Ghazni [غزنی] on the one hand were so powerful apparently that, they used to deny the payment of annual cess to any ruler. They used to offer rather the same symbolically whereas even the area of Shikarpur [شکارپور] was also in their access. The Panni [پنّی] people were able to settle down in Jaypur [جے پور] and Jodhpur [جورھپور] as well as, in other areas after their displacement from their respective areas according to Aien-e-Akberi [آئینِ اکبری]. They had established their businesses, as goods forwarding agents then, these had become their main source of income as well. The descendants of the Panni [پنّی] people also used to live in the Shikarpur [شکارپور] area. They had the access to the Durbar of the Lodhi [لودھی] rulers in those days whereas they had also accompanied Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] into the far-flung areas of the Subcontinent. Then, they had also become the rulers of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] from the same area. *The detail of the same will be given, later*. The Panni [پنّی] nation had not acquired said overwhelming dominance just overnight. It was achieved rather through a constant and regular struggle of years. The said climax was in fact, the fruit of their long evolutionary journey and was based on the test of the proving strength and courage as well. The aforementioned descriptive account was a sufficient explanation with regard to the role of the Panni [پنّی] nation in said area.

The area of Sibi [سبّی] had remained under the suzerainty of Iran and was also linked as a unit with Kandahar [قندھار] or Multan during the vicissitudes of history. The rulers of Sibi [سبّی] were never loyal to either side just by virtue of geological location of the Sibi [سبّی] area, which was

the site of rift or revolt resultantly, most of the time. The strong Panni [پنّی] rulers of the area, despite the constant attacks of the Baloch people, had succumbed neither to their pressure nor, had they accepted the rulers of Kandahar [قندهار]. The area of Kandahar [قندهار] was subjected however to the control of Nadir Shah Afshar [نادر شاه افشار] once again after experiencing the hot and cold blows. Ghani Khan Alkozai [غنی خان الکوزئی], the revenue officer of Nadir Shah Afshar [نادر شاه افشار], had divided the Kandahar [قندهار] province into eighteen units in compliance with the orders of Nadir Shah Afshar [نادر شاه افشار]. Sibi [سبّی] was then its eighteenth unit. Lord Litton had expressed his views most probably somewhere in this regard that, "when we had landed in the area, the biggest problem which we had to confront was the small state of Sibi [سبّی] under the Afghan rulers. The Sibi [سبّی] area was surrounded by the Baloch people from three sides but, neither the same was controllable without the consent of Ameer Kabul [کابل] nor, we were in a position even to levy any cess in said area".

The reason to charge less revenue from the Panni [پنّی] rulers was that the Mughal rulers had also remained unsuccessful in imposing excessive revenue upon them according to the historian, Reverty. The author of a Pashto book captioned as, "Pa losum perri" [په لو سم پیڑی] i.e. "Afghanistan in Nineteenth Century" had expressed his views while discussing the Gandhmak [گندمک] period that, Ameer Yaqoob Khan [امیر یعقوب خان] had handed over the control of the Panni [پنّی] people of Sibi [سبّی] *en bloc* to the British government.

The Panni [پنّی] tribe of Sibi [سبّی] was so important that, one of the Sardars of the Sibi [سبّی] area used to be honored with a Khilat [خلعت] (*Robe*) by the government of Afghanistan till 1947 according to Aziz Khan Loni Panni [عزیز خان لونی پنّی] E.A.C.

> The weapons, swords and shields along-with other gifts which were awarded by Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاه ابدالی] to the ancestors of Sardar Mohammed Khan Baro Zai Panni [سردار محمد خان باروزئی پنّی], which were supposedly with him. He was speaker of the Baluchistan assembly. He had become Chief Minister subsequently but, God knows whether those souvenirs along-with actual certificates were intact with him or not!

CONSISTENCY AND STABILITY DURING THE MUGHAL ERA

[مغل حکمرانوں کے دور میں استقامت واستقلال]

Advent of Baber [بابر کی آمد]:

The vast mountainous area between Ghazni [غزنی] and Kandahar [قندھار] was known as Ghor [غور] whereas a portion of Ghor [غور] was known as "Feroza" [فیروزہ] which was also known as "Koh Feroza" [کوہ فیروزہ]. The Panni Pathans used to dwell in an irregular manner although, in the entire province of Kandahar [قندھار] which was their main center yet, they were based also in the mountains of Feroza [فیروزہ]. There were some coins of the Panni rulers of Iran which were disinterred from the Kandahar [قندھار] area. The spread out of the population of the Panni Pathans was up to the Ghazni [غزنی] area. They used to enjoy therefore a domineering status in the area. The discovery of coins was a proof of the fact that, they were a real reckonable force at some point of time in history. Ahmed Shah Abdali Panni [احمد شاہ ابدالی پنّی] was also from the same area. He had murdered Nadir Shah Afshar [نادر شاہ افشار] fearlessly on his way to Iran. Then, he had crowned himself as a king with the help of the people of his area. The coronation ceremony of Ahmed Shah Abdali Panni [احمد شاہ ابدالی پنّی] had taken place on a rock where he had murdered Nadir Shah Afshar [نادر شاہ افشار]. Ahmed Shah Abdali Panni [احمد شاہ ابدالی پنّی] had become however the most important figure amongst his people only when he was able to defeat the last Lodhi ruler in the battlefield at Panipat [پانی پت] in 1526. He was able to rule for four years only. He had expressed his views with regard to the first year of his rule (*933 Hegira 1529 A.C*) in the manner as below:

" دولتپوررا کردہ شِقداریٔ او را بہ ابوالفتح ترکمان عنایت کردہ، بدوتپور فرستادہ شد، درنواحیٔ حصا رِ فیروزہ حمید خان سارنگ خانی ویک جماعہ از افغانانِ پنّی وافغانانِ اطرافی، و دِگر چہار ہزار کس جمیعت کردہ درمقام شور و فِتنہ بودند۔ روز چہار شنبہ پانزدھم صفر، چین تیمور سلطان احمدی بروانچی وابوالفتح ترکمان وملک داد کرانی ومحامدداد ملتانی را ہمراہ کردہ بر سرِایں افغاناں تعین کردیم۔ رفتہ ازراہِ دورایلغارغودہ ایں افغاناں را خوب زیر کردہ، مرد مِ بسیار ایشاں را کشتہ، سرِ بسیارے فر سِتند۔"

(***Tuzk Baberi*** [تزک بابری] ***Page No.202***)

Translation:

(I had conquered Dolatpur and I had appointed Abul Fateh as its Nazim. Then, I had moved him out but, Hameed Khan Sarang Khani and a group of the Panni Afghans from the surroundings of Hisar Feroza and three to four thousand other Pathans from the vicinity had gathered for creating a row and rift. Chain Timor Sultan Ahmed Bronchi, Abul Fateh Turkman, Malikdad Kirani and Hamid Khan Multani were sent therefore as reinforcement contingent on Wednesday 15th of the month Safer to sort out those Afghan miscreants. They had raided the far-flung areas and they were able to bring it under their control. They had chopped off the heads of most of the miscreants and then they had forwarded them to me).

The statement of the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] was also elaborative enough with regard to the Panni Pathans of the area which had also proved that the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] was threatened by their ability to wage a war, against him. He was never in a position to cast them aside unnoticed. They were based in the remote areas and he had to raid their areas with the help of different Sardars in order to keep them at bay. The significance of his expedition had established the fact even more authentically because the reference of the Panni Pathans was worthy enough for him to be included in his chronicle i.e. Tuzk Baberi [تزک بابری].

The reign of Humayon [ہمایوں کے عہد میں]:

Sultan Mohammed Khan [سلطان محمد خان] of Bahker [بھکر] had died in 963 Hegira (1555 A.C) during the second reign of the Emperor Humayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں]. Sher Mohammed [شیر محمد] had replaced him as governor of Bahker [بھکر]. The Panni nation was in the process of emerging by that time at a very rapid pace in the west. The tenure of Sultan Mohammed Khan [سلطان محمد خان] had experienced the damaging phase of his tribal strength when a Baloch Sardar, Mir Chaker [میر چاکر] had opted to go to Delhi with the Emperor Humayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں]. The Panni people of the Sibi [سبّی] area were able to capture district Sibi [سبّی] at the end of the sixteenth century according to the historians (***Haturam Page No.531, Pathans Page No.104***). They had multiplied their strength by 1511 AC, which was the period of the Arghon [ارغون] rulers (***Gazetteer Sibi Page No.24***). When, the Emperor Humayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] had taken over in 1530 after the death of the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] then, Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] was able to drive him out of said area just within a span of ten years. When the Emperor Humayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] was ousted

from power, the Panni people were obviously in a process of consolidating their position at that time. They were placed in a highly consolidated position and their strength had multiplied manifolds by the time the Emperor Humayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] had returned to Hindustan after the exile of fifteen years i.e. in 1555 A.C. The historical facts had proved that, the Panni nation was highly poised in their areas with a very strong "voice" during the reign of Emperor Humayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں]. They were enjoying on the one hand, a strong position predominantly in the north of Baluchistan and they were able to acquire a political position and on the other hand, they were based strongly in the south and in the east of the Subcontinent. Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] had granted the Jagirs even to some of their Sardars in the Gangetic [گنگا] region. The Emperor Humayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] had managed his escape after being defeated by Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] and the man who had tracked him down, was Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی]. He had sent the Emperor into exile. Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] was also from amongst the same Panni people.

The reign of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر کے عہد میں]:

The Emperor Akber was enthroned in 964 Hegira (1556 A.C). The Panni people had ruled the Sibi [سّبی] area and its surroundings with grandeur and with a total autonomy during the first twenty years of his reign. The Panni people of the Kandahar [قندھار] and Sibi [سّبی] areas used to pay neither any revenue to the rulers nor were they even bound to make any offer of such nature to them which was a proof of the fact that, they were totally autonomous and the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had to tolerate said situation constantly for twenty years. The same impesse was not supposed to last forever however in the natural course of events. The Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had to send then three successive expeditions to Sibi [سّبی] in 984 Hegira (1576 A.C) under the command of Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل] son of the former governor namely, Sher Mohammed [شیر محمد] in order to bring said area under the administrative control of his empire (***Gazetteer Sibi*** [سّبی] ***Page No.62***).

First expedition [پہلی مہم]:

The Panni Pathans had confronted the first expedition very courageously. They had fought all out against the troops of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] but, his troops were able to capture Qala

Sibi [قلعہ سبّی] (*which still exists*). They had not stayed there for a very long time and as soon as they had returned, the Panni people were able to recapture the fort. Then, their autonomous rule had continued for a good twelve years after said recapture (***Gazetteer Sibi*** [سبّی] ***Page No.34***).

Second expedition [دوسری مہم]:

The Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had also maintained the status quo with regard to the fort which was an extraordinary situation literally because the status quo had lasted for about twelve long years. The Panni people of the Sibi [سبّی] area were not so easy to be handled. The capture of "Qala Sibi" [قلعہ سبّی] had also played havoc in their lives. There were many people who were killed and there were many others who were banished from the area which was however the factual case, because the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had to launch the raid once again in said area, in 994 Hegira 1587 A.C. The Panni people of the Sibi [سبّی] area had fought very bravely even during the second attack. They had defeated the Akberi lashker which was forced to return after suffering the heavy causalities among other losses (***Gazetteer Sibi*** [سبّی] ***Page No.24***). The aforementioned analysis had proved the resolute stance and the collective formidable strength of the Panni nation of said era.

Third expedition [تیسری مہم]:

The Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had decided to take the hunkers down position for some time against the Panni people of Sibi [سبّی] when the second expedition [دوسری مہم] had proved to be unsuccessful. He had sent the third expedition in 1004 Hegira 1595 A.C ultimately in order to even out the score. The historian of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had written in the Persian language in this regard in the manner, as below:

> "There was Qala Sevi [قلعہ سیوی] near Kandahar [قندھار] which used to be under the control of the Merzban Bhaker [مرزبان بھکر] people in olden days. The control of which was with the Panni Afghans since a long time".

The royal decree was dispatched to Syed Bha-ud-Din Bukhari Taiwaldar Utch [سید بہاالدین بخاری تیول دار اُچھ] and Bakhtiyar Baig Aqta Darswistan [بختیار بیگ اقطاع دار سیوستان], Mir Abul Qasim

Jagirdar Bhaker [میرابوالقاسم جاگیردار بھکر] and Mir Masoom [میر معصوم] who were heads of the troops which were based at Multan. The initial plan according to the decree was to make an attempt to take over the fort through negotiations and by creating the mitigating circumstances. They were supposed to penalize the Panni people only in case of failure of negotiations. The lashker had landed in the area on 23rd of Dye [د ے] in 1003 Hegira 1594 A.C to execute the plan as it was envisaged in the royal decree. The landlords and the Sardars of Kunjaba [کنجابہ] namely, Daod Khan [داود خان] and Derya Khan [دریا خان] had ensured the due compliance readily. They had approached the fort however on the 3rd of Asfundyar [سوم اسفند یار]. There were about five thousand individuals who had come out to fight physically. Then, there were some who were besieged in the fort but, when the fort was also ultimately seized, the besieged people had handed over the keys of the fort voluntarily. The said soft victory had brought the areas of Kandahar [قندھار], Kaich [کیچ] and Makeran [مکران] under the empire of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The royal lashker had to experience some difficulties in the process however due to scarcity of water. Then, the water was also filled in the dry lake and thus, the water supply was ensured to the lashker. (***Iqbalnama Akberi*** [اقبال نامہ اکبری] ***Page No.469, 470 Akbernama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.666, Gazetteer Sibi*** [سبّی] ***Page No.24, Tareekh Hafiz Rahmat Khan*** [تاریخ حافظ رحمت خان] ***Page No.565***).

The Panni people had faced defeat in the battle and the Sevi [سیوی] area had drifted under the control of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] but the gallantry with which the people of the Panni nation had defended the fort previously, was unprecedented, as mentioned in the books of history. The historian Faizi Serhundi [فیضی سرہندی] had covered the historical victory of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] in just one sentence which was translated by the historian Reverty in the Notes on Afghanistan, in the manner as, "Velour of Pannis and the fall of Sibbi". The excerpt from the book was captioned as "Mazher Shahjahani" [مظہر شاہجہانی] (*Author, Abul Qasim Namkeen*) which was written in 1044 Hegira 1634 A.C in the manner as below:

"وفتح قلعہ سیوی از دست افاغنہ پنّی درزمان عرش آشیانی بعنایت الہی واقبال بے زوال پادشاہی، پیر غلام کردہ بود"

> "Pir Ghulam had captured the Sevi fort. Abul Qasim Namkeen was a Jagirdar and governor of Bhaker [بھکر]. The aforementioned Mir Masoom [میر معصوم] to whom the royal decree was transmitted, he was the same famous person who had written the history of Sibi in a versified form. He had rendered the geographical descriptions as well.

The Panni nation had conceded the writ of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] ultimately. They had agreed to pay also the revenue both in cash and in kind (***Mazher Shahjahani*** [مظہر شاہجہانی] ***Page No.29***).The same arrangement had never crossed the stage of materialization however in the practical terms because the entire area was under the influence of the Panni people. Their hold was very strong even within the empire of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] and even prior to the capture of fort Sevi. They had ruled the area and its vicinity practically and with total autonomy for about forty years which was indicative of the fact that the Panni people historically had a much consolidated hold in the area.

March of Akber towards Kandahar [اکبر کی قندھار کیطرف پیش قدمی]:

The struggle of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] for forty odd years was in fact a part of his strategy to pave the way of an incursion into the Kandahar [قندھار] area and then conquering the same. Thus, he had sent an expedition against the Panni people of Kandahar [قندھار] after achieving his first goal of capturing "Qala Sevi" [قلعہ سیوی]. Then, he was able to pin the people down after a little resistance through an agreement to gift out to him sixty goats annually. They were also made to agree to provide a batch of one thousand horsemen and one thousand infantry personnel in the hour of need only. The consolidated hold of the Panni people had remained unchallenged however in the area despite the agreement with the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر]. They had three top Sardars and those people had proliferated into several offshoots and tribes under those Sardars (***Aien-e-Akberi*** [آئینِ اکبری] ***Volume No.3 Page No.397 (English Translation) Page No.402***). The Imperial Gazetteer district Sibi had revealed in the manner, as below:

> "Sibi was a unit during the reign of Akber which was governed through the Bhaker [بھکر] under the administration of province of Multan and a sum of Rupees thirty four thousand five hundred used to be generated from said area as revenue. The said area used to provide besides that about five hundred cavalry and fifteen hundred infantry soldiers. The Panni people used to provide their fighting units additionally" (***Volume No.22 Page No.342, Gazetteer Sibi*** [سّبی] ***Page No.65)***.

Reign of Jahanger [عہدِ جہانگیر میں]:

The Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had died in 1605 and Jahanger [جہانگیر] had become the Emperor of Hindustan. The Panni people of the Sibi [سبّی] area had maintained their strong position even during his reign. He had to dispatch the troops also into the area in order to manage them. When, the Sibi [سبّی] area was a part of the Jagir of Ali Akber Kurd [علی اکبر کُرد] then, he had tried to maintain the peace and order in the area. Since he had inefficient army therefore the Panni Afghans had compelled him to seek refuge in Qala Sevi [قلعہ سیوی] according to a historian. The Jagirdar of Bhaker [بھکر] was Taj Khan [تاج خان] at that time whereas his brother namely Abu-al-Baqa [ابوالبقاء] was awarded Badera [بادرہ] and Kunjaba [کنجابہ] as a Jagir. When, the Emperor Jahanger [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had received the information with regard to the confinement of Ali Akber Kurd [علی اکبر کُرد] in Qala Sevi [قلعہ سیوی], he had sent Musa for his release and rescue. He was supposed to seek the help of Taj Khan [تاج خان] in this regard. When, he was able to reach Bhaker [بھکر] to ensure the compliance of orders of the Emperor Jahanger [شہنشاہ جہانگیر], he had demanded two hundred horsemen from Taj Khan [تاج خان] despite the fact that, he had the relatives of Taj Khan [تاج خان] in his own army. He was able to reach Sibi [سبّی] all enthused however where an all equipped unit of the Panni Afghans had approached him. Then, he was able to get the release of Ali Akber Kurd [علی اکبر کُرد] from Qala Sevi [قلعہ سیوی] with their help. When, Kunjaba [کنجابہ] had also become a part of the Jagir of Ali Akber Kurd [علی اکبر کُرد] later on, he was able to sort out most of the Panni Afghans. He had murdered some of them whereas the others had faced him as a united front in a practical battle. He had the support of about two hundred Mughals and there were about two to three thousand Afghans among them (*which was quite impossible, Writer*) The Afghans were defeated (***Mazher Shahjahani*** [مظہر شاہجہانی] ***Page No.28, 29***). Those Pathans had remained involved even after that, in creating wrangles from time to time. When, Bayazeed Bukhari [بایزید بخاری] had become the commander of Bhaker [بھکر], he had appointed his old servant namely, Sheikh Bol [شیخ بول] as a Shikdar [شِقدار] of Sibi [سبّی]. He was murdered by the "Afghan Panni people" [مردم افاغنہ پنّی] according to a historian. The sons of Sheikh Bol [شیخ بول] had united themselves as an army and then a fierce battle had taken place. The Afghan Panni people were subjected to the defeat in the battlefield after sustaining losses and heavy causalities. There was another historian who had expressed his views in the manner as, "Jungi Khan Panni [جنگی خان پنّی]'' Sardar of the Panni Afghans [سردار افغاناں پنّی] was arrested and he was transported to Bhaker [بھکر] (***Mazher Shahjahani*** [مظہر شاہجہانی] ***Page No.31***). The

row and wrangling, which a group of Panni people from Kandahar [قندھار] had started in 933 Hegira 1526 AC during the reign of Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر], had continued in the literal sense even during the reign of his great grandson namely, the Emperor Jahanger [جہانگیر]. When, the Emperor Shahjahan [شاہ جہان] had become the Emperor of Hindustan in 1627 then said tribe was in a position to record the golden chapters in the history more resolutely and enthusiastically in the provincial parts of Baluchistan which was by virtue of acquiring more authority and prowess.

Advent of Berra Khan Panni during the reign of Shahjahan
[شاہ جہان کے عہد میں بّرا خان پنّی کی آمد]:

The aforementioned historical facts had made it quite clear that, the Panni Pathans of the Sibi [سبّی] area and from its vicinity had received the bashing and thrashing several times during the course of history. They were exhausted presumably by the time Shahjahan [شاہ جہان] was in power in 1662 but, they were neither rendered spineless nor, had they lacked the enthusiasm rather "their life was in the process of blossoming with freshness" in accordance with the Persian proverb i.e. [سَرچو شمعم ببریدندو حیاتم دادند]. They were known till that time as "Latitudinous horse riders" just like their forefathers. The torrents of hardships had shaped them up into a regular and well organized army. Then, they had stood by the Mughals and had become their collaborators as well. There was a general perception that, they had consolidated their position under the leadership of their Sardar Berra Khan Panni [بّرا خان پنّی] even at the outer fringe of Sanghan [سانگہاں], Shikarpur [شکارپور] and upper Sindh [سندھ] other than in Sibi [سبّی]. They had acquired the recognition there as the "Baro Zai Panni" [باروزئی پنّی] people because of their gradual influence in those areas. There were various books of history however which had acknowledged them with the name as "Panni" [پنّی] only. There were several leaders of said tribe after Berra Khan Panni [بّرا خان پنّی] when Shahjahan [شاہ جہان] had awarded them the titles like "Nawab" [نواب] and "Bakhtiyar Khan" [بختیار خان] etc. on various occasions. The descendants of those people had enjoyed the perks and privileges of those titles in Quetta [کو ئیٹہ], Kohlo [کوہلو], Sanghan [سانگہاں] and Sibi [سبّی] as well as, in the upper areas of Baluchistan, till the time the Sardari [سرداری] system was abolished ultimately. Shahjahan [شاہ جہان] used to give them always the respect and honor and he used to treat them with magnanimity. Derra Bolan [درۂ بولان] was known as "Shahjahanabad" [شاہ جہان آباد] in those days. Mir Minshi Raye Sahib Haturam [میر منشی

رائے صاحب ہتورام] of Sir Sundayman had expressed his views in this regard in 1908 in the manner, as below:

> "When, the rule of Kalhorra [کلہوڑہ] had become weak towards the Sevi [سیوی] and Sanghan [سانگہاں] area then the Sardar of the Panni nation was "Baro Zai" [باروزئی]. He had captured Sibi [سبّی] and Sanghan [سانگہاں]. The area of Sibi [سبّی] and Sanghan [سانگہاں] was under their occupation until recently" (***Page No.665***).

He had expressed his views further in the manner that:

> "Since times immemorial the "Baro Zai" [باروزئی] family was considered as respectable among the Panni people and was ruling Sevi [سیوی] and Sanghan [سانگہاں] areas as well as, Shikarpur [شکارپور] and upper Sindh [سندھ]. There was a long war between Qanberani [قنبرانی] and Ahmed Zai [باروزئی] and the Khan of Qalat [خان قلات] and then between the Khan of Qalat and the "Baro Zai" [باروزئی] family. Then, both families had become relatives subsequently. The reference of the "Baro Zai" [باروزئی] family of the Khan of Qalat [خان قلات] was available at several places in history.

We feel that it will be appropriate to incorporate the detail history of the "Baro Zai" [باروزئی] family, which we had gathered from their family book and also as we were able to amass the information from some local narratives. The "Baro Zai" [باروزئی] people had emanated as a branch of the Panni [پنّی] nation in Pasheen [پشین] according to the information we were able to obtain from a reliable source. The "Baro Zai" [باروزئی] tribe was related to the Paney Zai Durrani [پنئے زئی درانی] tribe.

> The codex of the "Baro Zai" [باروزئی] was prepared separately in accordance with the Genealogical Tree from the book which was captioned as "Tareekh Baro Zai" [باروزئی] which was written in a versified form by Mullan Fazal [ملاں فاضل]. He had written said book during the period of Nawab Bakhtiyar Khan Baro Zai [نواب بختیار خان باروزئی] and Miseri Khan Baro Zai Panni [مصری خان باروزئی پنّی] (***Page No.666***).

We may also point out that, Mullan Fazal [ملاں فاضل] was also a "Baro Zai" [باروزئی] by origin. The Baro Zai" [باروزئی] family used to rule the area according to Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.22. They were an offshoot of the Panni [پنّی] people (***Page No.338***).

The historian Reverty had expressed his views in "Notes on Afghanistan" in the manner, as below:

"The Sibi [سبّی] area in Quetta [کو ئیٹہ] was under the occupation of the Panni [پنّی] people" (***Page No.128***). The Panni [پنّی] people were the Ghurghasht [غورغشت] Pathans in accordance with a book which was captioned as "Afaghana" [افاغنہ]. They were descendants of the nomadic herdsmen who used to live in the desert. They had migrated from the area of the Ghalzai [غلزئی]. Then, they had occupied the present areas and district Sibi [سبّی] at the end of sixteenth century with the identification as, Sebi Panni [سیبی پنّی], Janatay [جنتئے] Khajak [خجک], Dehpal [دہپال], Merghzan [مرغزان], Baro Zai [باروزئی], Umer [عمر] and Shoan [شون]" (***Page No.218***). The aforementioned occupation of the area was made by Berra Khan Panni [بّرا خان پنّی]. The period of which was at the end of the sixteenth century, which was the reigning era of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] (1556 to 1605 A.C). They had seemingly landed there from Kandahar [قندھار] and Feroza [فیروزہ] and from the Koh Seyah [کوہ سیاہ] mountain range and then, they were able to establish their rule in the area.

Haturam had expressed his views further in the manner that:

"Name of Sect: Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی].
Owner: Sardar Mohammed Khan [مرغزانی].
Area: Sevi [سیوی].
The nations which were under the Baro Zai [باروزئی] Sardars, the same were in the manner, as below:

Merghzani [مرغزانی], Safi [صافی], Kerk [کرک], Dehpal [دہپال] who were pure Pathans and were known as the Panni [پنّی] people. The Laher Zai [لہرزئی] and Loni [لونی] people

used to live under the protection of the British administration. They used to have individual Lumberdars in their respective areas and used to pay the revenue as well" (***Page No.739***).

"Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] people of Sanghan [سانگہاں], Shirdil Khan [شیردِل خان] and Arselan Khan Baro Zai [ارسلان خان باروزئی] of Sevi [سیوی] and Sanghan [سانگہاں] areas were descendents of the same agnate. The people living under the Sardars of Sanghan [سانگہاں] were known as Sangchi [سنگچی]. They were, as a matter of fact, Afghan people. The Baro Zai [باروزئی] Sardars used to draw their share of yield from the Jagir" (***Page No.740***).

The aforementioned historical references of Baluchistan tend to determine the steady but, a regular significant role of the Panni nation during the course of many a decade. The rise and fall of the Panni tribes of Sibi [سبّی] and their historical significance can also be ascertained from the history of other people:

"The offshoots of the Panni [پنّی] or Panerri [پنڑی] nation of Sibi [سبّی] were: Sebi Panni [سیبی پنّی], Janatay [جنتئے], Khajak [خجک], Dehpal [دہپال], Merghzan [مرغزان], Baro Zai [باروزئی], Umer [عمر] and Shoan [شون]. They had occupied district Sibi [سبّی] at the end of the sixteenth century whereas their large size villages were located in Khajak [خجک], Tali [تلی], Gulo Shaher [گلو شہر] and Dehpal [دہپال]. They were agriculturalists by profession. The descendants of the Panni [پنّی] people used to live in large numbers also in the southern Hindh i.e. Delhi [دہلی] and Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] etc. The Panni [پنّی] people were considered resultantly to be from the Rajpoot [راجپوت] origin. The dress of the Panni [پنّی] people used to be like the dress of Baloch nation. The male folks used to dress-up in white and their females used to dress-up in black clothes. The Panni [پنّی] people were not available in any regular army but there was one company by the name of the Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل] and Eswat [آلیسوت] which was based at Zob [ژوب] and Sibi [سبّی] (***Afaghana*** [افاغنہ] ***Page No.218, Tad Page No.238***). The said company was also dismantled subsequently because their loyalty was always under a question mark (***Pathans Page No.103***).

The census report of 1901 of the Baluchistan province with regard to Sibi [سبّی] had revealed in the manner, as below:

> "The number of Panni [پنّی] people who used to live in the district, was about 3656 individuals. The Afghan Panni people of the Sibi [سبّی] area used to consider it a disgrace to marry their girls into other tribes but they used to prefer marrying the girls from other tribes" (***Page No.45***).

The excerpt from one of the articles was explicit in the manner, as below:

> "There was a concrete shrine away from the Sibi [سبّی] city towards Bhaker Kallan [بھکڑ کلاں] and there was a general perception that, it was the mausoleum of one of the Generals of Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] who was appointed as his subordinate, in the area. He was from the Baro Zai [باروزئی] (*Panni* [پنّی] *Writer*) tribe. The Baro Zai [باروزئی] Pathans still live in Sibi [سبّی] even today. They were based on each side of the Sanghan [سانگہاں] canal. The people of one side of the canal used to speak the Pashto [پشتو] language whereas the people on the other side amazingly used to speak the Seriakie [سرائیکی] language".

The aforementioned statements had confirmed that, the entire area of Baluchistan and its northern side up to the entire area of Ghazni [غزنی] used to be a hubbub of the Panni Pathans since times immemorial.

CHAIN OF THE PANNI NAWABS OF SIBI [سبّی کے پنّی نوابوں کا سلسلہ]:

Berra Khan Panni [بّرا خان پنّی]:

The entanglement of the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] with the Panni people of the mountainous area of Feroza [فیروزہ] and Kandahar [قندھار] had proved that, Berra Khan Panni [بّرا خان پنّی] of Sibi [سبّی] had laid a solid foundation for the Panni people who used to live in Sibi [سبّی]. We have not been able to dig-out their history. The Baro Zai [باروزئی] people had occupied however the Sibi [سبّی] area and were also able to establish their control in the area according to the history book of Mullan Fazal [ملاں فاضل] which was captioned as "Tareekh Baro Zai" [تاریخ

بارو زئی] written in 1570 during the reign of the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] (***Haturam Page No.714, Gazetteer Sibi*** [سبّی] ***Page No.62***). The ruler of Sevi [سیوی] was Ishaq Khan Panni [اسحاق خان پنّی] during the reign of the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] in accordance with "Tareekh Hafiz Rahmat Khan" [تاریخ حافظ رحمت خان]. He had one son only by the name of Bawer Khan [باور خان] whereas Bawer Khan [باور خان] had four sons whose names were: Junaid Khan [جنید خان], Sadaq Khan [صادق خان], Khalil Khan [خلیل خان] and Muhabat Khan [محبت خان]. They used to be collectively called as Baro Zai [بارو زئی] tribe which was a large dynastic tribe since times immemorial. The Baro Zai [بارو زئی] people used to have their Sardari [سرداری] rule in Sanghan [سانگہاں]. The Langa [لنگا] or Langoo [لنگو] were from the same Baro Zai [بارو زئی] people and their sultanate was up to Multan [ملتان], Sevi [سیوی], Sindh [سندھ] and Makeran [مکران] (***Page No.565***). The word "Barkhan" [بارکھان] was a distorted form of the name Bawer Khan [باور خان] (***Page No.565***). The Baro Zai [بارو زئی] people had occupied the state of Sevi [سیوی] and Kachi [کچھی] according to "Tareekh Baluchistan" by Haturam which had resultantly brought the Baloch [بلوچ] people under their subordination (***Page No.541***).

NAWAB JUNAID KHAN PANNI, TITLE: BAKHTIYAR KHAN" KNOWN AS "MALIK JEWAN"

[نواب جنید خان پنّی، المقلب بہ بختیار خان معروف بہ ملک جیون]

Capital punishment and acquittal [موت کی سزا اور معافی] :

Junaid Khan Baro Zai Panni [جنید خان بارو زئی پنّی] was one of the descendants of Berra Khan Panni [بّرا خان پنّی]. He had become the ruler of Sibi [سبّی] during the reign of the Emperor Shahjahan [شاہ جہان]. The Emperor had awarded him the honorific title of "Nawab" [نواب] and Bakhtiyar Khan [بختیار خان]. The tribe of Junaid Khan Baro Zai Panni [جنید خان بارو زئی پنّی] had acquired the historical significance after emerging as a very well organized tribe. They had become known as the Baro Zai [بارو زئی] tribe, which was also their family name. There was an unusual situation however in those days and according to a historian, some tension had emerged with "Aqwam Mezrie Taifa Panni" [اقوام مزرئی طائیفہ پنّی] due to some domestic problems. The Mezrie [مزرئی] tribe had opted to go to Delhi [دہلی] to lodge a complaint in the Durbar of Shahjahan [شاہ جہان] because Sibi [سبّی] and Dera Bolan [درۂ بولان] were linked then, with

Hindustan. The Emperor Shahjahan [شاہ جہان] (1037 to 1069 Hegira (1627 to 1658 A.C) had summoned Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] to Delhi [دہلی] and he had convicted him after conducting the due investigation. He was awarded the death punishment by mutilation under the feet of an elephant. Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] had very good terms with Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] son of Shahjahan [شاہ جہان]. He had approached him for intervention and Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] had requested his father Shahjahan [شاہ جہان] resultantly to exonerate his death punishment. The request was granted duly and then, Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] had returned to Sibi [سبّی] after exoneration to assume his office as a ruler (***Gazetteer Sibi*** [سبّی] ***Page No.25, Haturam Page No.66, reference Mullan Fazal and Central Asia Part-I Page No.211***). The Sibi [سبّی] area was still under Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] as a ruler when, the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had come into power after Shahjahan [شاہ جہان] in 1658. We will narrate just one interesting instance of said era to avert unnecessary details which will be sufficient to highlight the personality and character of Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید].

Cold-shoulder to Darashikoh [داراشکوہ سے بے مروتی]:

There was a well established historical fact that as soon as, the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had come into power and had started removing all the impediments, which were likely to hamper the perpetuation of his reign. Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] the brother of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was his competitor for the reins of power. There was even many a bloody battle in this regard between the two brothers. Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] was constrained to seek refuge therefore in Sibi [سبّی] with Junaid Khan Panni Baro Zai [جنید خان باروزئی پنّی] (*Generally known as "Malik Jewan"* [ملک جیون]) after facing a defeat in 1069 Hegira (1658 A.C). He was desirous to escape to Kandahar [قندھار] via Run Kuch [رَن کچھ] along-with his family according to some historians and said version was correct seemingly. Since, the death punishment of Junaid Khan Panni Baro Zai [جنید خان باروزئی پنّی] was exonerated by Shahjahan [شاہ جہان] through the good offices of Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] and Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] had also acknowledged said favor through his letters which were addressed to Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] and he had also assured his loyalty and obedience to him therefore Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] had the requisite confidence to be accommodated duly by Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید]. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had written a letter however to Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] and he had used his charismatically charming authority through it for the arrest

and production of Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] before him. Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] had fallen prey to the enchantment and he had agreed readily. He had given preference to the royal order over the personal favors which Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] had rendered for saving his life.

The historian Haturam (***Page No.666***) had expressed his views further that, Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] had tried to escape to Derra Bolan [درۂ بولان] via Run Kuch [رَن کچھ] on 9th June 1659 in the company of his son Shahper Shickoh [شہپرشکوہ] and two daughters. He was arrested by a tribal Sardar namely, Malik Jewan [ملک جیون] (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.3 Page No.83 to 87, Syed Altamakhereen*** [سیدالتماخرین] ***Volume No.1, Page No.329 to 339, Official Page No.539 to 540***).

We feel that it will be inappropriate really to cast aside the details of said incident in the context of achievements of Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] because he was involved with the unfortunate arrest of Darashikoh [داراشکوہ]. He had become the target of hatred and detestation by the people of Delhi [دہلی] as consequence thereof. The discussion on said subject, although amounted to defeat the very objective of our narrative yet, we take the liberty to narrate said incident very briefly in the manner, as below:

In the Islamic month of Jamadi-ul-Awal [جمادی الاول] 1069 Hegira Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] had opted to go to Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] via Run Kuch [رَن کچھ] after facing defeat against Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] at Ajmair [اجمیر]. He had landed in the area of Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] with confidence. He was looked after very well and he was provided accommodation at the residence of Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید]. There was a personal tragedy however which had struck him because his wife Nadera Begum [نادرہ بیگم] had died just within two to three days due to diarrhea. She was fatigued extremely during the journey. The Prince Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] had prepared her coffin and then he had sent them to Lahore with the help of his reliable companions namely, Gul Mohammed [گل محمد] and Khawaja Maqbool [خواجہ مقبول] for burial near Hazerat Mian Mir [حضرت میاں میر]. Hazerat Mian Mir [حضرت میاں میر] was his spiritual mentor who had opted to stay back however with Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید]. He had probably made up his mind that after taking some financial assistance from Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] he had to go to Iran via Kandahar [قندھار]. When, Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] received the message of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] for the arrest of Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] and

handing him over to the Emperor, this had compelled Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] to change his loyalty. He had given the impression to Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] to accompany him during his journey to Iran whereas his latent plan was to arrest him. When, he was with him and they had travelled just a few miles only, Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] had come up with an excuse to make the food arrangements for his journey to Iran. He had taken a detour under said pretext with the promise to catch him up after some time. Thus, he had left Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] at the disposal of his brother along-with some thugs and bandits. When, Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] had disappeared from the scene, his brother had attacked Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] in collaboration with those bandits and robbers (***Official Muntakhib-ul-Bab*** [منتخب الباب] ***Volume No.2 Page No.83 and page No.539***). Then, they had brought him to Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] after arresting Shahper Shickoh [شہپرشکوہ] and they had detained him at a place which was already arranged for said purpose. Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] had sent the news of his arrest to Raja Jay Singh [راجہ جے سنگھ] and Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] who were keeping track of Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] in compliance with royal orders after his defeat at Ajmair [اجمیر] i.e. since 30th Jadadi-ul-Awal [جمادی الاول] 1069 Hegira. Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] had reached the area hastily on receiving said news and he had taken the custody of Prince Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] and his son along-with his two daughters. Then, they had moved them out very quickly via Bhaker [بھکر] along-with Raja Jay Singh [راجہ جے سنگھ] for meeting Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] in person. Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] had also sent a camel rider to inform the commander of Bhaker [بھکر] namely, Baqir Khan [باقر خان] with regard to his achievement. Baqir Khan [باقر خان] was very anxious to pass on said news to Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] in Delhi [دہلی] therefore he had sent a missive to Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] which was attached with the letter of Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] which was sent even prior to the arrival of Bahader Khan [بہادر خان]. Then, Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] had also reached Dar-ul-Sader [دارالصدر] on the 16th Zil Hajj [ذی الحجہ] of the Islamic month to present a formal report.

Reaction of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر کا ردِ عمل]:

The Emperor was very pleased to receive the arrest news of Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] but, he had kept it as a secret till the time he had received the congratulatory missive from Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] which had disclosed the efforts of Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] with regard to the arrest of Darashikoh [داراشکوہ]. The missive had also revealed that, the prisoner was on his way to be

produced before the Emperor. When, the Emperor was convinced fully then, he had announced the royal celebrations in the Islamic month of Shawal [شوال] and those celebrations were supposed to continue till Eid-uz-doha [عیدالضحیٰ]. When, the general public had learnt however about the objective of those festivities and about the arrest of Darashikoh [داراشکوہ], they had started abusing Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] publicly. The Emperor had promulgated the Royal Farman (Royal Decree) on said public reaction through Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] and he had awarded a Khilat [خلعت] with the honorific title of Do Hazarie [دوہزاری] (Two thousand horsemen) to Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید]. The Prince Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] and his son Shahper Shickoh [شہپرشکوہ] were paraded *danse macabre* in the meantime in the streets of Delhi and Bazaars on the elephant back for public demonstration. Then, they were detained at a highly protected and well guarded place at Khizerabad [خضرآباد].

Stones pelting on Nawab Junaid Khan Panni Baro Zai at Delhi [نواب جنید خان باروزئی پنّی پر دہلی میں سنگباری]:

There was a large and a well organized rally when Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] was produced before the Emperor and Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] was also in said rally. Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] had brought Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] enchained completely along-with his two sons according to "Syed Altamakhereen" [سیدالتماخرین]. When, they had entered the city, which had created the public unrest because the general public was infuriated even to the extent that, the people from all walks of life had gathered in throngs and were abusing Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] profusely, according to historians. They had thrown filth and litters on his companions in said rally. The accompanying companions of Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] had sustained injuries because of stone pelting from the crowd and some of them were killed as well. The accompanying companions had shielded Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] however against the stone pelting with protective shields. Thus, they had saved him from the mob wrath and assault. Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] was taken then into the Durbar of the Emperor whereas the commotion of said day was likely to convert into a large cataclysmic for a social disorder according to the general perception, if the Kotwal [کوتوال] of the city had not intervened and protected Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید]. The historians had expressed the views in this regard that, the women had thrown so much filth from the rooftops on those who had accompanied the Pathans that, the whole Bazaar was littered with filth. The people had looked down upon Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] with disgust and abhorrence in

accordance with the book which was captioned as, "Muntakhib-ul-Bab" [منتخب الباب] and which was written just ten years after the death of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. The reason for this was the treatment which he had meted out to Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] and to his son Shahper Shickoh [شہپرشکوہ].

Murder of Darashikoh [داراشکوہ کا قتل]:

The religious scholars of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had passed the unanimous decree [فتوی] on the 21st or on the last day of Zil Hajj [ذی الحجہ] of the Islamic month of 1069 Hegira (1659 AC). Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] was brought out from his place of detention i.e. Khizerabad [خضرآباد] in compliance with said decree [فتوی]. Then, he was ordered to be slaughtered. The allegations against him were proved by the religious scholars as, transgression of religious limits and maligning Sufism [تصوف] and committing the resultant heresy [الحاد] among other blasphemous acts. The catafalque of his corpse was then, carried on the elephant back to the main squares of city for public display and demonstration. The public sentiment had touched such emotional limits for Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] that, they had cried with tears literally when, they had witnessed the corpse of Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] at public places. Then, the dead body of Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] was laid to rest in the mausoleum of the Emperor Humayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] whereas his son Shahper Shickoh [شہپرشکوہ] was detained in the Gowalyar fort [قلعہ گوالیار]. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had awarded a Khilat [خلعت] (*Robe*) along-with many gifts to Nawab Junaid Khan Panni Baro Zai [نواب جنید خان باروزئی پنّی]. He had also bestowed upon him the honorific title of "Bakhtiyar Khan" [بختیار خان]. He had awarded him a certificate along-with one hundred horses as well. (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.81 to 87, Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1, Page No.700 to 701, Turktazan Hindh*** [ترکتازان ہند] ***chapter-III Page No.333 to 334, Shahjahanabad*** [شاہجہان نامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.22 to 27, Official Page No.539)***. Nawab Junaid Khan Panni Baro Zai [نواب جنید خان باروزئی پنّی] had travelled back to Sibi [سبّی] thereafter and he had started ruling the area with more pomp and show and arrogance. The area of his rule had become even larger than before with the inclusion of Sanghan [سانگہاں], Dahder [ڈھاڈر] and upper Sindh [سندھ] including Shikarpur [شکارپور]. The shrine which was about twenty miles away from Sibi [سبّی], was the grave of Nawab Junaid Khan Panni Baro Zai [نواب جنید خان باروزئی پنّی] according to the general perception.

Shrine of Nadera Begum [نادرہ بیگم کا مقبرہ]:

Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] was a learned person. He was also author of two or three books. He was a pleasant poet and one of his stanzas was in the manner, as below:

ہر خم وپیچے کہ شُد ازتابِ زلفِ یار شُد
دام شُد ، زنجیر شُد ، تسبیح شُد زُنار شُد

Roundish trap, roundish chain hooks, rounds of prayer
They all had acquired curls from my friend's curly hair

The mausoleum of his wife Nadera Begum [نادرہ بیگم] exists even today in Lahore in a vast green park with a building which is close to the shrine of Hazerat Mian Mir [حضرت میاں میر]. The mausoleum of Nadera Begum [نادرہ بیگم] had turned out to be a symbol of remorse for the sensitive people and had also become the source of keeping alive the unfortunate death incident of Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] in history. There was a tombstone on her grave on which her name was written very conspicuously as "Nadera Begum" [نادرہ بیگم]. There were vestigial ruins of two minarets at the corners of both sides of said park were the indicative of the fact that said mausoleum used to be a master piece of Mughal architecture, at some point of time. The Barahderi [بارہ دری] (*Platform with twelve openings*) in which said mausoleum was created, was perched on a high pedestal. We (*Writer*) had the privilege to visit said place. The said park used to present a very desolate and a dismal look during the British Raj. The Government of Pakistan had managed it well and was restored to its old placid look.

Habits and mannerism of Nawab Junaid Khan Panni Baro Zai
[نواب جنید خان باروزئی پنّی کی عادات و اخلاق]:

There were some historians who had maintained the view that, Nawab Junaid Khan Panni Baro Zai [نواب جنید خان باروزئی پنّی] was a cruel and an ill-disciplined person (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.194***). There were some other historians however who had projected him as a judicious ruler. The latter view was confirmed by an interesting incident. *Idée reçue*, one Hindu group had lodged a complaint with Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] that, son of Shah Baig Manderani Baloch [شاہ بیگ مندرانی بلوچ] had plucked the gold earrings from his ears by force. The said complaint had infuriated Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] so much that he had launched an attack against the Taman

[تمن] of Shah Baig Manderani Baloch [شاہ بیگ مندرانی بلوچ] with the intention to teach him a lesson. He had murdered also some people in the process. Shah Baig Manderani Baloch [شاہ بیگ مندرانی بلوچ] had probably approached the pioneer ruler of Qalat [قلات] (*Probably the Founder*) namely, Mir Ahmed Khan Qanberani [میر احمد خان قنبرانی] in this regard. Qanberani [قنبرانی] was not a very powerful ruler however as compared with Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] therefore he had decided to maintain the hush-up policy for some time. Thus, he had remained quiet on the issue for a very long time. Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] had died however during said period (***Haturam Page No.667***).

Nawab Mirza Khan Panni, Title, Blund Bakhat Khan [نواب مرزا خان پنّی المعروف بہ بلند بخت خان]:

Mirza Khan Panni [مرزا خان پنّی] son of Nawab Junaid Khan Panni Baro Zai [نواب جنید خان باروزئی پنّی] had replaced him as a "Nawab" [نواب] which was the period when, the grandson of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] namely, Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] was appointed as the Governor of Multan (***Page No.25***) according to the Gazetteer Sibi [سبّی]. The year of death of Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] was unknown yet, we can mention with certainty that, Mirza Khan Panni [مرزا خان پنّی] had become the ruler of Sibi [سبّی], Dahder [ڈھاڈر] and Shikarpur [شکارپور] along-with other areas in 1107 Hegira (1695 A.C). The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had granted him the same powers which his father had enjoyed. He was also elevated with the bestowal of honorific title as "Nawab" [نواب] and Blund Bakhat Khan [بلند بخت خان] and part of his duty was also to protect the areas of Sibi [سبّی] and Dahder [ڈھاڈر] during the traditional visit of the Emperor. He was also supposed to maintain peace and order in the area (***Gazetteer Sibi*** [سبّی] ***Page No.5, Haturam Page No.667***).

Attack of Mir Ahmed Khan and defeat [میر احمد خان کا حملہ اور شکست]:

We have already mentioned above that, Shah Baig Manderani Baloch [شاہ بیگ مندرانی بلوچ] had approached Mir Ahmed Khan Qanberani [میر احمد خان قنبرانی] the ruler of Qalat [قلات] with regard to the attack of Nawab Junaid [نواب جنید] and his son Mirza Khan Panni [مرزا خان پنّی] who had become ruler of the state after his death. Mir Ahmed Khan Qanberani [میر احمد خان قنبرانی], the ruler of Qalat [قلات], had launched an attack against Sibi [سبّی] therefore with a huge lashker after assessing the weaknesses and inexperience of Mirza Khan Panni [مرزا خان پنّی]. The Qanberani

[قنبرانی] lashker had the support of many tribes which had included the Brohi [بروہی] and Baloch [بلوچ] tribes, as well. When, Nawab Mirza Khan Panni [نواب مرزا خان پنّی] was able to learn about the march of the lashker he had made preparations also to defend his position. He had secured in this regard the support of the Panni tribes among other tribes which had included the Kerk [کرک], Safi [صافی], Loni [لونی], Abdullah Khail [عبدﷲ خیل], Dehpal [دیہپال], Merzai [مرزئی] and Merghzani [مرغزانی] tribes and according to the historian Haturam "All Panni" [جملہ پنّی ہا] and Dawaie [داوئ], Abaie [آبائی] and Hasni [حَسنی] tribes were also with them. Qanberani [قنبرانی] had moved out of Dera Bolan [درۂ بولان] to march towards the Sibi [سبّی] area. Nawab Mirza Khan Panni [نواب مرزا خان پنّی] had also marched forward and both lashkers had faced each other at Sheikh Mando [شیخ ماندو] in district Sibi [سبّی]. The same point was the next station after Sibi [سبّی] while going to Chaman [چمن]. Then, there was a bloody battle and the ruler of Qalat [قلات] Mir Ahmed Khan Qanberani [میر احمد خان قنبرانی] was left with no choice but, to give in and go back after sustaining heavy losses (***Haturam Page No.667***).

Defeat and death of Musammat Bibo [مسماۃ بیبو کی شکست اور ہلاکت]:

The defeat of Mir Ahmed Khan Qanberani [میر احمد خان قنبرانی] "Khan of Qalat" [قلات] had bewildered and saddened his sister namely, Musammat Bibo [مسماۃ بیبو]. She was despondently in a state of shock on the devastation of her brother Mir Ahmed Khan Qanberani [میر احمد خان قنبرانی]. Musammat Bibo [مسماۃ بیبو] was although a traditional woman yet, she was gifted with the manly courage and resilience. She used to admonish her brother repeatedly and then, she had decided to spearhead the fight against Nawab Mirza Khan Panni [نواب مرزا خان پنّی]. She had planned to lead her lashker along-with a mammoth lashker of the Brohi [بروہی] and Baloch [بلوچ] tribes. Thus, she was able to reach the area of Beri [بیری] near Dahder [ڈھاڈر] via Derra Bolan [درۂ بولان]. Nawab Mirza Khan Panni" [نواب مرزا خان پنّی] had also organized a Panni lashker of Sevi [سیوی] according to a historian. He had marched also towards Dahder" [ڈھاڈر] and then there was a bloody battle and both sides had displayed their gallantry and chivalry. Musammat Bibo [مسماۃ بیبو] was killed however at Chuck-Jano [چک جانو] along-with her companions and Nawab Mirza Khan Panni [نواب مرزا خان پنّی] was able to return to Sibi [سبّی] all triumphant (***Haturam Page No.667***).

Events of the seventeenth battle [سترہویں جنگ کے واقعات]:

The entire area of River Indus which consisted of Kachi [کچی], Sibi [سبّی] and Shikarpur [شکارپور], these used to be under the control of the Panni nation in those days. Nawab Mirza Khan Panni [نواب مرزا خان پنّی] had opted to go to Shikarpur [شکارپور] after the abovementioned battle where he had appointed Raheem Khan Prang Panni [رحیم خان پڑنگ پنّی] as ruler of Sibi [سبّی] (*According to a historian*, "Az Taefa Panni [ازطائفہ پنّی]). Mir Ahmed Khan Qanberani [میر احمد خان قنبرانی], "Khan of Qalat" [قلات] and his son Mahrab Khan [محراب خان] had decided to take advantage of the opportunity and they had united the lashker of Rind Mugsi [رند مگسی] and Damki [دمکی] nations. Then, they had crossed Derra Bolan [درۂ بولان] and were able to destroy the people of Sibi [سبّی] at Tali [تلی]. When, Raheem Khan Prang Panni [رحیم خان پڑنگ پنّی] was able to learn about said incident, he had gathered the Panni lashker [جمع آوری پنّی لشکر] and thus he had halted the onward march of the enemy at Ard Khana Lono Maidan [اردخامہ لونی میدان] according to a historian. The lashkers from both sides had clashed against each other at "Narri Gorge" i.e. Derra [درۂ] near the mausoleum of Sheikh Qatay [شیخ کٹے] or Sheikh Qata [شیخ قطع]. (*Sheikh Qata* [شیخ قطع] *had also hailed from the Panni Tribe. He was author of a book in the Pashto language which was captioned as "Zerghon Pashtana*" [زرغون پشتانہ]. *The same was about the history of the ancient Pathans*). The "Narri Gorge" area was in the northwest about two miles from the Loni village (***Reference, Aziz Khan Loni*** [عزیز خان لونی] ***B.S.P resident of Sibi*** [سبّی]). The Panni lashker was defeated and Ahmed Khan [احمد خان] had come out all triumphant according to a historian. The subordinates of Raheem Khan Prang Panni [رحیم خان پڑنگ پنّی] namely, Syed Safa [سید صفاء], Syed Nabi [سید نبی] and Dolat Khan Panni [دولت خان پنّی] all three had died in said battle. Ahmed Khan [احمد خان] had opted therefore to go back to his area along-with his son. There were eighteen battles in fact which had taken place between the Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] rulers of Sibi [سبّی] and "Khan of Qalat" [قلات]. Khan of Qalat [قلات] was able to succeed in one battle only whereas the Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] were victorious in all the remaining seventeen battles according to Mullan Fazal [ملاں فاضل] and Akhund Mohammed Siddique [اخوند محمد صدیق] (***Reference "Aik Jung Yahi Jung Ho Gi"*** [ایک جنگ یہی جنگ ہو گی] ***Haturam Page No.180, 667, 668, Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.232 Reference, Tohfa-tul-Kiram*** [تحفۃ الکرام].

Eighteenth battle, raid against Qalat [اٹھارویں جنگ، قلات پریورش]:

When, Nawab Mirza Khan Panni [نواب مرزا خان پنّی] and his son Ahmed Khan [احمد خان] also known as "Bakhtiyar Khan" [بختیارخان] by virtue of his honorific title were able know about the abovementioned battle, they had organized a great lashker at Shikarpur [شکارپور] because they were based there at that time. They had launched then a raid against Qalat [قلات] which was the eighteenth and perhaps the last battle between the combatant tribes. When said lashker was marching on and was able to enter Qalat [قلات] area then "Khan of Qalat" [قلات] had witnessed the preparedness and the enthusiasm of the invaders and he had realized that victory was not possible even remotely in the battle. He had decided to initiate therefore the mediation process through Mir Zangi [میرزنگی] son of Qalander Raeesani [قلندررئیسانی] in order to resolve the differences amicably. Nawab Mirza Khan Panni [نواب مرزا خان پنّی] and his son of Mir Zangi [میرزنگی] had also agreed to settle the differences amicably and thus the representatives from both sides had reached a decision near a fountain at Qalat [قلات] which had revealed that, "Khan of Qalat" [قلات] was supposed to marry the daughter of his brother with Saeed Khan [سعید خان] who was brother of Nawab Mirza Khan Panni [نواب مرزا خان پنّی]. The said decision was duly complied and the lashker of the Panni Nawab had returned to Sibi [سبّی] thereafter (***Haturam Page No.180, Reference Akhund Mohammed Siddique*** [اخوند محمد صدیق] ***Page No.666, 668***). The said decision had not brought an end only to the malingering animosity between the two rival neighboring combatant tribes rather it had also resulted in the termination of a series of battles between them. The rivals had become relatives and they had opted to integrate peacefully for life. Mullan Fazal [ملاں فاضل] had described in a versified form the history of those eighteen battles which had taken place between the two sides. The said history was not published amazingly but there was a general perception that, there were two handwritten manuscripts of said versified history. Sardar Mohammed Khan Baro Zai Panni [سردار محمد خان باروزئی پنّی], the former speaker of the Baluchistan assembly and the former chief minister of Baluchistan, was supposedly the custodian of one manuscript. The second manuscript was available however with Sardar Baz Mohammed Khan [سرداربازمحمد خان] resident of Sanghan [سانگہاں]. Sardar Mohammed Khan Baro Zai Panni [سردار محمد خان باروزئی پنّی] had promised through one of his letters to provide sufficient information about the Baro Zai rulers but he never lived up to his promises however which was perhaps due to his multiple political commitments. We have already mentioned above that, he was supposed to have the weapons, swords and the shields etc. which were awarded to his ancestors by Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی]. We hope said collection and actual certificates were preserved well with his new generation.

Murder of the Lords [امراء کا قتل]:

Nawab Mirza Khan Panni [نواب مرزا خان پنّی] had suffered from a deadly disease after sometime. He had probably realized at that time that his son Ahmed Khan [احمد خان] (Bakhtiyar Khan [بختیار خان]) was likely to face some problems after his death. *Idée reçue* he had got all his Sardars arrested one by one who were likely to create problems for his son according to his cynical approach. Then, he had got them murdered one by one right in front of his eyes. The general public was already sick of both father and son, according to the various books of history, and no sooner Nawab Mirza Khan Panni [نواب مرزا خان پنّی] had died, the public had rallied in throngs against Ahmed Khan [احمد خان]. They had created such conditions that Ahmed Khan [احمد خان] was left with no other option but, to escape from his center i.e. Sibi [سبّی] to Shikarpur [شکارپور]. There he had to seek refuge from Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.196***). *The detail of said escape will be given, later*. There were some people who were of the view that, Raees Bahader Khan Sani [رئیس بہادرخان ثانی] of the Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe, who had laid the foundation of Shikarpur [شکارپور] according to a historian, was able to acquire some land from "Mirza Khan Afghan Panni" [مرزا خان افغان پنّی] (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.113***).

Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] Title: Bakhtiyar Khan [بختیار خان]:

We have mentioned above that the Durbar of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had bestowed formally the hereditary title of "Nawab" [نواب] after his death, upon his son namely, Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی]. He was also accorded the title as Bakhtiyar Khan [بختیار خان] besides the honorific title as "Nawab" [نواب]. Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] was a brave and a courageous person. He had spent his life in adventures and in the thrill games. He had declared himself ultimately as the autonomous ruler of Sibi [سبّی] in 1114 Hegira (1704 A.C). He had died near the city while he was fighting against Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] who was the grandson of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. He was the Governor of Multan at that time (***Haturam Page No.668***).

Rivalry against the Daod Puttar tribe [داؤدپوتروں سے مخاصمت]:

There were some other events according to which the row and revolts were order of the day in the far flung areas, in the vast Empire of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. The Emperor had delegated the powers therefore to the local Nawabs and Jagirdars. He had appointed also his own governors and they used to keep the center fully informed with regard to the conditions at the local level. They used to maintain peace and order whereas he had appointed his grandson the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] in this regard as a Nazim. Multan was the capital of Baluchistan at that time. The Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] and Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had such intimate relations that, the Prince used to address Nawab as his brother (***Haturam Page No.180 Reference Akhund Mohammed Siddique*** [اخوند محمد صدیق]). We have already mentioned that, Nawab had many rivals therefore he had escaped from his center i.e. Sibi [سبّی] and he had sought refuge with Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe in Shikarpur [شکارپور] area. The Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe had also very friendly relations with Nawab. When, he was up against the odds they were all out to provide him necessary help besides, extending their general hospitality. Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had moved out from Shikarpur [شکارپور] to a place which was known as "Bakhtiyar Pur" [بختیار پور] which was probably established by his father. The Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe had agreed to share also half of their revenue proceeds with him. Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had received a royal proclamation in the meantime and he was appointed as Nazim of Sewistan [سیوستان] at which post, his father was appointed previously. Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had received said proclamation and had brought a revolutionary change in his general behavior. He had not planned to settle only the account with his rivals in the wake of his changed mindset but, he had planned simultaneously to side line the Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe which was due to the fact that, he was not ready to tolerate their powerful parallel position as a checkmate on his authority. He had decided to curtail them by default as their parallel strong position was also likely to attract the royal Durbar for delegation of power and authority for said area in future (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.197***).

Conciliatory efforts by Sheikh Hamid Gunj Bux [شیخ حامد گنج بخش کی مصالحانہ کوششیں]:

There was one offshoot from amongst the descendants of Hazerat Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jelani [حضرت شیخ عبدالقادر جیلانیؒ] who were based in the Utch [اُچ] area. The same was that period when,

Sheikh Hamid Gunj Qadir [شیخ حامد گنج قادری] was seated as a religious peer and the Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe had started revering him religiously. Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had a great respect for him as well. When, Sheikh Hamid Gunj Qadri [شیخ حامد گنج قادری] was able to learn that a polarized rivalry had cropped up between his two devotes then, he had travelled from Utch [اُچ] to Sindh to intervene personally and he had initiated the reconciliatory efforts between the two rivals in this regard. There was a general perception that, Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had refused to accept any proposal from Sheikh Hamid Gunj Qadri [شیخ حامد گنج قادری] and then, Sheikh Hamid Gunj Qadri [شیخ حامد گنج قادری] had no other option pursuant to the same than to go back all dismayed and disappointed (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.197-198***).

Strategy of the son of the Nawab [نواب کے بیٹے کی حکمتِ عملی]:

The tension had reached a very critical stage between the rival groups with the passage of time. The Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe had also assessed the situation accordingly. They had decided to move therefore to some other place in order to avert the major clash. They had left the Thathi [ٹھٹی] area and they had moved to the Meran Shah [میران شاہ] area which was under the control of Jahan Khan Panni [جہان خان پنّی] son of Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی]. Jahan Khan Panni [جہان خان پنّی] had lived very amicably with the Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe unlike his father. He had also parted with a chunk of land and he had handed it over to Pannu Khan [پنّوں خان]. He was the Sardar of Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe. Jahan Khan had also built a fort subsequently which had acquired the recognition as "Qala Pannu Khan" [قلعہ پنّوں خان] which was the place known as Mirpur [میر پور] in the state of Khayerpur [خیرپور]. The respect and honor, which Jahan Khan Panni [جہان خان پنّی] had accorded to the Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe, was not without any particular purpose and latent objective. The factual position was that there was a tribe in his neighborhood which was known as "Daher" [ڈھر] and they were deadly against him. Amir Mohammed Mubarak Khan Daod Puttar [امیر محمد مبارک خان داؤد پوتر], who was probably the Sardar of his tribe, had approached the Qala Pannu Khan [قلعہ پنّوں خان] area with all the pomp and show after some time along-with his family as well as, with some other tribal people. Jahan Khan Panni [جہان خان پنّی] had decided to settle his rivalry against the Daher [ڈھر] tribe at that point of time probably and he had decided to rid himself of them in collaboration with Amir Mohammed Mubarak Khan Daod Puttar [امیر محمد مبارک خان داؤد پوتر]. Amir had also endorsed his

plan in this regard. Then, the preparations were set afloat for a big battle against Daher [ڈھر] people in Obarra [اوباڑہ]. The people of the Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe were also all out in this regard, in the support of Jahan Khan Panni [جہان خان پنّی]. Then, there was a battle ultimately and the "Daher" [ڈھر] nation was annihilated completely which had brought a sense of relief to Jahan Khan Panni [جہان خان پنّی]. The Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe besides annihilating the "Daher" [ڈھر] people was also able to break the back of the Laghari Syed [لغاری سید] tribe (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.112, 198, 201***).

Objective of the Daod Puttar Tribe [داؤد پوتر کا مقصد]"

The support of the Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe for Jahan Khan Panni [جہان خان پنّی] was not without any latent objectives as mentioned above. They had a very well hatched plan. They had counter balanced as a matter of fact, the traditionally brewing grudge by extending said support. They had harbored it against Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی], who was father of Jahan Khan Panni [جہان خان پنّی] whereas their noble intentions were nonetheless to swap the bickering rivalry with permanent peace. They were desirous to see Jahan Khan Panni [جہان خان پنّی] assuming the role of a mediator and thus, satisfy the grudge of his father but same had proved to be nothing more than a good hope only. When, they were disappointed by Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] completely with regard to the fulfillment of their objectives then, they had no other option but to approach the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] who was appointed by the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] as the Nazim of Multan. They had brought the complexity of the situation in his notice because it had made their life miserable in Shikarpur [شکارپور]. Amir Mohammed Mubarak Khan Daod Puttar [امیر محمد مبارک خان داؤد پوتر] had landed in the capital Multan therefore in the beginning of Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1113 Hegira (August 1701 A.C) along-with his relatives and three hundred servants. The objective was to inform the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] about their grievances (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.202***).

Sympathy of Muez-ud-Din with the Daod Puttar people [داؤد پوتروں سے معزالدین کی ہمدردی]:

The Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe had also reached Multan whereas Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had to approach the advisors of the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین]

through different means and sources in order to ensure their face-saving. The situation was not very difficult however for an official of the Nazim with regard to winning over the courtiers of the Prince. We may also point out that, Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] was the Nazim of Sewistan [سیوستان] at that time and by virtue of said advantageous position, the importunate demands of the Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe were not given due consideration. There was a mutiny by chance however against the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] which had taken place in Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان]. The said mutiny had provided an opportunity to the Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe to win the heart of the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین]. Thus, they were able to win over the sympathies of the Prince by virtue of their all out support to suppress said mutiny. The Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe after proving their loyalties was also able to give a political defeat to Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.202, 203***). There were three different versions with regard to the tactics which the Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe had adopted.

First version regarding the death of the Nawab [نواب کی ہلاکت کے متعلق پہلی روایت]:

The Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe was able to make room in the heart of the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] and their timely support to him had also provided them an opportunity to vent out the grievances against Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی]. Since, the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] was pleased with their efforts therefore he had also given a patient hearing to their grievances. The gist of their grievances was that, Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] was likely to withdraw his allegiance to the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. They were able to convince the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] even to the extent that, the proper censure of Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] was an essential service for both temporal and religious purposes. The said stance had worked very well in their favor. Then, the Prince had moved out from Multan for Sindh with a lashker to censure Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی]. When, he was just two miles away from Shikarpur [شکارپور] a delegation of some leading personalities representing Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had approached him. The Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe had made a clandestine move against Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] at that time. They had foiled the efforts of said delegation as a matter of fact with regard to conducting a meeting with the Prince. When, Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had realized that, his efforts to resolve the issue amicably

were not yielding results, he had decided to face the Prince upfront. Thus, the battlefield was arranged and the Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] people had fought side by side with the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] against the Panni people and thus they were able to pacify their grudge. The battle had taken place in 1114 Hegira (1704 A.C). Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had also fought with all the ferociousness and bravery but it had brought a defeat for the Panni people. Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] was also killed and his dead body was chopped into four pieces under the instruction of the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین]. Then, each piece was sent to Shikarpur [شکارپور], Bakhtiyarpur [بختیارپور], Khanpur [خان پور] and Bhaker [بھکر] respectively for public display (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.204***). The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had awarded a Khilat [خلعت] (*Robe*) officially to the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] along-with a congratulatory Royal Farman on said achievement (***Gazetteer Sibi*** [سّبی] ***Page No.25***). The irony of the fate was that when the dead body of Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] was chopped into four pieces and an exemplary precedent was set then exactly at the same time, the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had sought assistance from another son of the Panni nation namely, Wazir Jung Daod Khan Panni [وزیر جنگ داؤد خان پنّی] to lay a very challenging and metal testing siege in the northern area of the Subcontinent, at Bijapur [بیجاپور]. The message of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had contained the words, as [اے کس بیکساں، داؤد خان، ذود خودرابرساں]. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had sent a hand written epistle as a matter of fact to Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] for the aforementioned help and assistance, according to some historians.

Second version [دوسری روایت]:

The second version, in the context of aforementioned incident, was that all what had transpired later and which had culminated in the massive killing was triggered due to a very fatal mistake of Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی]. *Idée reçue*, Nawab had kidnapped in fact a girl of his relative who was a known as "Malik". The girl was engaged with the nephew of the Nawab. Malik and his nephew were at Shikarpur [شکارپور] at that time. They were very perturbed when, they were able to learn about the incident on their way back. Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had tried to settle the issue through negotiations but Malik and his nephew were set to go to Multan after sometime at the instigation of other people to seek the direct intervention

and mediation of the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین]. They had also sent a message to Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی]. Then, the Prince had made a declaration pursuant to the same for the return of the girl to her father or else he had to face the severance of friendly relationship. He had also informed him that if Malik was constrained to go to Delhi for relief in case of non-compliance of his orders then, the order from the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was bound to be complied with in letter and spirit. He had also warned him categorically with regard to the eventual likelihood of consequences if the royal decree was allowed to be executed. Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had failed to assess right the suggestion of the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین]. Malik was left with no other option but to go to Delhi resultantly to seek justice. The Prince had requested Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] even a second time to adopt the right course of action but *Idée reçue* Nawab had not only refused to budge an inch from his stance rather he had used abusive language against the Prince. He had also declared the autonomous status for his state simultaneously. The Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] had started his march in the wake of said situation towards Shikarpur [شکارپور] to retaliate with the assistance of the royal army. Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had also decided to face him upfront. Then, there was a bloody battle and resultantly the Nawab was killed. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر], pursuant to the same, was pleased to award the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] a Khilat [خلعت] (*Robe*) and a decorated Paish Qabaz [مرصع پیش قبض] along-with the royal certificate of congratulation (***Haturam, Reference, Akhund Mohammed Siddique, Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.205***).

Third version [تیسری روایت]:

There was a third narrative in the same context that Mian Yar Mohammed Kalhorra [میاں یار محمد کلہوڑہ] had sought refuge in Qalat [قلات] in 1111 Hegira (1700 A.C) while fighting against the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] and according to some historians he was already based there at that time. Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] was able to occupy all the lands of Mian [میاں] during that time and when Mian Yar Mohammed Kalhorra [میاں یار محمد کلہوڑہ] had returned to Sindh after two years he was able to take back Shikarpur [شکارپور], Khari [کھاری] and Kundyaro [کُنڈیارو] from the Nawab. He had also taken away the area of Larrkana [لاڑکانہ] in the same process from his nephew namely, Malik Allah Bux [ملک اللہ بخش] (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1***

Page No.212). Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had sent a missive to the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] in the wake of said usurpation and he had declared that the act of Mian Yar Mohammed Kalhorra [میاں یار محمد کلہوڑہ] had amounted to be a revolt and he had sought help to curb said revolt. The Prince was also ready with his troops but somehow or the other Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had changed his mind and he had stopped the Prince through another missive. He had sent said missive on the hunch probably that the Prince was moving out at the instigation of the Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] people or perhaps he was under the impression that, if the Prince had decided to take up the case of the relative whose girl he had kidnapped, it was likely to invite a social disrepute for him. Whatever was the reason, the second missive had created the doubts in the mind of the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] and was very infuriating for him. He was so perturbed that he had decided to sort-out Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] in any manner. Then, there was a battle between the two sides and the Nawab was killed during said battle, as already mentioned above (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.213)***. The said incident was quoted in **"**Tareekh Sindh" [تاریخ سندھ] as per "Tohfa-tul-Kiram" [تحفۃ الکرام]. The people of the Daod Puttar [داؤد پوتر] tribe and the Kalhorra [کلہوڑہ] tribe had heaved a sigh of relief on the death of Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] which had provided them an opportunity to look for a place of permanent abode.

An interesting incident [ایک دلچسب واقعہ]:

There was a very interesting incident with regard to Nawab Ahmed Khan Baro Zai Panni [نواب احمد خان باروزئی پنّی] which was quoted in various books of history. *Idée reçue* Nawab Ahmed Khan [نواب احمد خان] had prepared a lashker of his tribe at some point of time and they had looted the goods in the area of Bahawalpur [بہاولپور] at Utch [اُچ] which were loaded on the camels of Pir Gunj Bux Qadri [پیرگنج بخش قادری]. Then, Pir Sahib had sent his advocate to Nawab Ahmed Khan [نواب احمد خان] for the return of his camels. Nawab had returned all the camels except one. Pir Sahib was so perturbed on said ill grace that he had cursed him even to the extent that, "God May place the dead body of Nawab on the camel which he had withheld". *Idée reçue* when Nawab Ahmed Khan Baro Zai Panni [نواب احمد خان باروزئی پنّی] was killed while fighting against the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] his dead body was brought on the back of the same camel. Utch [اُچ] is located across the river and the location is parallel with Rajanpur [راجن پور]. Sibi [سّبی] is in the west and was predominantly the area of the Panni people, until recently. The

aforementioned fact had explained that when Nawab Ahmed Khan Baro Zai Panni [نواب احمد خان باروزئی پنّی] had attacked the Utch [اُچ] area then the mountainous area in between Sibi [سبّی] and Rajanpur [راجن پور] was also under his control. The Baro Zai or Panni" [باروزئی یا پنّی] had brought the lashker supposedly from the same route to the Utch [اُچ] area according to the analysis of a historian (***Haturam Page No.668***).

Fate of the descendants of the Nawab [نواب کی اولاد کا حشر]:

The two sons of Nawab Ahmed Khan Baro Zai Panni [نواب احمد خان باروزئی پنّی] were imprisoned in Multan after his death according to some reliable sources whereas according to **"**Tareekh Sindh" [تاریخ سندھ] with reference to the handwritten script which was known as "Norus Bahar" [نورس بہار] of Mollana Rasool Bux Mehr [مولانا غلام رسول مہر] his both sons were imprisoned during the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. They had remained in captivity for a good length of time. They had tried their release through their lawyer and they were hopeful to repossess their ancestral hereditary title as "Nawab" as well. The people had suffered so much under Nawab Ahmed Khan Baro Zai Panni [نواب احمد خان باروزئی پنّی] that nobody was ready to accept his sons as Nawab(s). Mollana Rasool Bux Mehr [مولانا غلام رسول مہر] had expressed his views further that, one of his sons had settled down in Mandha [مندھا] in Koh Seyah [کوہ سیاہ] after getting out of imprisonment. He used to request the people for help but he was never successful in regaining his lost recognition. There was no record of actual date but the land ownership of Bhaker [بھکر] as well as in Hindustan was also awarded to Yar Mohammed Khan [یار محمد خان] after some time. He was also addressed as Khudayar Khan [مخاطب بہ خدایار خان] instead of Panni Nawab (***Volume No.1 Page No.216***). Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had died in 1118 A.C.

Struggle to reestablish the reign [بحالئ اقتدار کے لیئے جدوجہد]:

We agree with the view that sons of Nawab Ahmed Khan Baro Zai Panni [نواب احمد خان باروزئی پنّی] had lost their image and was also due to the fact that, Sibi [سبّی] and Dahder [ڈھاڈر] were under the occupation of Mian Yar Mohammed Kalhorra [میاں یار محمد کلہوڑہ] but one of the statements of Mian [میاں] had confirmed the fact that, Sibi [سبّی] and Dahder [ڈھاڈر] had drifted under the control of the Panni people after sometime. When, the people of the Kalhorra [کلہوڑہ]

tribe had ravaged the outskirts of the Sibi [سبّی] area then the Panni people had made them runaway from the area. The following statement from "Tohfa-tul-Kiram" [تحفۃ الکرام] had also confirmed the same:

> "Mian Yar Mohammed Kalhorra [میاں یار محمد کلہوڑہ] had appointed his brother Mir Mohammed Khan [میر محمد خان] initially to safeguard the Sibi [سبّی] area and he had assigned said job to his son namely, Mohammed Daod [محمد داؤد] subsequently. There was one occasion when Raheem Khan Perang Panni [رحیم خان پرانگ پنّی] and Dolat Khan Panni [دولت خان پنّی] had created a row and they were subjected to harsh punishment for doing the same"

Mian Yar Mohammed Kalhorra [میاں یار محمد کلہوڑہ] had passed a frank remark in this regard in one of his letters with regard to the struggle of the Panni people. He had called it "as a curse" and he had made an admission to have lost Sibi [سبّی] and Dahder [ڈھاڈر]. He had expressed his views in the manner, as below:

> "I had sent my son to safeguard the frontier of Derrajat [درہ جات] (*Clefts*) but a sudden spread of the common fever had overwhelmed the Sibi [سبّی] area somewhat like the spread of pestilence which had made everyone unsafe. My son had also suffered from fever and when the situation had worsened dangerously he was left with no other option but to return. He was on his way when Raheem [رحیم] and Yusuf [یوسف] along-with others had joined hands with Afghans. Then, there was an encounter at midnight. They had climbed up the wooden ladder and then they had landed into Qala Sibi [قلعہ سبّی]. Our guards who were posted at the fort they had failed to fight properly because of fever and thus they had lost the control of fort. We had lost also the custody of Qala Dahder [قلعہ ڈھاڈر] in a similar manner. I had sent my other son with a battery of fighters to curb the Afghan insurrection. He had besieged Qala Dahder [قلعہ ڈھاڈر] initially then there was a fierce battle and there were twelve people who had died. My son had also received wounds whereas necks of his two horses were also wounded. There were about seventy people who had received wounds. There were about twenty horses which were killed or were injured. Raheem [رحیم] and Yusuf [یوسف] and his brother namely, Gohr [گوہر] and Panjo [پنجو], who was Sardar of the Afghans, were killed along-with their companions.

When the situation had culminated into a particular standoff then Sabzi Khan [سبزی خان] and Dolat Khan Panni [دولت خان پنی] had requested for protection and with the same the battle had come to an end. They had managed their escape in the darkness of the night but they were chased down and their many friends were put to the sword during the run and chase. We were able to regain however the control of both the forts by the grace of God. Those who were able to escape they had sought refuge in Koh Sangh Mandah Mountain [کوہ سنگ مندھا]. We were all set to strike said sanctuary for a comprehensive censure of culprits" (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.232-233).***

Further details [مزید تفصیلات]:

The details of the struggle between the Panni Pathans and the Kalhorra [کلہوڑہ] tribe were mentioned in another letter which was a source of valuable information for historians with regard to said combatant nation. The gist of the same was in the manner, as below:

"The incident of Raheem [رحیم] and Yusuf [یوسف] had taken place when Mirwais Ghalzai [میرویس غلزئی] had murdered Ghurgeen [گرگین] in Kandhar [قندھار]. The historians had differed with regard to the date of said incident. Ghurgeen [گرگین] was killed in Zeqad [ذیقعد] 1119 Hegira (January 1708 AC) according to a research whereas Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had died in 1118 A.C. The Panni people had recaptured Qala Sibi [قلعہ سبّی] and Qala Dahder [قلعہ ڈھاڈر] on 14th Zil Hajj [ذی الحج] 1119 Hegira (25th February 1708 A.C) in accordance with the statement of Mian Yar Mohammed Kalhorra [میاں یار محمد کلہوڑہ]. The other son of Mian Sahib had landed in Moza Khaie [موضع کھائی] on 9th Moherram-ul-Haram 1120 Hegira (20th March 1708 A.C) which was about four Kos [کوس] away from Dahder [ڈھاڈر]. He had spent 10th and 11th day of Moherram [محرم] in said Moza Khaie [موضع کھائی]. Then, he had raided Dahder [ڈھاڈر] on 12th Moherram [محرم] (13th March) for which he had dug out trenches at five different points. Raheem Khan Parang Panni [رحیم خان پرانگ پنّی] and on 18th Moherram [محرم] (25th March) Dolat Khan Panni [دولت خان پنّی] had brought out into battlefield, about one thousand five hundred individuals along-with cannons. They were across the canyon which was very deep. The depth was not less than four men standing on each other i.e. from twenty to twenty two feet. They had shot the cannonballs at each other for some time then, they had

grappled with each other physically. Raheem Khan Parang Panni [رحیم خان پرانگ پنّی] Yusuf Khan [یوسف خان] and Panjo [پنجو] along-with nine companions were killed in the battlefield. The rest of them had managed to escape into the fort once again. Our troops had moved to Sibi [سبّی] because Sabzi Khan [سبزی خان] was there. He was also able to escape but his about two hundred companions were killed. Our people had focused their attention on Qala Dahder [قلعہ ڈھاڈر] after recapturing Qala Sibi [قلعہ سبّی]. The occupants of Qala [قلعہ] had requested for peace and protection. They were directed only to disappear and save their lives after surrendering the weapons and horses along-with goods which they had plundered" (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.233-235).*** There was a cluster of trees in a ditch on one side of Dahder [قلعہ ڈھاڈر]. They had assembled amidst said cluster on 21st Moherram [محرم] (1st April) and as soon as, the first part of the night was over, they had decided to escape but our people had come to know about their plan. Then all of a sudden, there was a very heavy storm which had made the visibility so poor that it had become impossible to distinguish between the friend and foe. There was however one hundred people of the enemy approximately. Then, both forts were recaptured in the backdrop of said situation but after thirty seven days (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.236).***

Short poem of Mir Abdul Khalil [میر عبدالجلیل کا قطعہ]:

Mir Abdul Jalil Belgrami [میر عبدالجلیل بلگرامی] had written a short poem in the Persian language with regard to abovementioned battles. He had praised the Kalhorra [کلہوڑہ] people and he had criticized the Panni people in the manner, as below:

Leader of every wicked and profane	رئیسِ تمرد سگلانِ مُفسد
Raheem was ill-fated, hell was his gain	رحیم رجیم و لئیم سُبک سَر
Through intrigues of rouges, in mountain	الواسات کوہی بخود جمع کردہ
Deceptively he had Sevi, Dahder's reign	گرفت از دغا حصنِ سیوی وڈھاڈر
No sooner, Khudayar Khan was informed	خدایار خان چوں بریں مطلع شد
Like a lion ferociously he had announced	بَرآشُفقت مانندِ ببرو غضنفر
Son of Daod pledges and makes avow	

The victory belongs to him now	بفرمود فرزندِ داؤد خودرا
On that prognosis, his heart had relied	کہ ایں فتح گرددبدستت میسر
Daod had dominated mountain when vied	تفاؤل گرفتیم از مصحفِ دل
All buckled-up was ready the son of Daod	کہ داؤد را کوہ گردد مسخر
With a brave army to play the big round	کمر بست داؤد بر حکمِ والد
Everyone in his army was like a wrestler	رواں شد بہ فوجِ دلیرودلاور
They had tasted blood of enemy with fervor	چہ فوجے کہ ہر یک از آں پہلواناں
Raheem's Afghan army also formed a rally	نہنگے ست از خونِ اعدا شناور
He too had amassed big support gradually	رحیم عددیگرفوج افغاں
The enemy had appeared to be an iron wall	برآمدزحصنِ برآں صف برابر
Equipped with armor and with high morale	اعادی ستاوند چوں سدِآہن
Foe must know if deity is kind to bestow gift	وسَرتابہ پا ہر ہمہ غرق بکتر
Then, iron becomes wax in David's fist	ندانست دُشمن کہ از فضلِ ایزد
They had moved together like a squad	زداؤد آہن شود موم پیکر
Like leaves to scatter foe was their reward	جلوریزدارندزیر صف آں
They had struggled to move here and there	وازہم وا شُدآں صف چُوں اوراق ابتر
Same had opened the eyes of stars to stare	باطراف بیرق چناں شد کشاکش
They had lunged and had swayed their foe	کہ کم دید رَزمے چُنیں چشمِ اختر
As if they had killed fish without woe	زرہ بر عدوبود چُوں چشمہ ساراں
Minds of foe insultingly they did overwhelm	چُوں ماہی درُدسیرمی کرد خنجر
They dazzled their towering foe to lose helm	زبس دشنہ جاکردرمغزِ اعدا
Hearts of Ghalzais were like a snake in strife	سردُشمناں شُد چُو برجِ فروتر
Kakerrs heads were a snake battling for life	دلِ غلزیاں طعمۂ مار نایحغ
Daod was enemy killer finally like a lion	سر کاکڑاں کفچۂ مارشش بَر
He had killed a big insurrection and was fine	درآخرازداؤد شیرِعدوکُش
Veterans had ripped the Afghan army apart	چوحلوت شد کشتہ آں خرس اکبر
Through strokes of sword they did thwart	دلیراں درید نہ افواج افغاں
They had brought bigotry to kneel	بہ محرابِ شمشیر ہر یک دلیرے
Like to a lion, donkeys herd appeal	بسے سجدہ کردند سرہا مکر
They had killed evil and behind they had left	چو شیرے کہ برہم درد گلۂ خَر
Like Alexander who had left all bereft	زبس کشتہا آں قدر پشتہا شُد

They had broken the sinew of their foe	کہ بستند برفتنہ سدِ سکندر
Foe was autumn leaf which moves to and fro	بپا سِید شیرازۂ فوجِ دشمن
With the grace of God safe and sound	چو برگ خزاں دیدہ ازباد صَرصَر
Daod as a winner was back after a big round	بفضلِ الہی و اقبال شاہی
World had the chance to celebrate victory	دلیرانہ داؤد آمد مُظفر
Which was owed to Daod's chivalry	دل ازمژدۂ فتح درشُد جہاں را
For years history was supposed to celebrate	زداؤدایں فتح آمد میسر
Hearts and minds were to behold and narrate	پئے سال و تاریخ ایں فتح یکتا
Raheem had died, death of a vanquished	زمن کرد درخواست، مردِ سُخنور
Sevi, Dahder tale, Daod had thus finished	گزشت از سرِ جاں رحیم بگفتم
	زداؤد شدفتح سیوی وڈھاڈر

(***Tareekh Sindh*** [تاریخ سندھ] ***Page No.236***).

There were 1123 numbers made out from the last stanza and if three numbers were omitted from the word "Ser Jan" [سر جاں] i.e. [ج] then, the remaining numbers were supposed to be 1120 (1708 A.C) (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.236, 237 and 238, Reference, Tohfa-tul-Kiram*** [تحفۃ الکرام]). Mian Yar Mohammed Kalhorra [میاں یار محمد کلہوڑہ] had already taken back Shikarpur [شکارپور], Khari [کھاری] and Kundyaro [کُنڈیارو] from the Panni people who were headed by Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی]. He had also taken away the area of Larrkana [لاڑکانہ] from his nephew namely, Malik Allah Bux [ملک اللہ بخش] (***Mehr*** [مہر] ***Volume No.1 Page No.212)***. There was a reference in "Tohfa-tul-Kiram" [تحفۃ الکرام] and according to the same the dispute of Mian Yar Mohammed Kalhorra [میاں یار محمد کلہوڑہ] was with the Panni people of Sevi [سیوی] and Shikarpur [شکارپور] only (***Translation 324***).

The study of abovementioned events had brought forth the general assessment with regard to the resilience, steadfastness, defense and gallantry of the Panni Pathans which had also proved that, the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] was able to kill Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] and then he had assigned his entire area to the Kalhorra [کلہوڑہ] tribe after chopping his body into four pieces and hanging each piece in four different cities for public display. The Panni people notwithstanding the same were able to retain power for four years i.e. till 1120 Hegira. What needed to be examined further was that how they had withstood the torrents of time. The

analysis of those events had rendered the answer negatively with regard to the fact that, the Panni nation had lost the Sibi [سبّی] and Dahder [ڈھاڈر] areas in practical terms just two years after the death of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. He had died in 1118 A.C.

SARDAR MOHAMMED SAEED KHAN PANNI

[سردار محمد سعید خان پنّی]

Warfare of the Nawab and Death [نواب کا جنگ وجدل اور ہلاکت]:

The history was quiet with regard to the period which was subsequent to the downfall of Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] and his sons. When the Kalhorra [کلہوڑہ] tribe was able to take away the Sibi [سبّی] and Dahder [ڈھاڈر] area from Raheem Khan Parang Panni [رحیم خان پرانگ پنّی] in 1739 A.C (1156 Hegira) then Sardar Mohammed Saeed Khan Panni [سردار محمد سعید خان پنّی] had emerged as a ruler of Sibi [سبّی]. The said Sardar was the brother of Sardar Nawab Hezzar Khan Panni [سردار نواب ہزار خان پنّی] supposedly who had solemnized the Nikah with the daughter of Nawab Muhabat Khan [نواب محبت خان] Wali Qalat [والئ قلات] (***Haturam Page No.668***) which was the period when the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین] was killed by Farukh Ser in 1713 A.C (1125 Hegira) after the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] in 1118 Hegira. The descendants of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had to experience the moves of the nihilists as well. The historian Haturam had described the power acquiring phase by Sardar Mohammed Saeed Khan Panni [سردار محمد سعید خان پنّی] in the manner, as below:

> "The Kalhorra [کلہوڑہ] tribe, which had originated from Sindh and had occupied Kachi [کچھی], Dahder [ڈھاڈر], Sevi [سیوی], Sanghan [سانگہاں], Badera [بادرہ] and Kut Mundhaie [کٹ منڈھائی]. Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] was also under their control at one point of time. The Kalhorra [کلہوڑہ] tribe had also ruled those areas for sometime but when Nadir Shah [نادرشاہ] had granted the area of Kachi [کچھی] to Mir Muhabat Khan [میر محبت خان] as a reward for the murder of Amir Abdullah Khan Ahmed Zai [امیر عبداللہ خان احمد زئی] then, Naseer Khan [نصیر خان] had lost the grip over the Kalhorra [کلہوڑہ] tribe after deposing Mian Yar Mohammed Kalhorra [میاں یار محمد کلہوڑہ]. The Panni nation had

captured Sevi [سیوی] and Sanghan [سانگہاں] under the leadership of a Baro Zai Sardar. The said area was predominantly under their control until lately" (***Page No.665***).

Nadir Shah Afshar [نادرشاہ افشار] had attacked Hindustan in 1739 A.C (1152 Hegira) at the peak of his reign. Mohammed Shah [محمد شاہ] was the ruler of Delhi in those days. Sardar Mohammed Saeed Khan Panni [سردار محمد سعید خان پنّی] had rendered excellent services at that time on behalf of Nadir Shah Afshar [نادرشاہ افشار] in the area up to Baj [بج], Baghlan [باغلاں], Ghori [غوری] and Qundoos [قندوس]. There were some Panni people who had accompanied him up to Delhi according to Mullan Fazli [ملاں فاضلی] and resultantly, Nadir Shah Afshar [نادرشاہ افشار] was very pleased. The murder of Nadir Shah Afshar [نادرشاہ افشار] had weakened the government of Khurasan [خراسان] which *coup d'etat* had resulted in a civil war. The Hasni [حَسنی] tribes of Kohistan [کوہستان] had also started showing their latent aspirations pursuant to those disturbances. They had amassed a great lashker at Tali [تلی] in connivance with the people of Sibi [سبّی]. The Panni Sardars of said period namely, Sardar Mohammed Saeed Khan Panni [سردار محمد سعید خان پنّی] and his son Ahmed Yar Khan Panni [احمد یار خان پنّی], who were known for their bravery, had collaborated with the Khajak [خجک], Safi [صافی], Loni [لُونی], Abdullah Khail [عبدﷲ خیل], Perani [پیرانی], Merzai [مرزئی], Merghzani [مرغزانی] and Dawaie [داوئ] tribes of the Panni nation pursuant to said situation. The other tribes like Ghulam Bolak [غلام بولک], Jatbani [جاتبانی], Hanbi [ہانبی] and Chacherr [چاچڑ] etc. along-with the other nations of Badera [بادرہ] and Kut Mundhaie [کٹ منڈھائی] had fought bloody battles against the Hadni [حَسنی] tribes as well as, against Sardar Mohammed Saeed Khan Panni [سردار محمد سعید خان پنّی]. He had some brave confidants like Ghani Khan [غنی خان], Yahya Khan [یحیی' خان], Merghzani Panni [مرغزانی پنّی], Bahader Khan Khajak Panni [بہادر خان خجک پنّی], Blund Khan [بلند خان], Abdullah Khail Khan Panni [عبدﷲ خیل پنّی] and Madat Khan Ghulam Bolak [مدت خان غلام بولک] etc. (***Haturam Page No.670, 672***). Those fights had resulted in weakening the strength of the Panni nation and as a consequence thereof the Talpur [تالپور] people were able to expand their governance up to Sindh. The Hasni [حَسنی] tribes had revolted in the wake of said situation in the Kohistani [کوہستانی] areas. The Badera [بادرہ] and Kut Mundhaie [کٹ منڈھائی] area(s), which was under the control of the Panni people since long, had resultantly drifted under the control of the Murree nation [مری قوم] (***Haturam Page No.671***).

Baluchistan under the control of Khurasan [بلوچستان خراسان کے ماتحت چلا گیا]:

Nadir Shah Afshar [نادرشاہ افشار] had although restored the rule of Delhi on his return from Hindustan to Mohammed Shah Badshah [محمد شاہ بادشاہ] yet, he was able to bring it under the control of Khurasan [خراسان] along-with the entire area of western Sindh (***Haturam Page No.669***). The Panni rulers were either from the Sibi [سبّی] area or they were also from some other areas, they all had to accept the control of either Khurasan [خراسان] or Kandahar [قندھار]. They were practically delinked however from Delhi and had openly resorted to capture the Sibi [سبّی] and Sanghan [سانگہاں] areas after the death of Nadir Shah Afshar [نادرشاہ افشار] (***Gazetteer Sibi*** [سبّی] ***Page No.26***).

Nawab Ismaeel Khan Panni known as Bakhtiyar Khan [نواب اسمعیل خان پنّی اہمعروف بہ بختیار خان]:

With Ahmed Shah Abdali, in Delhi [احمدشاہ ابدالی کے ساتھ دہلی میں]:

Nawab Ismaeel Khan Panni [نواب اسما عیل خان پنّی] was the one who had captured the Sibi [سبّی] and Sanghan [سانگہاں] areas after the death of Sardar Mohammed Saeed Khan Panni [سردار محمد سعید خان پنّی]. He had established his rule on Hernie [ہرنائی] and Thal Jotiyali [تھل جوٹیالی]. Ahmed Shah Durrani had also acknowledged his rule formally. When, *idée reçue* the existing city of Dera Ismaeel Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان] was initially destroyed by the river water then Sardar Mohammed Saeed Khan Panni [سردار محمد سعید خان پنّی] was the one who had reconstructed the same slightly away from the old watercourse (***Gazetteer Sibi*** [سبّی] ***Page No.22, 26***). The history of said Nawab or even the date of his assuming the rule was unavailable. There was one fact however that when Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] had attacked Hindustan for the first time in 1747 A.C then, said Nawab had accompanied him to Delhi. He was among the confidants of Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] as a matter of fact and accompanying him was the evidence of his intimate relationship with Shah [شاہ]. When, Nawab Ismaeel Khan Panni [نواب اسما عیل خان پنّی] had taken control of Sibi [سبّی] and Sanghan [سانگہاں] then his brother Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] was an equal partner in the power sharing at that time. They had failed to keep intact however their *inter se* relationship which was due to the fact that, Nawab Ismaeel Khan Panni [نواب اسما عیل خان پنّی] had the desire that Mohammed Akram Khan [محمداکرم خان] was supposed to step-down in favor of his son namely Esa Khan [عیسی' خان]. When, Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] was able to get the confirmation about the desire of Nawab Ismaeel

Khan Panni [نواب اسما عیل خان پنّی] he had opted to go to Kandahar [قندھار] where he had informed Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] about the planning of his brother. The gist of his complaint to Shah according to the historian Haturam was that, Nawab Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی] had extended all the warmth of brotherly relations to Nawab Ismaeel Khan Panni [نواب اسما عیل خان پنّی] and his son Esa Khan [عیسی' خان] but, they had failed to return the same warmth reciprocally.

Issuance of the certificates by Durrani [درانی کی سندات کا اجراء]:

Ahmed Shah Durrani [احمد شاہ درانی] had issued the royal declaration then in order to resolve the matter among three parties. The title was in the manner, as below:

Certificate, Dated.28th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1172 Hegira

Ahmed Shah Durrani [احمد شاہ درانی]
Versus:
Mohammed Khan Baro Zai Panni [محمد خان باروزئی پنّی]

> Ahmed Shah Durrani [احمد شاہ درانی] had expressed his views categorically in the certificate in the manner that, both Sardars were from the same tribe. They were supposed to maintain therefore their brotherly relationship. They were also supposed to deposit jointly the revenue of Sevi Barkhan [سیوی بارکھان] and Hasni [حَسنی] etc.

Thus he had given recognition to their control over the area of Khaitheran [کھیتران] (***Haturam Page No.669, Gazetteer Sibi*** [سبّی]).

Ahmed Shah Durrani [احمد شاہ درانی] had issued then two other certificates simultaneously in the manner, as below:

King Durrani.

The dues against Ismaeel Khan Panni [اسما عیل خان پنّی] were Taman Taberaizi [تمن تبریزی] three hundred only. The dues against Mohammed Khan Baro Zai Panni [محمد خان باروزئی پنّی] brother of Ismaeel Khan Panni [اسما عیل خان پنّی] were Taman Taberaizi [تمن تبریزی] two hundred only.

Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] was awarded the payment of one Hundred Taman Taberaizi [تمن تبریزی] in recognition of his services with regard to collection of revenue from Sevi Barkhan [سیوی بارکھان] and Hasni [حَسنی] areas etc. (***Haturam Page No.66, 670***).

Division of the country [ملک کی تقسیم]:

Nadir Shah Afshar [نادرشاہ افشار] and Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] had not levied any charge as a matter tradition, on the ammunition and guns which were provided by the government during a situation of crisis. The condition which was imposed was, to make available a lashker in accordance with status category during the crisis situation. When, Nadir Shah Afshar [نادرشاہ افشار] and Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] had attacked Hindustan for couple of times the lashkers of the Panni nation from Thal Jotiyali [تھل جوٹیالی], Sibi [سبّی], Sanghan [سانگہاں] and Pasheen [پشین] areas had also accompanied them. Shikarpur [شکارپور] Sindh was also under the control of the same Nawab in those days (***Haturam Page No.670, Mullan Fazal*** [ملاں فاضل]). When, the British government was able to establish its writ in Baluchistan after some time and they had focused on the Panni Nawabs also to protect their vested interests even though they were cognizant of the fact that their allegiance was with Kandahar [قندھار]. The Panni Sardars were not delegated the authority to rule Sibi [سبّی] ever since the Sibi [سبّی] area was linked up with Iran was delinked from Delhi. The aforementioned written certificates were therefore an authentication and confirmation of the position of Ahmed Khan Panni [نواب احمد خان پنّی], Nawab Ismaeel Khan Panni [نواب اسما عیل خان پنّی] and his son Esa Khan [عیسی' خان] respectively. Thus, their rights were acknowledged duly (***Haturam Page No.669***). The two brothers had failed to reach an amicable solution unfortunately despite the best efforts of Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی]. Then, they had resorted ultimately to their individual course of action. Ismaeel Khan Panni [اسما عیل خان پنّی] had continued as ruler of Sibi [سبّی] and Mohammed Khan Baro Zai Panni [محمد خان باروزئی پنّی] was assigned the control of Sanghan [سانگہاں]. The Panni nation was divided thereafter into two parts (***Haturam Page No.740, Gazetteer Sibi*** [سبّی] ***Page No.63***) which was perhaps the beginning of its downfall and

disintegration. We may point out that the Panni nation had the practical control previously over all the areas of Barkhan [بارکھان], Khaitheran [کھیتران], Hasni [حَسنی], Kohistan Murree [کوہستان مری], Maidan Thal Jotiyali [میدان تھل جوٹیالی], Zeber [زبر], Rashemwer [رشم ور] and Pahladgh [پہلادغ].

Esa Khan Panni [عیسی' خان خان پنّی] Title: Bakhtiyar Khan [ابمعروف بہ بختیار خان]:

The Sardari [سرداری] of Sibi [سبّی] had devolved upon his son Esa Khan Panni [عیسی' خان خان پنّی] after the death of Ismaeel Khan Panni [محمد اسما عیل خان پنّی]. Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] had also awarded him the honorific titles as "Nawab" [نواب] and "Bakhtiyar Khan" [بختیار خان] (***Haturam Page No.670***). Ahmed Shah Durrani [احمد شاہ درانی] had also issued him a certificate in the manner, as below:

> "Application: Dated.7th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1175 Hegira (1763 A.C)
> To,
>
> Bakhtiyar Khan Baro Zai [بختیار خان باروزئی] son of Ismaeel Khan Baro Zai [اسما عیل خان باروزئی]
>
> The Panni [پنّی], Brohi [بروہی], Tareen [ترین] and Durrani [درانی] Afghan nations were declared exempt from the payment of revenue and other cess since times immemorial according to "Bakhtiyar Khan" [بختیار خان] ruler of Sevi [سیوی].
>
> The people of the Panni nation were declared exempt hereby from the payment of general cess, in pursuance of previous certificate issued to Ismaeel Khan [اسما عیل خان] (***Haturam Page No.669***).

Battles against opponents [مخالفوں سے جنگیں]:

The mother of Nawab Esa Khan Panni [عیسی' خان خان پنّی] was daughter of Mir Muhabat Khan [میر محبت خان] and his grandson Khudayar Khan [خدایار خان] had married the daughter of Mir Naseer Khan [میر نصیر خان]. He was ruler of Qalat [قلات] [Wali-e-Qalat [والئ قلات]. The historian

Haturam had described with reference to Mullan Fazal [ملاں فاضل] that when, Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] had returned from Hindustan, Mir Naseer Khan [میر نصیر خان] the ruler of Qalat [قلات] [Wali-e-Qalat [والئ قلات] had also changed his course of action. Then, the rivalry had taken a new direction against Sardar Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی]. He was a well-wisher of Shah. He had sent a lashker of Dehmerr [دھمڑ] nation of Kakerristan [کاکڑستان] then under Sardar Bahader Khan [سردار بہادرخان] whereas Sardar Rasheed Khan [سردارررشید خان] and Khalil Khan [خلیل خان] were Sardars of Baro Zai nation at that time. They were based in Sanghan [سانگہاں]. They were defeated by the Dehmerr [دھمڑ] nation after a bloody battle during which Bahader Khan [بہادرخان] was wounded. Bahader Khan [بہادرخان] had fought the battles at Amer Kot [امرکوٹ] Multan against Sikhs during the reign of son of Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی]. Then, he had fought against Meran Talpur [میران تالپور] and the Laghari [لغاری] people under the instructions of Madad Khan [مددخان]. He had killed Saradar Khan Laghari [سردار خان لغاری] during the same battle. He had also fought against Ikhteyar Khan Daod Puttara [اختیار خان داؤد پوترہ] at Doteka [دوٹیکہ]. He was also content to receive Rupees two hundred thousand only as tribute money. Then, he had sent it to the king (***Haturam Page No.670***). The British government had maintained good relations with him during the course of his stay in power. He was the last courageous ruler of the Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] family. There was a general perception that he was a very intelligent and brilliant person. There were some generally quotable examples of his justice in the Sibi [سبّی] area. He was also in correspondence with Captain Sundayman (*He was impressed by Sundayman, Writer*). Nawab had died one year prior to the arrival of Sundayman in Baluchistan (***Haturam Page No.673***). Nawab was supposedly a brilliant and an intelligent person but he had failed to foresee the latent motives of Sundayman who had turned out to be victorious in Baluchistan ultimately.

Sardar Khudayar Khan Panni [سردارخدایارخان پنّی]:

The Nawabi [نوابی] (Nawabhood) had disappeared from amongst the Baro Zai [باروزئی] people by that time therefore Sardar Khudayar Khan Panni [سردارخدایارخان پنّی] was the Saradar of Sibi [سبّی] area. Nawab Esa Khan [عیسی' خان] was the Sardar of the surrounding areas of Sibi [سبّی] after Sardar Khudayar Khan Panni [سردارخدایارخان پنّی]. He was his nephew i.e. son of sister of Mir Naseer Khan [میر نصیر خان] who was then ruler of Qalat [قلات] [Wali Qalat [والئ قلات] according to Haturam. (واللہ اعلم) (*The knowledge of which was with God Almighty, alone*) same was the

period when Mir Mustafa Khan [میر مصطفی' خان] was "Khan" of Qalat. Then Mir Mustafa Khan [میر مصطفی' خان] had attacked the Hernie [ہرنائی] fort and the mountainous vicinity and other forts with the assistance of Sardar Khudayar Khan Panni [سردارخدایارخان پنّی] because both the families had good relations with each other (***Haturam Page No.671***).

Sardar Mohammed Khan Panni [سردار محمد خان پنّی]:

Sardar Mohammed Khan Panni [سردار محمد خان پنّی] had become the Sardar of Sibi [سبّی] after the death of his father i.e. Sardar Khudayar Khan Panni [سردارخدایارخان پنّی]. He had attacked the area of Barkhan [بارکھان] once again as a result and the people of Chuch [چچ], Khaiteran [کھیتران] and Laghari [لغاری] were subjected to suffer tremendously (***Haturam Page No.671***) which was the beginning of downfall of Panni Sardars at Sibi [سبّی]. Then, the jurisdiction of Kandahar [قندھار] was curtailed up to the Pasheen [پشین] area only. The mountainous nations had declared the revolt and the Murree [مری قوم] nation had emerged very strongly. The Badera [بادرہ] and Kut Mundhaie [کٹ منڈھائی] had also slipped out of the hands of the Panni nation. Then, the Talpur [تالپور] people had extended their rule up to Shikarpur [شکارپور] Sindh (***Haturam Page No.671***). Thus, the areas of Zoristan [زورستان] had slipped out of the hands of Mohammed Khan [محمد خان] gradually. The rulers of Kandahar [قندھار] had appointed the Sardar of Sibi [سبّی] as their subordinate just for the collection of revenue which used to be Rupees ten thousand per annum only. The same used to be collected with a great difficulty (***Haturam Page No.673***).

Fate of Sardar Rasheed Khan Panni, Sardar of the Sanghan offshoot
[سانگھاں شاخ کے سردارر شید خان پنّی کا انجام]:

We have already explained above the history of the rulers of Sibi [سبّی]. They were divided into two groups. We have already explained in detail the history of the Sibi [سبّی] based group. We give hereby the detail account of the history of the group which was based at Sanghan [سانگھاں].

We have already mentioned in the context of Mullan Fazal [ملاں فاضل] that, Mir Naseer Khan [میر نصیر خان] who was ruler of Qalat [قلات] he had to dissociate Qalat [قلات] from the Afghan government on the return of Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] from Hindustan. He had invited the rivalry of the Panni Sardars of Sanghan [سانگھاں] as a consequence thereof because they were

very close to the Durrani [درانی] rulers of Afghanistan. Mir Naseer Khan [میر نصیر خان] had attacked Sanghan [سانگہاں] under the leadership of Sardar Bahader Khan [سردار بہادرخان] and in collaboration with the Dehmerr [دھمڑ] nation of Kakerristan [کاکڑستان]. Sardar Rasheed Khan [سرداررشید خان] and Khalil Khan [خلیل خان] were the Sardars of the area at that time. They were based in Sanghan [سانگہاں] and they had faced the defeat in the battle against the invaders and Sardar Bahader Khan [سردار بہادرخان] of Dehmerr [دھمڑ] was also wounded during said battle (***Haturam Page No.670***). The rulers of Sibi [سبّی] used to live amicably with the rulers of Qalat [قلات] because they had entered into an inter-tribal arrangement of marriages. There were two other Sardars who had represented the Sanghan [سانگہاں] group. They were Sher Dil Khan Panni [شیر دل خان پنّی] and Arslan Khan Panni [ارسلان خان پنّی]. The area of Dera Ismaeel Khan [ڈیرہ اسما عیل خان], was also under Sardar Rasheed Khan [سرداررشید خان] because of its dissociation from Sibi [سبّی]. There were some Khajak [خجک] people who were also settled in said city. They were unable to get along well however with Sardar Rasheed Khan [سرداررشید خان] therefore they had ultimately killed him (***Gazetteer Sibi*** [سبّی] ***Page No.62***).

Murder of Sardar Habib Khan Panni [سردار حبیب خان کا قتل]:

Sardar Habib Khan Panni [سردار حبیب خان کا قتل] had become Sardar after the murder of his father namely, Sardar Rasheed Khan [سرداررشید خان]. The Khajak [خجک] Panni fighters had remained resolute however and they had maintained their traditions during said period. They had challenged him constantly and in the wake of said arduous situation and he had to go to Kerk [کرک] in order to secure his life. The Khajak [خجک] Panni had not spared him however even there and they were able to have him assassinated. Then, they had captured the Sanghan [سانگہاں] area (***Gazetteer Sibi*** [سبّی] ***Page No.63***). We may point out that, Khajak [خجک] is also an offshoot of the Panni nation.

Shikkar Khan and Misri Khan Khajak Panni [شکار خان اور مصری خان خجک پنّی]:

When, the gloriously shining sun of the Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] tribe had ultimately set then the other nations of Baluchistan and Sindh like the Brohi [بروہی], Kalhorra [کلہوڑہ] and Talpur [تالپور] had taken away Sindh along-with the surrounding areas. There was also another brave and fighter group of the Panni nation, which was known as Khajak [خجک], and had ascended to the

climax of power. The climax of the Khajak [خجک] nation had not attained however the same zenith which the Baro Zai tribe had enjoyed. The Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] and the Khajak [خجک] nations had hailed from the Panni nation. They were always thirsty however for the blood of each other unfortunately. The Khajak [خجک] people had killed about one hundred Sardars of the Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] people. There were always constant efforts at different levels to ensure the peaceful and amiable life for both the tribes. The providence had ordained in their lives perhaps to fight against each other only. Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] was also of the view that, if the Pathans had failed to find a third party to satisfy their urge of inflicting a war they would like to fight against each other to pacify their innate jingoism. The reconciliatory efforts had failed however and both tribes were unable to learn to live peacefully and quietly till the time the British colonialism had colonized them and they were deprived of their freedom.

There was a proverb about the bravery and jingoism of the Khajak [خجک] tribe that, "Kakerr may well be everything in the mountainous area but the Sardari [سرداری] in the plain areas was always a vested right of the Khajak people". When the first battle had taken place between the British colonists and the rulers of Afghanistan in 1839, Shikkar Khan [شکار خان] was the Sardar of the Khajak [خجک] people at that time. Shikkar Khan [شکار خان] used to enjoy the ostensible authority whereas the actual power had always remained with Miseri Khan Khajak Panni **[** مصری خان خجک پنّی]. He was the same person who had aided Shah Shujjah [شاہ شجاع] and he was able to escape pursuant to a dispute with his relatives. The Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] people were strong enough to put-up some kind of resistance against the British rule while they were marching on towards Afghanistan. The Khajak [خجک] people had also acquired a strong position in those days. They had given a very tough time therefore to the British Raj in 1840 when they had provided support to Shah Shujjah [شاہ شجاع] (***Haturam Page No.671***).

Wrangles of Khajak [خجک کی ہنگا مہ آرائیاں]:

The Khajak [خجک] people had gained so much power that they had landed into a tribal euphoria. They had already a lingering on animosity against the Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] people and they were at clash simultaneously against the Kerk Panni [کرک پنّی] people. The bloody battles had taken place between them despite the fact that their villages were at a good distance of two to three miles from each other. The Murree [مری] nations on the other hand had also formed a

strong unity. Nawab Bakhtiyar Khan Panni [بختیار خان پنّی] was although extraordinarily accommodative during his stay in power yet those people were never hesitant to extend their hands out importunately. They had occupied the entire plain area of Tala [تلہ] in said process. Then, some Sardars of the Brohi nation were constrained to seek refuge with Nawab Bakhtiyar Khan Panni [بختیار خان پنّی] after fighting against Sardar Nawab Khan Baro Zai [سردار نواب خان بارو زئی]. The aforementioned facts were the factors of grudge of the Khan of Qalat against the Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] people (***Haturam Page No.674***).

Pathetic state of affairs of the Baro Zai Panni people [باروزئی پنّیوں کی بدحالی]:

The downfall was knocking at the doors of the Panni rulers of Sanghan [سانگہاں] on the one hand and the bad luck had counted the last days of the Baro Zai [باروزئی] rulers on the other hand. Since, Mir Naseer Khan [میر نصیر خان] had severed his relationship with Kabul [کابل] after having entered into an agreement with the ruler of Qalat [قلات] and the governance of Kandhar was curtailed just up to the Pasheen [پشین] area therefore the British government had to hand over the control of Sibi [سّبی] to Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] people. The British Raj had extended thus their colonial rule up to Shikarpur [شکارپور] which used to be under the rule of Meran Sindh [میران سندھ] prior to the colonization. The area of Kabul [کابل] was handed over to a tribe from Afghanistan namely Mohammed Zai [محمد زئی] and the entire area of Sibi [سّبی] was resultantly linked with Afghanistan. The British government had to establish their camp at Quetta in order to manage other mountainous areas. The political dichotomy and the confusion had emerged thus for the people of the area during said period. Then, different people from different tribes had also made emergence on the scene and they had started the looting and plundering process. The reason was that the central authority of Sibi [سّبی] had weakened considerably. The Mohammed Zai [محمد زئی] tribe of Afghanistan had handed over "Zoristan" [زورستان] therefore to Sardar Ghulam Muhee-ud-Din Khan Durrani [سردار غلام محی الدین خان درانی] after annexing the area of Hernie [ہرنائی] with Sibi [سّبی] which was at the frontier of Afghanistan. The said Sardar had delegated the powers furthermore to Mohammed Saeed Khan Bama Zai [محمد سعید خان بامہ زئی]. He was the resident of Qala Durrani [قلعہ درانی] near Quetta. He was vested with the authority to maintain order and peace and to collect the revenue. The revenue of said area used to Rupees ten thousand per annum only which was a flat area but the Panni rulers of Sibi [سّبی] were least interested to pay any cess. The Durrani Sardar used to bring therefore a lashker with him

occasionally just to collect the revenue. He used to stay at Sibi [سّبی] for about two months for the same purpose. We may point out here that the Durrani [درانی] people are from the Panni nation.

Capture of Sibi by Sundayman [سّبی پر سنڈیمان کا قبضہ]:

The affairs of the Khajak [خجک] tribe during the aforementioned circumstances were also very disorderly. They had also revolted and had refused to pay the revenue. The Baro Zai [باروزئی] and Khajak [خجک] people, despite those abject circumstances, were always ready to fight against each other. The former were always at loss against the latter. Those circumstances had provided a golden opportunity to the British Raj ultimately because those circumstances were very conducive for Sundayman to fulfill his ambitions. He had ordered the people of Sibi [سّبی] resultantly on 23rd November 1878 during the war against Afghanistan, to surrender to the British Raj. Then, all those tribes had accepted said order quietly except the Khajak [خجک] tribe. Sundayman had announced the formal British control over the Sibi [سّبی] area pursuant to signing the Gundhak [گندھک] pact (***Haturam Page No.219***) which had brought an end to the centuries old dominance and sway of the Panni nation in said area. The so-called old Sardari system had remained intact notwithstanding the same but said system was put to rest however in Sibi [سّبی], Hernie [ہرنائی], Pasheen [پشین] and Thal Jotiyali [تھل جوٹیالی] subsequently. We may point out that the event of Sibi [سّبی] annual festival was introduced by Sundayman.

Baro Zai and Khajak in support of the British [باروزئی اور خجک انگریز کی حمایت میں]:

The British intruders had attacked Afghanistan second time in 1889 pursuant to the murder of Major Gokinari. The local nations had risen to the occasion as a resistant group as a consequence thereof. They had created thus some impediments in their onward march. We may point out that, the outcome of the disparaging cunningness or the British charisma was that both the warring factions i.e. the Baro Zai [باروزئی] and Khajak [خجک] tribes, which were famous in the remotest areas and were known for their fierceness, both had compromised their highly euphoric state of mind when they had to concede to the British colonialism. This was perhaps the reason that they had opposed the anti-British activists thoroughly and quite enthusiastically. Sundayman, who was an agent of the Governor General in Hindustan, had bestowed Khilats [خلعتیں] (*Robes*) and certificates of appreciation upon those two tribes as a token of acknowledgement of their

support. The details with regard to the same were mentioned in the "Diary of Sundayman" Dated.26.08.1880 (***Haturam Page No.667***). Those two tribes, which were blood thirsty against each other when they had become autonomous and independent, had ironically started living with peace and tranquility under the British colonial rule.

Sardar Daod Khan Khajak [سردار داؤد خان خجک]:

We have already mentioned above that the Khajak [خجک] people had laid the foundation of an edifice of their Sardari [سرداری] on the ruins of Baro Zai [باروزئی] rule of grandeur. Sardar Khan [سردار خان] and Misri Khan [مصری خان] had established their Sardari [سرداری] and then the title of Sardari [سرداری] had devolved upon his son Daod Khan [داؤد خان] after the death of Sardar Khan [سردار خان]. He was a weak person therefore the powers to organize the nation under the Sardari [سرداری] system were assumed by other Sardars gradually after the death of Misri Khan [سردار خان].

Sardar Bakhtiyar Khan Khajak Panni [سردار بختیار خان خجک پنّی]:

Sardar Bakhtiyar Khan [سردار بختیار خان] and Sher Raza Khan [شیر رضا خان] were elevated to be the status of Sardars during the lifetime of Daod Khan [داؤد خان]. The latter was killed while negotiating a settlement between the Marghzai [مرغزائی] offshoot of the Panni tribe and Brohi [بروہی] people.

Sardar Mohammed Khan Khajak [سردار محمد خان خجک]:

Sardar Daod Khan [سردار داؤد خان] was although a weak person yet the Sardari of his tribe had remained with him as long as he had lived. Then the Sardari [سرداری] had devolved upon his son namely Mohammed Khan [محمد خان] after his death.

Sar Blund Khan Khajak Panni [سر بلند خان خجک پنّی]:

Sar Blund Khan [سربلند خان], son of Miseri Khan Khajak Panni [مصری خان خجک پنّی], had raised objections on the Sardari [سرداری] of Mohammed Khan [محمد خان]. He had also filed a case

against him but he had not succeeded in it. Mohammed Khan [محمد خان] was able to live till 1905 but he had transferred the Sardari [سرداری] during the last part of his life to his son namely, Mustafa Khan Khajak [مصطفی' خان خجک].

Mustafa Khan Khajak Panni [مصطفی' خان خجک پنّی]:

The Sardari [سرداری] was transferred to two Sardars after the death of Mustafa Khan Khajak Panni [مصطفی' خان خجک پنّی].

Mir Khajak and Mir Taj Mohammed Khan Khajak Baro Zai
[میر خجک اور میر تاج محمد خان خجک باروزئی]:

Mir Khajak [میر خجک] and Mir Taj Mohammed Khan Khajak Baro Zai [میر تاج محمد خان خجک باروزئی] were leading Sardars of the Sanghan [سانگہاں] offshoot of the Panni tribe. The rest of the area was however under the control of two other Sardars.

Ismaeel Khan Khajak and Dulhari Khan Merghzani Panni
[اسماعیل خان خجک اور دلہاری خان مرغزانی پنّی]:

Ismaeel Khan Khajak [اسماعیل خان خجک] and Dulhari Khan Merghzani Panni [دلہاری خان مرغزانی پنّی] were originally from the Panni nation.

Downfall was a blessing in disguise [زوال کی برکات]:

There was a time during the viscidities of history when the Panni nation was enjoying its rule almost not only in the entire area of Baluchistan rather they were autonomously in possession of a portion of upper Sindh. They had given a very tough time to the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] right from the Feroza [فیروزہ] hills center. Then, they had fought three battles against the great grandson of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] and were able to retain their grit and grandeur after those fierce battles. When, the British colonists were able to focus on said area they had pulverized however even the stones of said nation into water with their charisma. They had dismantled through connivance, the glorious rule and the pomp and show of the Panni nation

which was in perpetuation, since ages. They had reduced them into smaller tribes. There was a subsequent period however when even the *inter se* rivalries, rifts and revolts of the Panni nation were regulated by the dictates of the British rulers. Those events had always posed a question whether the history had provided us any lesson or not?

Some creditable excerpts, from the Diary of Sir Sundayman
[سنڈیمان کی ڈائری سے چند سبق آموز اقتباس]:

Sir Sundayman had taken charge of the Baluchistan area on 12th September 1875. He had expressed his views in his diary as an agent of the Governor General in this regard in the manner, as below:

> "The Baro Zai [باروزئی] and Khajak [خجک] nations were dangerous rivals of each other. They had already murdered some leading personalities of the Baro Zai [باروزئی] and Khajak [خجک] tribes. The son of Bakhtiyar Khan Baro Zai Panni [بختیار خان باروزئی پنّی] was also murdered even by the Khajak [خجک] tribe. The village Kerk [کرک] and Khajak [خجک] were at a distance of about three to four miles from each other. The extreme rivalry had perpetuated between them despite the distance. The area had a tremendous potential to make progress but not without peace and order" (***Haturam Page No.396***).

Sher Zaman Khan Baro Zai Panni [شیرزمان خان باروزئی پنّی] was the elder brother of Sardar Mohammed Khan Panni [سردار محمد خان پنّی]. He was Sardar of Sibi [سبّی]. Sir Sundayman had good friendly relationship with them. He had written about him on 5th May 1876 in the manner, as below:

> "Sher Zaman Khan Baro Zai Panni [شیرزمان خان باروزئی پنّی] had written that some people of the Murree nations [مری اقوام] had attacked the area of Ghulam Bolak [غلام بولک]. They had wounded two individuals. Since, the news of said attack had also travelled down to the people of the Ghulam Bolak [غلام بولک] tribe therefore they were able to keep safe their goods and animals. Batil Mashori [باطل مشوری] had attacked the Pathans with a Buhgti [بگٹی] lashker but the news of said attack was also

leaked out to the Pathans. Thus, the plan of attackers was foiled (***Haturam Page No.452***).

25th May 1876.

"Sher Zaman Khan Baro Zai Panni [شیرزمان خان باروزئی پنّی] had submitted that, the lashker of the Kakerr Afghans [کاکڑ افغان] had attacked the Murree nations [مری اقوام] and Pathans. They had murdered three individuals of the Murree nations [مری اقوام] and had looted their goods as well. Then, the people of the Murree nations [مری اقوام] had got united and they had fought courageously. The Kakerr Afghans [کاکڑ افغان] had fled from the scene and their thirty people had died during the scuffle. The people of the Murree nations [مری اقوام] were able to bring back however their plundered goods" (***Haturam Page No.463***).

Sher Zaman Khan Baro Zai Panni [شیرزمان خان باروزئی پنّی] had expressed his views on 5th June 1876 in the manner, as below:

"The animals of the Gerani Brohi [گرانی بروہی] tribe had trespassed fields of the Panni Baro Zai people and they had spoiled them. Then, there was a big row between the two tribes. I had to approach them in order to resolve the issue. There was a stray bullet however, which had come from the Gerani Brohi [گرانی بروہی] people and had injured his back and the back side of his right hand. The bullet had not broken the bone but his skin was chipped off from the hand. Sher Zaman Khan Baro Zai Panni [شیرزمان خان باروزئی پنّی] was hopeful to recover very soon" (***Haturam Page No.469***).

1st July 1876:

"Bajguzar Khan Rasaldar [باجگزار خان رسالدار] had submitted that, there were two individuals of the Murree nations [مری اقوام] who had landed in the area of Makerr Kreeb Sehad Lachi [مکڑ قریب سرحد لچھی]. When, they were about to return after finishing their business Madad Khan Panni [مددخان پنّی], who was resident of Kerk [کرک], had entangled them in a scuffle along-with two other farmers. Then, one of

the individuals from the Murree nations [مری اقوام] was killed whereas the other one was able to escape" (***Haturam Page No.485***).

7th July 1876:

"Sardar Mohammed Khan Panni [سردار محمد خان پنّی], brother of Sher Zaman Khan Baro Zai Panni [شیرزمان خان باروزئی پنّی] Sardar of Sevi [سیوی], had informed about the death of his brother namely, Sher Zaman Khan Baro Zai Panni [شیرزمان خان باروزئی پنّی] who had received the blind gunshot from people of the Gerani Brohi [گرانی بروہی] tribe. He had written further that, he was preparing to avenge the death of his brother. I had extended my condolences on the death of his brother and while replying to the letter I had informed him that, Sher Zaman Khan Baro Zai Panni [شیرزمان خان باروزئی پنّی] was the well-wisher of the government and now he was supposed to take his place after his death. When, Sher Zaman Khan Baro Zai Panni [شیرزمان خان باروزئی پنّی] was alive after receiving the blind gunshot even, he had expressed said wish in his letter. The haste was therefore uncalled for and the patience was required to seek the help of the government. Mullan Mohammed Khan [ملاں محمد خان] was supposed to approach him and the arrangements were in progress to resolve the issue. We had informed further about the encaenia [دستار بندی] ceremony of Sardari of Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] after the departure of the deceased and Mohammed Khan [ملاں محمد خان] was supposed to help him in this regard. We had appreciated his staying away from unnecessary wrangling and abstaining from taking even any revenge because any altercation was uncalled for totally" (***Haturam Page No.494-485***). "There were some Pathan groups which had created the mutiny and they had looted the British treasury in 1889 during the second raid on Gokinar Kabul [گوکنار کابل]. There were about one thousand people who had ransacked the British area at one point of time. The Panni [پنّی] and Khajak [خجک] nations along-with the people of the Sevi [سیوی] tribe had extended commendable help as a gesture of reciprocation. The Panni [پنّی] and Khajak [خجک] Sardars were awarded as a gesture of goodwill, the Khilats [خلعتیں] (*Robes*) along-with certificates of appreciation".

The aforementioned excerpts had proved the fact that when the freedom is taken away from someone, it tends to push him into the abysmal depths of degradation. The nation which had ruled the area with authority at some point of time and it used to take the firm stance under the rule of the Muslim rulers in order to protect its rights, they had started serving the foreign masters. They had assumed the role of their agents even at the cost of their freedom. The said practice had become as matter of fact a status of prestige and honor for them. Sardar Masti Khan [سردار مستی خان] of the Panni nation had also dedicated his services in the same manner to Shah Shujjah [شاہ شجاع] during the first war of Afghanistan in 1871. Sardar Masti Khan [سردار مستی خان] the British stooge along-with his companions was given the service in the British army and his platoon was named as "Baloch Levi". The Panni [پنّی] and Khajak [خجک] people along-with others had committed themselves to serve the British masters thereafter.

Some other Panni Sardars [چند متفرق پنّی سردار]:

The historian Haturam had expressed his views in the same context with regard to the agency of Thal Jotiyali [تھل جوٹیالی] area which was under Sir Sundayman in 1908. He was an agent of the Governor General of Baluchistan. He had expressed his views in the manner, as below:

> "Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] people were based in said area and their leader was Sardar Mohammed Khan Panni [سردار محمد خان پنّی]. The nations which were under him had included the Merghzani [مرغزانی], Safi [صافی], Kerk [کرک] and Dehpal [دہپال] nations. They were genuine Pathans and were known as "Nehad Panni" [نہاد پنّی]. The Mazrie [مزرئی] and Loni [لونی] people were under the protection of British rule. The individual Lumberdars of their respective areas had started paying the revenue and besides that, there were the Khajak [خجک] people who were also in the same area. Sardar Matta Khan [سردار مٹہ خان] was their Sardar. There were eight unconnected areas which were under their domain. They were although in minority and prior to the British administration, the Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] people used to be equal in strength with the Tamen Murree [تمن مری] and Murree Baloch [مری بلوچ] tribes yet, they had never been in a position to dominate them. Since, the British administration had taken over the control therefore those people had become the well-wishers of the British Raj just like other people. Thus,

they were just like the other residents who used regularly to pay the revenue (***Haturam Page No.740***).

Baro Zai Panni of Sanghan [سانگہاں کے باروزئی پنّی]:

The Sardars of Baro Zai [باروزئی] people of the Sanghan [سانگہاں] area were Sher Dil Khan Panni [شیر دل خان پنّی] and Arslan Khan Panni [ارسلان خان پنّی]. The Baro Zai [باروزئی] people of Sanghan [سانگہاں] and Sevi [سیوی] had the common agnate but ever since the Murree Baloch [مری بلوچ] nation was able to take away the area of Badera [بادرہ] and Kut Mundhaie [کٹ منڈھائی] from them, the area of Sanghan [سانگہاں] and Sevi [سیوی] were treated disjointedly. The Baro Zai [باروزئی] Sardars were known as "Sangechi" [سنگیجی]. The Baro Zai [باروزئی] Sardars used to take their part of revenue from the Jagir whereas the remaining portion used to go the government (***Haturam Page No.740***).

Zerghon Panni [زرغون پنّی]:

The Sardar [سر دار] of the Zerghon **[**زرغون**]** offshoot of the Panni nation was Jalal Khan [جلال خان]. Those people were in the Kohlo [کولہو] area which was ruled by a Baro Zai [باروزئی] Sardar but, the Murree Baloch [مری بلوچ] people were in occupation of their area by force since 1860 A.C. The same was the way the Zerghon [زرغون] area had become the area of "Derki" [درکی]. The population of which was considered as subjects of Kandahar [قندھار]. The Murree Baloch [مری بلوچ] tribe had the major occupancy however in the area (***Haturam Page No.740***).

Shado Zai Panni [شادوزئی پنّی]:

Sardar Arselan Khan [ارسلان خان], Toor Khan [طور خان] and Fateh Khan [فتح خان] were the Sardars of the Pathans. Those people used to live in the area of Tal [تل]. They were less in numbers yet they were very powerful as a nation. They had the tendency of throwing challenges to the Murree [مری] people by virtue of their prowess (***Haturam Page No.740***).

Loni Panni [لونی پنّی]:

Sardar Samender Khan [سردار سمندر خان] was from the Loni [لونی] offshoot of the Panni Pathans. They were though less in number yet they were very strong as a nation. They used to challenge constantly the Murree [مری], Kheteran [کہتران] and Buhgti [بگٹی] nations prior to the takeover by the British government (***Haturam Page No.740***).

There were five plain areas of Tehsil "Derki" [درکی] and one of them was known as "Loni" [لونی]. The Loni [لونی] people used to live in said area. They used to have frequent battles against the Murree [مری] nations. Sir, Sundayman had come to know in 1873 that there was a colliery in the Chamang [چمانگ] mountain at Kheteran [کہتران] near the Loni [لونی] border. He had taken Sardar Samender Khan [سردار سمندر خان] into his service as a leader of five horsemen as soon as he was familiar with the same fact. Sardar Samender Khan [سردار سمندر خان] was assigned the duty to provide protection to caravans travelling to and from the Chamang [چمانگ] mountain. When, Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] was the ruler of Punjab and when Dera Ghazi Khan [ڈیرہ غازی خان] was also the part of Punjab, the Loni [لونی] people used to charge him the protection fee even at that time for travelers.

Zerki Zai Panni [زرکی زئی پنّی]:

The Zerki Zai [زرکی زئی] was also one of the offshoots of the Panni Pathans which had originated from Baluchistan according to our information. The Zerki Zai [زرکی زئی] tribe had earned itself a big name in the area. The following information had come to the surface with regard to its Sardari [سرداری] system:

> "The word "Jhla" [جہلا] means the south and whereas "Sera" [سرا] means north in the Baloch language. The north of the state of Qalat was known therefore as "Jhlawan" [جہلاوان]. The Sardari [سرداری] of said area was with the Moseyani [موسیانی] nation. The name of one of its Sardars was Zehri [زہری] whereas the name of the tribe had also become known as "Zehri" [زہری] by virtue of the same. There used to be an individual by the name of Zerk Zerkhail [زرک زرخیل] when, Mir Zehri Moseyani [زہری موسیانی] was the Sardar of the tribe. He was known to be the agnate of the Zerki Zai [زرکی زئی] or Zerk Zai [زرک زئی] offshoot of the Pathan nation. He was in fact from the Panni nation whereas the people of the Zerk Zerkhail [زرک زرخیل] tribe like the Zehri [زہری]

tribe had become known as "Zerki Zai" [زرکی زئی]. The Sardar of the Moseyani [موسیانی] nation namely, "Mir Zehri" [میر زہری] had formed a lashker of about one hundred individuals and he had joined hands with the "Zehri" [زہری] tribe. Since, Mir Zehri Moseyani [میر زہری موسیانی] had just captured said area from the Lasa [لاسہ] and Chatta [چھٹہ] tribes and the battle had not come to an end in this regard therefore he had got along well with Mir Zerk [میرزرک] as a supporter. Thus, he had become the stakeholder in the monopoly of half of the revenue and in the distribution of water. The right of retaining the Sardari [سرداری] had remained vested however with the family of Zehri Moseyani [زہری موسیانی] (***Haturam Page No.342***). Mir Bohr [میر بوہر] the grandson of "Zehri" [زہری] had become the Sardar [سردار] of "Jhlawan" [جہلاواں] sometime thereafter. The grandson of Mir Zerk-I [میرزرک اول] was also in the area at that time. Since, there was a partnership between the two families with regard to revenue sharing therefore he had married the daughter of Mir Bohr [میر بوہر] and a male child was born from said wedlock. The said child was crying one day and his maternal grandfather had taken off his turban from his head and out of sheer adoration he had put said turban on the head of his grandson. The said gesture was interpreted however in the manner that, Mir Bohr [میر بوہر] had transferred his Sardari [سرداری] to Mir Zerk [میرزرک]. The right of Sardari [سرداری] was transferred this way to Mir Zerk [میرزرک] family" (***Haturam Page No.342***).

Chaker Zai and Kaderri Zai Panni [چاکرزئی اور کاددڑی زئی پنّی]:

There were two groups who were deemed to be the descendants of Zerk [زرک] and one of them was known as, "Chaker Zai" [چاکرزئی] whereas the other was called as "Kaderri Zai" [کاددڑی زئی]. The Sardari [سرداری] had devolved upon Chaker Zai Panni [چاکرزئی پنّی] initially and Mir Zerk [میرزرک] was its Sardar. He was killed while fighting against the Talpur [تالپور] people. Then, Sardari [سرداری] had devolved upon Yusuf Khan [یوسف خان] son of Mir Chaker Sani [چاکرزئی ثانی]. Timor Shah [تیمور شاہ] had taken the area of Mir Suhrab Khan [میرسہراب خان] which was in the vicinity of Karachi. He had handed it over to Yusuf Khan [یوسف خان] as compensation against abovementioned murder. The right of Sardari [سرداری] had devolved upon an individual namely, Qadir Bux [قادر بخش] when, Yusuf Khan [یوسف خان] had died who was from the same family. He was murdered by Mir Mehrab Khan [میر محراب خان]. Qadir Bux [قادر بخش] had died

issueless. Since, there was no one to replace him in his family as a Sardar therefore the right of Sardari [سرداری] was transferred to the Kaderri Zai [کاددڑی زئی] tribe because their agnatic line was same as that of Qadir Bux [قادر بخش]. Taj Mohammed-I Kaderri Zai [تاج محمد اول کاددڑی زئی] had become thus Sardar of "Jhlawan" [جہلاواں]. Then, the right of Sardari [سرداری] was transferred to his nephew namely Rasheed Khan Kaderri Zai [رشید خان کاددڑی زئی] because the wife of Taj Mohammed-I Kaderri Zai [تاج محمد اول کاددڑی زئی] was considered a concubine allegedly. The Sardari [سرداری] was transferred to Taj Mohammed Khan Sani Kaderri Zai [تاج محمد ثانی کاددڑی زئی] thereafter. He was arrested by Mir Khuda Khan [میر خداداد خان] and he had died in captivity (***Haturam Page No.342, 430***).

Gohr Khan and Johr Khan Zerk Zai Panni, in Ali Gharr College
[گوہر خان اور جوہر خان زرک زئی پنّی]:

Taj Mohammed Khan Sani Kaderri Zai [تاج محمد ثانی کاددڑی زئی] had died issueless therefore there was a tussle between Noor Din Mahngal [نوردین مہنگل] and Gohr Khan Zerk Zai [گوہر خان زرک زئی پنّی] to retain the right of Sardari [سرداری]. Noor Din Mahngal [نوردین مہنگل] was murdered by Mir Talpur [میرتالپور] during said tussle. Then, Gohr Khan Zerk Zai [گوہر خان زرک زئی پنّی] had to roam about in the mountains as a fugitive. He was appointed however as Sardar of "Jhlawan" [جہلاواں] with the unanimous approval of Sundayman and Mir Talpur [میرتالپور]. The income from said area was Rupees Fifty Thousand only. Since, he had proved himself to be a scoundrel and he used to indulge in looting and plundering therefore Sir Sundayman had offered him a handsome job in order to keep him under check. The said job was insufficient however for satisfying his greed. Sir Sundayman had imprisoned him therefore in Shalkot [شال کوٹ] (*Quetta*) ultimately along-with his two brothers Pashand Khan Zerk Zai [پسند خان] and Johr Khan [جوہر خان]. The court of wards was assigned the mandate pursuant to the same to determine the right of Sardari [سرداری]. He was subjected to the supervision of the political agent in the end (***Haturam Page No.44, 343***).

Yusuf Khan Zerk Zai Panni, in Ali Gharr College [یوسف خان زرک زئی پنّی علی گڑھ کالج میں]:

Gohr Khan [گوہر خان] and his brother were released sometime thereafter and Yusuf Khan [یوسف خان] son of Gohr Khan [گوہر خان] was sent to Ali Gharr College [علی گڑھ کالج] for education. Gohr

Khan [گوہر خان] had failed to mend his ways even after his release therefore Mir Mahmood Khan [میر محمود خان] Wali-e-Qalat [والئ سوات] had sent his lashker to "Zehri" [زہری] for the censure of Gohr Khan [گوہر خان] and his Ghet [گھٹ] city was set on fire. He had managed his escape whereas all the Sardars of the Sibi [سّبی] area had got united thereafter for the encaenia [دستار بندی] ceremony of Yusuf Khan [یوسف خان]. The said move had not even rectified the situation with regard to his irregular activities and even Yusuf Khan [یوسف خان] had also joined Gohr Khan [گوہر خان] on his instigation. Gohr Khan [گوہر خان] was involved in multifarious intrigues thereafter and he had murdered many people as well (***Haturam Page No.344***).

Pashand Khan Zerk Zai [پسند خان زرک زئی]:

The right of Sardari of "Jhlawan" [جہلاواں] was ultimately given to Pashand Khan Zerk Zai Panni [پسند خان زرک زئی پنّی]. He was the brother of Gohr Khan [گوہر خان]. This had triggered the instinct of rivalry of Gohr Khan [گوہر خان]. Then, Pashand Khan Zerk Zai Panni [پسند خان زرک زئی پنّی], along-with his army, had chased him and the combatants from both sides had faced each other at Geroff [گرمآف]. The father and son i.e. Gohr Khan [گوہر خان] and Yusuf Khan [یوسف خان] were killed in the battlefield one after the other. The same had endorsed the position of Pashand Khan Zerk Zai Panni [پسند خان زرک زئی پنّی] and his family to retain the right of Sardari of "Jhlawan" [جہلاواں] (***Haturam Page No.345***). The Zerk Zai Panni [زرک زئی پنّی] people had also built a fort in Kaich [کیچ] area which was close to the Iranian border.

Monopoly on the watercourse [پانی کی اجارداری]:

The drinkable water was always a rare commodity in the Sibi [سّبی] area. There is even salty water unavailable at times. The distribution of the available water had always been regulated through the Jagirdari [جاگیرداری] system. The Kerrk [کڑک], Merghzani [مرغزانی], Dehpal [دہپال], Khajak [خجک] and Loni [لُونی] tribes were resultantly the equal share-holders (***Haturam Page No.345***).

Traditions of the Panni tribe, in District Sibi [ضلع سبی کے پنّی قبائل کارواج]:

The Panni tribes of Sibi [سّبی] had enjoyed a particular distinction in some ways. The rights of preemption, civil, criminal as well as, revenue cases were decided until recently in accordance with the laws and old practices of the Panni nation. The traditions and practices of the Panni people of the Quetta division were given a book form during the British Raj. There were about thirty two elders (Sardars) of the Panni nation who had assisted voluntarily in the codification process of said book. The Panni tribes of district Sibi [سّبی] used to include the offshoots as Baro Zai [باروزئی], Abdullah Khail [عبدلله خیل], Davie [داوئ], Dehpal [دہپال], Kerrk [کڑک], Loni [لُونی], Merghzani [مرغزانی], Merzai [مرزئی], Safi [صافی], Zaviyon [زاویوں] ,Khajak [خجک], Nodhani [نودہانی] and Sallahie [سلاحی]. Then, there were other smaller offshoots like Ali Khail [علی خیل], Alwani [الوانی], Khabti [خبتی], Kat Khail [کت خیل], Her Zai [ہرزئی] and Mahi Khail [ماہی خیل] (***Manual Page No.228***).

Pinky marriage and Sharie [Shariat] engagements [منگنی شرعی اور پنکی شادی]:

The bridal engagement was called "Kozdah" [کوزدہ] in the local language. There was no age limit for the same. The Merghzani [مرغزانی] people used to prefer their marriages always amongst their own offshoots whereas the others also used to like the marriages arrangement among several offshoots of the Panni Pathans. The family of the bridegroom used to call on the family of the bride usually for a marriage proposal. Then, one of the elders in the family used to declare the rites of the engagement open by pronouncing formally the names of the boy and girl. He used to fix also the amount of "Walver" [ولور] i.e. dower money. The engagement ceremony used to be concluded by the members of both families with a prayer for the bright future of the new couple. Then, they used to distribute sweetmeats and used to fire a single gunshot in the air at the end. There were some offshoots which used to pay handsome trousseau to the girl whereas a substantial portion of the Mehr [مہر] or the dower money also used to be paid instantly. Thus, those rites used to solidify the ties by virtue of engagement. There used to be two types of marriages among the abovementioned offshoots of the Panni nation i.e. the Sharie engagement [منگنی شرعی] and the Pinky [پنکی] marriage. When, the woman used to become a widow the right to command and manage the widow in such eventuality used to revert back to her parents under the Sharie engagement [منگنی شرعی] which also used to give them the right to arrange her second marriage. The widow used to remain however with her in-laws in the latter case and she used to be bound to obey their commands. The marriages among the Baro Zai [باروزئی] and the

Merghzani [مرغزانی] offshoots used to be conducted in accordance with the Pinky [پنکی] way of marriage. There used to be a similar tradition prevalent among the Khajak [خجک] people, was known as "Aare" [آری]. They used to perform the abovementioned rite of bridal engagement however in accordance with the dictates of Shariat [شریعت] (***Manual Page No.229, 235***).

Right of dowry [حق مہر]:

The maximum amount of "Dower money" used to be Rupees five hundred twelve only. The amount of dower money for a widow used to range between Rupees one hundred to three thousand only. If the Nikah used to be solemnized outside the Panni offshoots then the amount of Mehr (*Dower Money*) used to be multiplied and Nikah [نکاح] used to remain inconclusive till the full payment of dower money. In case of death of girl prior to her departure the paid dower money used to be retained and not returned and if any sum used to be outstanding the same used to be waived. In the case of death of the bridegroom prior to consummation of marriage, the brother of the deceased used to be entitled to marry the same girl on the payment of the stipulated amount of Mehr [مہر] as per Pinky system. The right of command and control of the parents with regard to the engaged girl used to persist under the Sharie [شرعی] system. If the Sharie engagement or Pinky [پنکی] marriage system used to remain unspecified or unpronounced at the time of engagement then, the marriage used to be treated as under the Pinky [پنکی] system of marriage (***Manual Page No.31, 430***).

Terminologies with regard to the marriages [شادی کے مطلق اصطلاحات]:

The guests of the bridegroom used to be called as "Mana Mukh" [مانا مکھ] among the local Pathans of the Sibi [سّبی] area whereas his relatives used to be called as "Ghor" [گھور] or "Sirghadhat" [سرغشت]. The value of dowry items (trousseau) used to be fixed generally in accordance with the social status of the family of the girl. The minimum in any case used to consist of a quilt, pillow, pair of clothes which used to include Chunni [چُنّی] (*Muffler or Scarf*) and a pair of shoes, one plate and a bowl, one eye liner etc. The ownership of dowry items used to remain vested with the husband which used to be given to the girl. The girl used to have the right to use the same only during her lifetime ***(Manual Page No.230***).

Rights of widow [بیوہ کے حقوق]:

When, a woman used to become a widow then, she was not entitled to marry on her own. If her Nikah [نکاح] was solemnized under the Sharie [شرعی] system then the parents of the girl used to have the right of remarrying her with someone else. If the Nikah [نکاح] was solemnized under the Pinky [پنکی] marriage system then the girl was supposed to surrender herself to the will of the relatives of the deceased. She was supposed to honor the rights of the brother of the deceased for marrying her. The girl used to abandon her right of taking anything from her parents by entering into the second Nikah [نکاح]. She used to depart in such a situation with three clothes only. Then, she used to be disentitled to inherit even from the property of her deceased husband. If she used to opt to stay at the place of her deceased husband without exercising her right of second marriage then, she used to be entitled to take Rupees twenty per annum for her clothes, ten mound wheat and five mound great millet [جوار] from the parents of the deceased husband ***(Manual Page No.332***).

Ordinary and average [رذیل اور کمین]:

The Brohi [بروہی] and Jatt [جاٹ] used to live side by side among the people of the Panni nation along-with others. There were people besides that who used to be professional cobblers, carpenters, ironmongers and Porters etc. Those who used to be from Panni offshoots among them were considered as "Panni" whereas the others to whom the aforementioned professions were handed down as their ancestral professions, they used to be considered as "Mean" [رذیل]. The court evidence of "Mean" [رذیل] used to be considered as unworthy in credence and credibility mostly in theft and murder cases ***(Manual Page No.232***). There used to be other un-Islamic practice among them which always used to boomerang as the ancestral practices i.e. superstitions and sorcery.

Valver and Aorbal [ولوراوراوربل]:

Musa Khail Panni [موسی' خیل پنّی] used to perform a ritual just a few days prior to performing the rite of engagement. They used to call the same as "Aorbal" [اوربل]. The relatives of the bridegroom used to call on the relatives of the girl according to the same and used to spend a

night with them. They used to be treated and looked after well during their stay. Then, a portion of the Valver [ولور] or dower money used to be reduced next morning on their departure which used to be as a gesture of goodwill. The same tradition used to be prevalent also among other tribes with a slight modification ***(Manual Page No.302***).

Korea dowry among the Mando Khail people [مندوخیل میں کوریا جہیز]:

The Kor [کور] i.e. Dowry, among the Mando Khail [مندوخیل] offshoot of the Panni nation used to include a water bag [مشک] or [کھلی] a metal bowl [دھات کا کٹورا] a thick bed spread [دری] and a pillow [تکیہ]. The same used to include among the affluent people however a silver bracelet [ہار] a pair of silver bangles [چاندی کیچوڑیاں] nose pin, either silver or gold, a few pots and kitchen articles other than some dresses for the bridegroom. The bride used to be entitled to use other things which she used to get from her husband during her life time. She used to be entitled to use those things even after the death of her husband provided she used opt to relinquish her right of remarriage as a mark of respect for her deceased husband ***(Manual Page No.348***). The Mando Khail [مندوخیل] people used to practice all the above mentioned professions but they had never endorsed the concept of "Mean" [رذیل] ***(Manual Page No.353***).

Inheritance [وراثت]:

The people of the Panni nation always used to abide by the dictates of Islamic Shariat [شریعت] with regard to the rights of inheritance.

Dopatta Sehr Gah [دوپٹہ سحر گاہ]:

There used to be yet another very strong ritual which used to exist among the people of the Panni nation and which used to be called as "Dopatta Sehr Gah**"** [دوپٹہ سحر گاہ]. The ladies from both sides of the couple used to call on the house of bride very early on the following day of her marriage according to the same. Then, they used to put two Dopattas [دوپٹہ] on the head of bride. The same used to be the most memorable event because the bride used to keep those Dopattas [دوپٹہ] as a souvenir with her during her life time. She used to show those two Dopattas [دوپٹہ] even to her children as a souvenir. Those two Dopattas [دوپٹہ] used to be even handed over to the

next generation as an inheritable asset as well. Those Dopattas [دوپٹہ] used to be awarded to the most intelligent woman regardless of her age. Thus, the bride used to be elevated symbolically as well conversant in the house management (***Aziz Khan Loni Panni*** [عزیز خان لونی پنّی] ***E.A.C, from Sibi*** [سّبی])

Head shaving [جھنڈ]:

There used to be another interesting tradition which was called as Jhand [جھنڈ] i.e. "Head Shaving". The Panni tribes of the Sibi [سّبی] areas used to shave the head of the newly born baby after the fortieth day of his birth. There used to be a special arrangement always along-with eatables and drinks for said ceremony. The ceremony used to be performed generally on the shrine of some Muslim saint. The same tradition used to be performed in the family of the writer (*This Book*) as well. The said ritual used to be performed also at the door of a nearby mosque if there was no shrine in the vicinity. Thus, the said ritual used to signify a commitment with the Islamic social way of life.

Hasher [حشر]:

There used to be a tradition among the Panni people which was known as Hasher [حشر]. The immediate needs of any poor person of the tribe used to be fulfilled through the same. The said tradition used to involve the tribal members with their contributory efforts. Thus, if someone used to be desirous to construct a house, he used to fix a day and time to perform "Hasher" [حشر]. He used to disclose also his program of raising the construction for a house. Then, the tribal members used to reach the spot in the early morning on the fixed day along-with their oxen carts and other necessary equipment as well as the articles and tools to extend the helping hand till sunset. The tradition of Hasher [حشر] as a matter of fact used to be a nice way of assembling together and concluding the cumbersome assignment of construction collectively. The Hasher [حشر] assignment used to be finished in a day but if some job used to remain unfinished due to some reason then, the whole tribe collectively used to swamp out to render the assistance. The host on the day of Hasher [حشر] was supposed to serve one meal only to all the participants. Thus, he used to get the job performed by spending a meager amount on the food and in the

process he used to save the cost of labor. The said tradition used to be based on the spirit of promoting the communal harmony.

There used to be a very peculiar characteristic among the Panni tribes at Sibi [سّبی] and in their offshoot i.e. Zerkon [زرکون] tribe which was described in the Imperial Gazetteer Sibi [سّبی]. The names of the maternal and paternal grandparents of male and female members of the Zerkon [زرکون] tribe used to be described as the same. The Pathan community as a whole writes the tribal names after the individual name as a traditional practice. The leaders of the Baro Zai Panni [باروزئی پنّی] tribe write the word “Sardar” with their names. The same tradition used to be prevalent in the past, as well (***Volume No.3 Page No.83***). Since, the same was kept alive by some families until recently therefore the detail account will be given in this regard in the history of the rulers of Kernol [کرنول] and Bangladesh [بنگلہ دیش].

PANNI PATHAN

Chapter-VII

THE GREATEST ARCHITECT OF HISTORY IN RECENT TIMES AND FOUNDER OF PAKISTAN QUAID-E-AZAM MOHAMMED ALI JINNAH WAS A SON OF THE PANNI NATION

دورِ حاضر کے سب سے بڑے تاریخ ساز، خالقِ پاکستان قائد اعظم محمد علی جناح پنّی قوم کے چشم وچراغ تھے

Quaid-e-Azam, Mohammed Ali Jinnah [قائداعظم محمد علی جناح] was a true expressive picture as, "A man of all seasons" [بے ہمہ باش و با ہمہ باش]. The almighty God had shaped him up right from his early age to walk on a well defined and a very well ordained course of life. When, he was properly groomed in a particular sculpt and was ready to embark on a mission, the almighty God had galvanized him into action to attain some big goals. But as soon as he was able to accomplish his mission, God had summoned him back. We intend to explore the background of said great man through this article while keeping in view some particular Muslim groups or tribes. We will also refer to his ancestry in the process as well as to other family connections, just to assess and understand his personality and general propensities in his character, to understand him better.

The demands of his greatness [عظمت کا تقاضہ]:

Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] and Allama Iqbal [علامہ اقبال], besides being the epitome of self consciousness, self reliance and confidence, each one of them was the gorgeous Gestalt of very sanctified and lofty thoughts and perceptions. They were men of words and deeds and their clear conscience was blended with sophisticated natural talents. Where their nature was blessed with elegance there, they were also simultaneously blessed with the requisite prudence. They both had remained afloat elegantly on the currents of time throughout their lives just by virtue of their personal charisma. They both had landed all enthused in the practical field at the most opportune time to render services for the creation of Pakistan as well. There was many a knave with all the shrewdness and cunningness from within and from without but even they had to yield to their pragmatism, courage and optimism during their Panipat [پانی پت] like intense political battle.

There were a number of books on their lives and achievements but there was not a single writer however who was able to throw any light on their respective ancestral backgrounds. The general perception that the greatness of a great person lies in his personal characteristics and abilities was correct undoubtedly but when, the matter was regarding a deeper understanding of a person and it was a question to gather information to write his biography then, it was incumbent for skillful writing of a biography to bring in the limelight even the ancestral background of said great man. The writers, while writing the biography of the Prophet Mohammed [محمد ﷺ], have always made it a prerequisite to discuss his history as a prelude along-with his ancestral background. Since, the genetic attributes of the distant ancestors of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] were somehow or the other a part of his personality therefore we will be constrained to draw an absolute inference in this context that, Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] had some nicely organized and very well ordained ancestral linkage which was evident from his characteristics like honesty, courage and defiance in his charismatic personality coupled with elegance, vibrancy and the emphatic oratory which had made him a great and an epoch making personality.

The way he was surrounded from all sides and despite the repertoires of very deadly attacks from his opponents and the repeated attempts to entangle him in intrigues and then, his single handed fight against all those odds and while keeping in view the aspirations of the Muslim community of India and gauging and anticipating the ill-designs of Hindus, he had ultimately succeeded in establishing an independent country Pakistan, all that was sufficient to endorse our aforementioned inference. The greatness of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] had demanded therefore a concerted effort to explore his ancestral background.

Linkage with the Lohana tribe of Sahewal [ساہیوال کے لوہانہ قبیلے سے تعلق]:

The leading personalities of the Muslim league and reliable friends of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] were cognizant of the fact even prior to the establishment of Pakistan that, the family of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] had no linkage with the Rajpoot [راجپوت] tribe of Sahewal [ساہیوال]. He had his tribal roots rather among the Panni Pathans. The said standpoint shall *in puris naturalibus* be established later (*Writer*). There was a small town where the family of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] was based and was known as “Lohana” [لوہانہ] whereas his ancestors had migrated a very long time ago from said place along-with other tribesmen. Then, they had opted to settle down in

Kathiawar Gujarat [کاٹھیا واڑ گجرات] and had even named that place as "Lohana" [لوہانہ], which they had selected for their abode. There was also a book in the same context with the caption as "Muslim Communities in Gujarat" which had revealed that there used to be an area known as "Lohana" [لوہانہ]. The same was perhaps in existence until recent times. The aforementioned "Lohana" [لوہانہ] aspect also used to remain under discussion even during his lifetime among the leading personalities of the Muslim league and among the associates of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم]. Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] and Mohterma Fatima Jinnah [محترمہ فاطمہ جناح] had revealed said fact firstly to Nawab Jamshaid Ali Khan of Baghpat [نواب جمشید علی خان آف باغپت] (*Mehrat India* [میرٹھ بھارت]) according to one version. Then, there was a better endorsement of the same fact through a letter of a relative of Nawab Jamshaid Ali Khan of Baghpat [نواب جمشید علی خان آف باغپت]. The same was in the manner, as below:

> "I was acquainted with the fact even prior to the independence of Pakistan that Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] was a Rajpoot [راجپوت] by origin because Nawab Jamshaid Ali Khan of Baghpat [نواب جمشید علی خان آف باغپت] had referred to a conversation which had taken place between him and Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] along-with Mohterma Fatima Jinnah [محترمہ فاطمہ جناح]. The same subject was discussed repeatedly before me and before the members of the Rajpoot [راجپوت] family, *Writer*" (***Letter Dated.19.07.1976 addressed to the writer, by Kunwer Mohammed Azam Ali Khan Khuserwi, Nazimabad Karachi*** [مکتوب کنور محمد اعظم علی خان خسروی ناظم آباد کراچی]).

Nawab Jamshaid Ali Khan of Baghpat [نواب جمشید علی خان آف باغپت], for years, was a member of legislative assembly in Uter Perdaish (UP). He had performed as a parliamentary member for a very long time "as Viceroy of executive council". He also had the privilege to enjoy the personal friendship of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] as a member of the Muslim league. The aforementioned statement was also ratified through a short article which was published in a Lahore daily Newspaper. The article was in the manner, as below:

> "When the stay of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] used to get prolonged in Delhi [دہلی] and he used to get tired of his daily routine then he used to go to the Baghpat [باغپت] district Mehrat India [میرٹھ بھارت]. He used to stay there in a Rest House probably. The said Rest House was located at the river bank which was a very tranquil place with a picturesque view. Nawab

Jamshaid Ali Khan of Baghpat [نواب جمشید علی خان آف باغپت] had asked Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] one day that his family was associated in trade and commerce and how he was able to generate those traits in his personality which had the professed roar of a leader? Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] had passed a smile and then he had replied by saying that, "Nawab Sahib, I am a "Punjabi Rajpoot [پنجابی راجپوت]. One of my ancestors had migrated to Kathiawar Gujarat [کاٹھیا واڑ گجرات] many generations ago and said relative had married a girl from the Khawaja [خواجہ] family. He had integrated well with the rest of her family and since then we were considered as the "Khawaja" [خواجہ] family. The above mentioned ancestor, who had migrated to Kathiawar Gujarat [کاٹھیا واڑ گجرات], was in fact a resident of Montgomery which is presently known as Sahewal [ساہیوال] (***Daily Mashriq Lahore*** [روزنامہ مشرق لاہور] ***Dated.11.06.1976 by Asad Multani*** [اسد ملتانی], C***ourtesy, Shakar*** [شاہکار] ***Lahore***).

The same article was also published as the Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] special on 19th December 1950 in a magazine which was captioned as "Mah-e-Noe" [ماہ نو] volume No.3 page No.30.

Syed Ghulam Bheek Nairang [سید غلام بھیک نیرنگ] was among the frontline leaders of Tahreek-e-Khalafat [تحریک خلافت]. He was an active leader of the Muslim league as well. He was also one of the confidants of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] and had also written a similar type of article in one of the Magazines. Then, there was another short article with regard to the ancestral background of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] which was published in a Lahore daily Newspaper in 1947. The opening paragraph of said article was in the manner, as below:

"Mohterma Fatima Jinnah [محترمہ فاطمہ جناح] and Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] were pleased to disclose the fact to satisfy the general queries that their ancestors were "Lohana" [لوہانہ] and Rajpoot [راجپوت] and their ancestors were based at Sahewal [ساہیوال] which was previously known as Montgomery (***Nawa-e-Waqt*** [نوائے وقت] *Daily, Article by Syed Zahid Hussain* [سیدذاہد حسین] *Sadiqabad* [صادق آباد]).

There was another article which was published in the same daily Newspaper in Lahore in the manner, as below:

"Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] had belonged to an offshoot of the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people known as "Lohana" [لوہانہ]. They were based at a place which was also known as "Lohana" [لوہانہ]. The same was the place which was raided by the lashker of Timor under the leadership of Pir Khan [پیر خان] after the conquest of Depalpur (*Present Sahewal* [ساہیوال] *Writer*). The Rajas of Fatehabad [فتح آباد], Sarana [سارانہ], Lohana [لوہانہ] and Kaithel [کیتھل] were defeated during said expedition. The Lohana [لوہانہ] Rajpoot [راجپوت] tribe had abandoned however their native country. They had migrated to Kathiawar Gujarat [کاٹھیا واڑ گجرات] and then the majority of them (*According to Merat Ahmedi* [مرات احمدی]) had changed their sect ("Sect" *Writer*) in the fourteenth century A.C at the hands of Pir Sadar-ud-Din [پیرصدرالدین]. He was a leader of the Khoja Ismaeel Jamat [اسماعیلی خوجہ جماعت]"

Nawab Saddique Ali Khan [نواب صدیق علی خان] had also published a long article by rendering a similar account in the context of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] Special Number 1950 in "Mah-e-Noe" [ماہ نو] magazine Karachi. Nawab Saddique Ali Khan [نواب صدیق علی خان] was from Nagpur [ناگپور] India. He was also among the leading personalities of the Muslim league. He was a very closely associated friend of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] because he was the chief of the national guards in the Muslim league. He was supposed to ensure the security of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] during public rallies and processions. He had migrated to Pakistan under the direction of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم]. He had to leave behind, in the process, all his ancestral property including the family guns. He was also the private secretary to Shaheed-e-Millat Liaqat Ali Khan [شہید ملت لیاقت علی خان], who was the first Prime Minister of Pakistan. The emoluments, which were fixed for him at that time, were Rupees three Thousand per month. He had refused to accept these however and he had instead accepted Rupees Fifteen Hundred very contently. Shaheed-e-Millat Liaqat Ali Khan [شہید ملت لیاقت علی خان] was believed to have breathed his last breath in his lap. He had also reproduced the same article in his book which was captioned as "Bay Taigh Sepahie" [بے تیغ سپاہی] (*A soldier without sword*). He had expressed his views therein in the manner, as below:

"The same was the autumn of 1938 and the assembly was in secession at Shimla [شملہ]. The party members of the Muslim league had assembled because of heavy rain. Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] had also graced one of the sofas with his presence. We had encircled the

beacon of politics and politicians. Haji Sardar Abdullah Haroon [حاجی سردار عبداللہ ہارون], Mollana Zafer Ali Khan [مولانا ظفر علی خان], Molvi Syed Ghulam Bheek Nairang [مولوی سید غلام بھیک نیرنگ] and Haji Abdul Sattar [حاجی عبدالستار] were also among those who were present. The names of the other participants were however not in mind unfortunately. This was a nice occasion because Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] was in a lighter mood. He was inclined to exchange pleasantries and was explaining the etymology of the word "Khoja" [خوجہ] as well as, the incident of embracing Islam by his family along-with the reasons of his divergence from his highness Prince Agha Khan [پرنس آغا خان]. He had explained in this regard that, his ancestors were from the Lohana [لوہانہ] offshoot of the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people. Those people were based in some parts of Punjab [پنجاب], particularly in Multan. The agnate of his family had embraced Islam at the hands of a renowned person namely Pir Syed Abdur Razzaq [پیر سید عبدالرزاق] of Hazarat Ghous-ul-Azam [حضرت غوث الاعظم]. They were traders by profession and were known as "Khawaja" [خواجہ] due to the same reason but, said word was distorted with the passage of time and was pronounced as "Khoja" [خوجہ]. Then, he had explained further that his entire family used to consider his highness Prince Agha Khan [پرنس آغا خان] as their Pir [پیر] Spiritual leader). There were some differences however which had emerged at the wedding time of his elder sister and thus, the allegiance to the peerage of Prince Agha Khan [پرنس آغا خان] was severed by the family members of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم]"

Molvi Syed Ghulam Bheek Nairang [مولوی سید غلام بھیک نیرنگ] had read my abovementioned article. He had also ratified my said statement in the same context through another article which was captioned as "Sepahie Ka Nazerrana" [سپاہی کا نذرانہ] and was published in "Mah-e-Noe" [ماہ نو] Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] Special Number, at page No.21. I had failed to trace out said article unfortunately as well as, the Newspaper despite my best efforts. The same statement was also authenticated and fully endorsed through an unexpected but a reliable independent source when there was another article which was published in "Mah-e-Noe" [ماہ نو] Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] Special Number, by the renowned and respectable poet of the Subcontinent namely Asad Multani [اسد ملتانی]. He had also ratified my abovementioned statement (***Bat Taigh Sepahie*** [بے تیغ سپاہی] ***Page No.55, 56***). We have already discussed the article of Asad Multani [اسد ملتانی] above.

Quaid-e-Azam had disclosed the hearsay [قائداعظم نے شنید بیان کردی]:

The aforementioned statement has endorsed that the ancestors of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] had embraced Islam even prior to their migration to Kathiawar Gujarat [کاٹھیا واڑ گجرات]. The change of religion (Sect) was just due to the fact that an individual from their family had married a girl from the "Khoja" [خوجہ] family. The authenticity of said statement was beyond any doubt and had also established that Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] had belonged to the Lohana [لوہانہ] nation. The Lohana [لوہانہ] was an offshoot of the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people according to the information and knowledge of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم]. The fact of the matter was that Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] had stated what he had learnt from his ancestors or what had travelled down to him through written communication(s). Thus the job was cut out for us in the light of aforementioned statement regarding which there was no thorough research. This had demanded a deeper study of history however to discover the origin of the Lohana [لوہانہ] people.

Who were the Rajpoot people [راجپوت کون ہیں]?

The analysis of the term Rajpoot [راجپوت] had explained that it was not the name of any tribe or nation but was rather a collective name of different nations. The term Rajpoot [راجپوت] had included the local Jatt [جاٹ] and nations which had made the ingress into the Subcontinent from the north like: Aria [آریا], Parthi [پارتھی], Saka [ساکا] or Scythian, Hun [ہن] and white Huns [سفید ہن] etc. The term Rajpoot [راجپوت] had reminded us always the time when the head of every large and small size family used to be called either Chaudhery [چوہدری], Mian [میاں], Mha [مہا] Sardar or Raja [سردار یا راجہ] in various parts of the Subcontinent. Then, the larger fish had started gobbling-up the smaller ones with the passage of time and all those families had assumed the status of a Rajdhani [راجدھانی]. The aforementioned people initially used to live as a composite unit in smaller towns. When, said group had multiplied in number then they had opted for bigger areas for their gradual expansion. There were many mind boggling versions however with regard to the Hindu legendry Rajpoot [راجپوت] characters. The Rajpoot [راجپوت] was a group of people, according to some historians, which had emanated from the Hindu caste system. They were a product of xenophobic social division under the Manu Mharaj [منوں مہاراج] which was devised by conscious efforts to protect the Rajdhani [راجدھانی] against the ingress of aliens. There was another version of modern researchers that the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people were descendants of the

Saka or Scythe nation which was known for its bravery. They had fought many battles in the north and in the northwest of central Asia against the Iranian (*Ashkani* [اشکانی] i.e. Panni) people. Then, they had infiltrated into the south of the Subcontinent. Those people had swayed the area of Taxilla and had moved from there into the south and southwest. Bahlam [باہلم] was one of the nations of the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people according to the great historian of Afghanistan namely Aaqa-e-Habibi [آقائے حبیبی]. There was yet another nation which was considered as a part of the Afghan and Jatt [جاٹ] people of Mianwali [میانوالی] and Anmbala (*India*) which was known by the name of "Yahleem" [یحلیم] (***Explanation from Tabaqat Naseri*** [طبقات ناصری] ***Urdu Translation Page No.437***). The version about "Bahlam" [باہلم] was seemingly a concoction. We will introduce in this regard the other general references later which will substantiate the view with regard to the amalgamation of different tribes.

Lohana are not Rajpoot [لوہانہ راجپوت نہیں ہیں]:

The study of history had revealed that those who used to call themselves as "Lohana" [لوہانہ] were in fact not the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people. The people of said tribe used to live in Sindh [سندھ] in Tando Mohammed Khan [ٹنڈو محمد خان], Tando Allah Yar Khan [ٹنڈوالہ یارخان] and Naserpur [نصرپور] areas according to the Imperial Gazetteer of India. Then, they used to exist in large numbers in Parker [پارکر], Khayerpur [خیر پور], Karachi [کراچی], Kathiawar [کاٹھیاواڑ], Jonagherr [جوناگڑھ] and Shaker [سکھر] areas and except the Lohana [لوہانہ] people of Jonagherr [جوناگڑھ], rest of them were Hindus by origin. They were involved in trade activities mostly or they used to perform subordinate duties in the government offices. The Lohana [لوہانہ] of the Sindh [سندھ] area used to be the bearded people just like other Muslims. They used to eat the slaughtered beef and mutton just like Muslims. Those who were the Muslims had actually embraced Islam during the Umayyad reign. The Lohana [لوہانہ] of the Karachi area were also known as Lona [لوانا] which was the second name for the Loni [لونی] offshoot of the Panni Pathans. The Loni [لونی] people besides living in Loralie [لورالائی] and Sibi [سبّی] were based in other parts as well. There is a river which flows near Rajasthan [راجستھان] and Jodhpur [جودھپور] which was also known as River Loni [لونی]. The aforementioned facts had endorsed the view that those people had opted to settle down in the vicinity of said river in olden times. The river itself had become known as River Loni [لونی] by virtue of their settlements (***Volume No.8 Page No.13, 14, 15, 16, 23 and 24***). The Lohana [لوہانہ] people were not mentioned as Rajpoot [راجپوت] people in any book in

accordance with aforementioned references. The reference of sixteen thousand Rajpoot [راجپوت] people, with regard to the area of Parker [پارکر], was discussed rather separately whereas the reference of the Lohana [لوہانہ] people was given regularly in those books. The aforementioned details had indicated that the inhabitants of said area had accepted Hinduism whereas some of them had subsequently embraced Islam. The aforementioned details had established further that the Lohana [لوہانہ] people were not Rajpoot [راجپوت] whereas they had the recognition with the same nomenclature among the Hindu and Muslim communities.

We have to now examine the fact that the Lohana [لوہانہ] people used to belong to which nation in the real sense. When, we (*Writer*) had dabbled into the vast but somber discourse of history with the help of a tiny candlelight which Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] had provided in the quest to explore his ancestry, we had come to the conclusion that he was in fact one of the sons of the ancient rulers of the epoch making the Panni [پنّی] nation. The Panni [پنّی] nation had subsequently become known as Panni Pathan [پنّی پٹھان] among masses. The study of history had revealed that, the word Panni [پنّی] and the names of many offshoots of said nation had passed through the phases of general metamorphosis just like many other words and the names in the course of lingual usage and lingual changes. The word "Panni" [پنّی] had also passed through the phase of different phonetic sounds in the figure of speech. The sound of the "Lohani" [لوہانی] offshoot perhaps had to pass through the same phase as well which was a very popular offshoot in Afghanistan [افغانستان], Rawa [روہ], Ghandaharah [گندھارا] and Rajhistan [راجستھان]. The people of the "Lohani" [لوہانی] offshoot also used to exist in the remote areas of the Subcontinent. The shape and phonetic sound of the word "Lohani" [لوہانی] was tainted in the frequentative use therefore it was pronounced as "Lohana" [لوہانہ] in district Sahewal [ساہیوال], Sindh [سندھ] and Rajasthan [راجستھان]. There was an obvious fact that there was no difference between "Lohani" [لوہانی] and "Lohana" [لوہانہ] and both of them were phonemes simplex, having the same origin. We will also examine the verdict of history in this regard. The same was in the manner, as below:

> The "Lohani" [لوہانی] tribe was a declared offshoot of the "Panni Pathans" [پنّی پٹھان] under the sub-title as "Serkar Kandahar" [سرکار قندھار] in the book which was captioned as Syed Altamakhereen [سیدالتماخرین]. (***Volume No.1, Page No.18***).

The aforementioned reference had established the fact that the people of said tribe were also based in the Kandahar [قندهار] area and they were Muslims. The alleged Rajpoot [راجپوت] tribe had no nexus or existence therefore in the area of Kandahar [قندهار].

> The "Lohana" [لوہانہ] people were mentioned as Pathans (***Page No.223, 232***) in the book which was captioned as Tareekh Ferishta [تاریخ فرشتہ]. The Lahon [لہون] offshoot of the "Panni" [پنّی] nation had also lived in Zahen [ضحن] and Kander [کندر]. They were traders by profession. There was surprisingly one more factor that the "Panni" [پنّی] people used to live in the Deccan [دکن] area as well. They were over one thousand in number and their land was full of salt. The land yield was also nothing else but nitrous salt. The people of said nation used to gather and transport it on their camels or donkeys into the Kandahar [قندهار] area or in the areas of the Kakar [کاکڑ] and Mando Khail [مندو خیل]. They generally used to barter their goods which had established the fact that, the "Lohani" [لوہانی] and/or "Lohana" [لوہانہ] was the name of said nation.

The aforementioned brings us to the conclusion that Lahon [لہون] and Lohana [لوہانہ] were the two names for the same nation. The name of said Panni nation was mentioned as "Lahon" [لہون] in the Genealogical Tree of the "Panni" [پنّی] nation. The said Genealogical Tree was part and parcel of the book which was captioned as Tareekh Ferishta [تاریخ فرشتہ] (***Page No.222, 242, 247***).

The aforementioned statement had established the fact that the people of said "Lahon" [لہون] tribe used to exist in the frontier areas of Baluchistan. They used to also live in Deccan [دکن] in central Hind from where they used to carry out trade activity into the Kandahar [قندهار] area.

> The name of the "Lohani" [لوہانی] and "Lohana" [لوہانہ] tribe was mentioned as "Lahon" [لہون] and "Lona" [لونا] in the book which was captioned as "Hayat Lodhi" [حیات لودھی].

> The name of the "Lohani" [لوہانی] and "Lohana" [لوہانہ] tribe was mentioned as "Lahon" [لہون] in the book captioned as "Tareekh Khursheed Jahan" [تاریخ خورشید جہان] and was mentioned therein, as an offshoot of the Panni [پنّی] nation (***Page No.232***).

The report captioned as "Mission to Kandahar" and which was published in 1860 in Calcutta had contained a clear statement of Major Limdon that, the "Lohani" [لوہانی] or "Lhooni" [لہونی] tribe was an offshoot of the Panni [پنّی] nation. They used to live in the vicinity of the Bori [بوری] and Thul [تھل] areas. There were more than fifty families of said nation in said area and all of them were engaged in trade activities in Kandahar [قندھار] and Dairajat [ڈیراجات]. The sphere of their trading activity used to extend however up to the Dhader [ڈھاڈر] area (***Page No.76***). The "Lohani" [لوہانی] tribe was divided into three further sub-tribes i.e. Doalat Khail [دولت خیل], Panni [پنّی] and Mian Khail [میاں خیل] etc. (*The same are the sub-tribes of the Panni nation, page No.91, Writer*). The people of said offshoot used to live mostly in the Thul [تھل] and Mailseyani [میلسیانی] areas. They used to frequently intermingle with the Tareen [ترین] nation (***Page No.96***). Those nomadic people were divided further into four groups i.e. Lhooni [لہونی] and Lohani [لوہانی], Nasir [ناصر], Niazi [نیازی] and Khroti [خروطی]. The Doalat Khail [دولت خیل] and Panni [پنّی] people had opted to live a settled life mostly. They were disinclined to travel to Hindustan to trade their goods (***Page No.91***). The Panni [پنّی] and Lhooni [لہونی] people used to live in the vicinity of Thul [تھل] and Bori [بوری] areas. The number of their families was approximately six thousand and five hundred (***Page No.76***).

The British had sent a reconnaissance mission to Afghanistan as a new challenge with the objective to ensure the realization of their futuristic interests. The report of the mission was published in 1862 with the caption as "A Political Mission to Afghanistan" and said report in the context of the Afghan nations had revealed in the manner, as below:

> "The Panni [پنّی] and Kakar [کاکڑ] were more popular people among the four sons of Dani [دانی]. Those nations were based in the Koh Suleiman [کوہِ سلیمان] range **(*Praaspa*)** and used to carry out trade activities between central Asia and Hindustan in collaboration with the Lohani [لوہانی] tribe".

The Surgeon Major H. Blue had mentioned in "Races of Afghanistan" that, the Panni [پنّی] people used to trade between central Asia and Hindustan in collaboration with the Lohani [لوہانی] tribe.

The said tribe was mentioned as the Laghon [لعون] tribe in Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] published in 1941. The Lhona Zai [لہونہ زئی] tribe was mentioned as an offshoot of the Panni [پنّی] nation in the Fehrist of 1961 which was published, officially (***Page No.55, 86***).

The Glossary of Castes and Tribes by Mr. Rose, which was based on the Census Report of 1663 and was prepared by Sir A. D. Macon, the Lhona Zai [لہونہ زئی] offshoot was mentioned in the same as the "Lohani" [لوہانی] tribe in the Genealogical Tree of the Panni [پنّی] people (***Volume No.3 Page No.222, 223***).

The Pathan ruling family of the "State of Palanpur" [پالن پور] (*Kathiawar* [کاٹھیا واڑ]) also had the roots into said Lohan [لوہان] tribe (***Annexed Leaflet Volume No.1 Page No.147***). They used to be in the Kathiawar state which was the place where the ancestors of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] had migrated from the town Lohana [لوہانہ] to the Sahewal [ساہیوال] area. There were a number of "Lohani" [لوہانی] people in the state of Palanpur [پالن پور] according to Imperial Gazetteer.

Syed Jamal-ud-din Afghani [سید جمالالدین افغانی] had quoted in his book captioned as Tatima-tul-Beyan Fe Tareekh-al-Afghanistan [تتمہ البیان فی تاریخ الافغانستان] in the manner, as below:

> The trade expeditions of the "Lohani" [لوہانی] people were amazing because those people used to load their goods on the camel backs and used to travel up to China and Siberia. They also used to touch the other parts of India on their way back other than the areas like Toaana Zovi [توآنا ضوی] (*Terkia*) [ترکیہ]. They used to enjoy a peculiar distinction by virtue of their dresses and turbans which used to be quadrilateral and their caps used to be like shell boats. The Lohani [لوہانی] people of the Azerbaijan [آذربئیجان] area used to live in the west of the Caspian Sea (*Khazar Sea, Writer*). They also used to be distinct because of their dress. The upper part of their dress used to be very tight whereas it used to be loose from the waist downwards because of many pleats (***Tareekh Afghan*** [تاریخ افغان] ***Page No. 129***).

We may also reiterate here that Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah [قائداعظم محمد علی جناح] had belonged to the same "Lohani" [لوہانی] offshoot of the Panni [پنّی] nation. The historical reality was that the nations which had landed into the Subcontinent in old times, used to come from the

northern side from time to time. They used to approach China, Siberia, Azerbaijan [آذربئیجان] and Toaana Zovi [توآنا ضوی] (*Terkia*) [ترکیہ] for their trade activities. They used to move about in the plains of Kandahar [قندھار], Dairajat [ڈیراجات] and Dhader [ڈھاڈر] area as well. They had ruled for centuries, Iran in the south and Armenia in the west.

The aforementioned references of history had ratified the fact that the Lohani [لوہانی] was a Pathan tribe whereas the people of this tribe used to be traders by profession. The Lohani [لوہانی] tribe was an offshoot of the Panni [پنّی] nation and they used to exist in Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. The word Lohani [لوہانی] had assumed different shapes and phonetic sounds amidst different local accents e.g. Lohani [لوہانی], Lohana [لوہانہ], Lohan [لوہان], Lhona Zai [لہونہ زئی], Lagoon [لعون] and Lahon [لہون] etc which were variously manifested shapes of the same word or name. When the ancestors of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] had migrated from Sahewal [ساہیوال] to Kathiawar [کاٹھیا واڑ], the town which they had opted as their base, had also become known as Lohana [لوہانہ].

Migration [نقل مکانی]:

There may well be a pertinent question that the people, who were from the Lohana [لوہانہ] or Lohan [لوہان] offshoot(s) and Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] was related with them filially, how had they managed and when had they reached the Sahewal [ساہیوال] area. When, we had explored the history in this regard we were able to discover that, the people of the Panni [پنّی] nation had also abandoned their abodes in ancient times just like many other nations. They used to migrate then into far-flung areas without any regard for their religious affinity. The excerpt from Aien-e-Akberi [آئین اکبری] was self-explanatory in this regard which was in the manner, as below:

> "When the Panni [پنّی] people were banished from their native land, they had migrated to Jaypur [جے پور], Jodhpur [جورھپور] and Aaheer [آھیر] (*Rajputana* [راجپوتانہ]) and had opted to be professional goods forwarding agents, which was their source of income. The descendants of the Panni [پنّی] nation used live also in the Shikarpur [شکار پور] area of Sindh [سندھ] and in its vicinity" (***English Translation Volume No.3 Page No.397 and 402***).

They were also based in “Kohana Town” [قصبہ کوہانہ] and in the area of the Khawaja [خواجہ] and Rohtak [رہتک] according to a report.

We may point out that Jaypur [جے پور] is located in the eastern part of the southern border of Rajputana [راجپوتانہ] whereas Jodhpur [جورھپور] is located on the southwestern border. The people of the Panni [پنّی] nation had some irregular placements in other words, in the entire Rajputana [راجپوتانہ]. They had made inroads in the area, which was close to the northern frontier of Rajputana [راجپوتانہ] and into the western remote area of Marwar [مارواڑ], Gujarat [گجرات], Kathiawar [کاٹھیا واڑ] and Palanpur [پالن پور]. *The in detail account will follow later*.

The first book about the genealogy of the Pathans, which was captioned as “Makhzan Afghani” [مخزن افغانی] was compiled during the reign of the Emperor Jahangeer [شہنشاہ جہانگیر]. The Panni nation was described in the same in the manner, as below:

> “The Panni nation used to live in its native country but due to some *faux pas* (*Offence against social convention*) it was banished from their area. They had landed in Jaypur [جے پور], Jodhpur [جورھپور] and Aaheer [آھیر] and then had promoted their life in said area. They used to call said area as “Dhanawer” [دھناور]. The Panni people were based in said area until recently in about one hundred large size villages. The population of each village was approximately five thousand people. They were goods forwarding agents mostly and some of them were quite affluent. They used to carry their goods to Deccan [دکن]. There were some others who were involved in different professions”.

> “Captain Reverty had expressed his views in “Notes on Afghanistan” that, there was a large community of the Panni [پنّی] or Pernie [پرنئی] people which had migrated to Hindustan in ancient times and they had gradually proliferated in big numbers. Then, some of them had migrated at the invitation of Bahlol Lodhi [بہلول لودھی] and thus they had started living under his Sultanate during the reign of the Lodhi [لودھی] rulers. Bahlol Lodhi [بہلول لودھی] was thus able to establish his own nation in the area of Marwar [مارواڑ] which was known as Dhandhar [دھناور]. The same was in the north of Gujarat [گجرات] (***Mirat Mohammedi*** [مرات محمدی] ***Page No.1***). The Panni [پنّی] people had numerous settlements and Mozas in said area in 1802. The numerical strength of the

Panni [پنّی] people was between one thousand to five thousand members in each Moza at that time. Then, most of the people of said nation, which had also included the people of the Mianera [میانڑا] offshoot, had moved into the south of their country after the downfall of the Pathan rulers in order to get the government jobs" (***Page No.6262, 627***). Their general conditions, according to the Gazetteer of District Zob [ژوب], were described in the manner, as below:

"The descendants of the Panni [پنّی] nation were also based in the area of southern Hind from where they were able to attain a distinct status in the history of Hindustan" (*Page No.75*).

Major I.T Ridgway, the former recruiting staff officer, had expressed his views in the book which was captioned as Afaghana [افاغنہ] that, the people of the Panni [پنّی] nation were the Ghurghasht [غرغشت] Pathans and they had migrated from Ghazni [غزنی]. Then, they had landed into the present country which they had occupied. The Dehpal [دہپال], Murghzan [مرغزانی], Barozai [باروزئی], Umer Zai [عمرزئی] and the Shoran [شورن] were the offshoots of said nation (***Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] 1941). They were able to occupy the Sibi [سّبی] area at the end of the sixteenth century A.C and were generally agriculturalists by profession. The descendants of the Panni [پنّی] nation used to live in large numbers in southern Hindustan i.e. Delhi [دہلی], Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] etc. (***Page No.103, 218***).

The book Mukhzan Afghani [مخزن افغانی] had revealed the fact that, "when the internal family disturbances had taken place after the sudden death of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] then one of his Generals namely Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی], who was the custodian of his treasure in the Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس], had decided to march out along-with the entire treasure to approach the Pathan rulers of Gujarat [گجرات]. Rana Oadhay Sing [رانا اودھے سنگھ] had blocked his way when he was close to the area of Marwar [مارواڑ]. The said act of blocking was with the intention to plunder said treasure. Rana Oadhay Sing [رانا اودھے سنگھ] had also planned to kidnap some of the ladies who were accompanying Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] and there was a skirmish between the two sides resultantly which had turned out to be a battle between the infidels and Islam subsequently. Then, said battle was ultimately converted into Jihad [جہاد]. There were about five hundred Muslim Pathans who had ventured out all equipped from the area of Rana Oadhay Sing

[رانا اودھے سنگھ] and had supported Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] pursuant to the declaration of Jihad [جہاد] and thus there were about three hundred supporters of Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] who had embraced Shahadat [شہادت]. There was not even a single person however, out of the remaining two hundred, who had individually not received five to ten wounds. The Muslims were able to win said battle in the end" (***Page No.108, 109***).

Colonel Tad had visited the area for the last time in 1882 in order to complete his worthy book on history which was translated with the name as "Waqaie [وقائع]" and regarding the State of "Sheikhawati" [شیخاوتی] which was located in the north of Jaypur [جے پور], he had expressed his views in the manner, as below:

> "Sheikhawat [شخاوت] was one of the descendants of Rana Oadhay Sing [رانا اودھے سنگھ] and his birth was owed to a prayer which was answered in affirmation. The said prayer was offered at the shrine of a saint i.e. Sheikh Burhan [شیخ برہان]. The name of said place was also "Sheikhawat" [شخاوت] and "Sheikhagee" [شیخاجی]. The said Raja had become popular as Sheikhawat [شخاوت] because of the name of said saint. He was also able to earn a big name in the battles with the help of the Panni Pathans (***Urdu Translation Page No.123 and 1962***).

We may point out that the aforementioned godly saint i.e. Sheikh Burhan Panni [شیخ برہان پنّی] was the same person under whose leadership the people had volunteered to support Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی]. They had participated in the Jihad [جہاد] against Rana Oadhay Sing [رانا اودھے سنگھ] (***Mukhzan Afghani*** [مخزن افغانی] ***Part No.2, Page No.9 and 108***).

The ancestors of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگ پنّی] of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] also used to live in the area of Bara Baste [بارہ بستی] in Jaypur [جے پور]. The same place was also called as "Daira" [دائرہ] just because of the association of the people with the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought. They were known as "Ahel-e- Daira" [اہل دائرہ] as well (***Makateeb Bahader Yar Jung*** [مکاتیب بہادر یار جنگ] ***Page No.39. 182***). Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگ پنّی] was from the Sado Zai Panni [سدوزئی پنّی] offshoot of the Panni nation.

There was a gentleman by the name of Bahlol Khan Panni [بہلول خان پنّی] prior to the independence of Pakistan. He used to live in a town in Jaypur [جے پور] which was known as "Chomian" [چومیوں]. He was a poet with the pseudonym as Dana [دانا] (***Weekly Afghan Dated.01.04.1968, Makateeb Bahader Yar Jung*** [مکاتیب بہادر یار جنگ] ***Page No.244***). The aforementioned statements had established the fact that the people of the Panni nation were based in great numbers in the nook and corner of Rajasthan [راجستھان]. The area of Sahewal [ساہیوال] was also linked with Rajasthan [راجستھان]. The people of the Panni nation had also migrated to said place during the reign of Sultan Ibraheem Lodhi [سلطان ابراہیم لودھی] (***Problems of North Western Frontier Province Page No.65***).

Colonel Tad had expressed his views further that the boundaries of Rajputana [راجپوتانہ] were undefined when Shab-ud-Din Ghori [شہاب الدین غوری] had conquered Hindustan [ہندوستان] in 1194 (***Page No.50***). He had annexed the area of Depalpur [دیپالپور] along-with the area of the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people (***Page No.51***) which was the ancient abode of the ancestors of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم]. The learned historians were also cognizant of the fact that the area of Sahewal [ساہیوال] and its vicinity was under the administrative control of Walayat Multan [ولائت ملتان] during the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] and even for a very long time thereafter. Then, the district Sahewal [ساہیوال] (*Former District Montgomery*) was separated with its present form during the British Raj. The practical creation of Bahawalpur [بہاولپور] was also a very recent event in the history. The ruler of Lahore [لاہور] Depalpur [دیپالپور] and Multan [ملتان] was Khizer Khan [خضرخان] after when Timor [تیمور] had attacked Fatehabad Lohana [فتح آباد لوہانہ] and Shehtal [سیتھل] in 1398 (***Beyana Page No.9***) (***Awami Digest Page No.16 February 1974***). The southern border of Sindh [سندھ] was also connected with Rajasthan [راجستھان]. Those facts had confirmed that all those areas including Rajputana [راجپوتانہ] were a single unit at some point of time. Colonel Tad had expressed his views very rightly that the climatic conditions of all those areas were somewhat similar ecologically and the people of the Panni nation had opted to migrate to Rajputana [راجپوتانہ] (*We have already mentioned the same, above*). They had also migrated to other areas like Multan [ملتان], Sindh [سندھ] and Sahewal [ساہیوال]. The ancestors of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] had also selected the area of Sahewal [ساہیوال] as their abode. Then, they had migrated to Kathiawar [کاٹھیا واڑ] from Sahewal [ساہیوال] where the Nawab of Palanpur [پالن پور], Lohana Panni [لوہانہ پنّی] along-with many other Muslims had adopted a settled life. We have already mentioned about Sindh [سندھ] and other areas where the Lohana Panni [لوہانہ پنّی] people

were based. The people who were known as the "Panni" [پنّی] Muslims used to exist however in the areas mentioned, as below:

> District Multan [ملتان], Bhuta Kot [بھٹہ کوٹ], Molapur [مولاپور], Ameerpur [امیر پور] ,Ghadera Kasi No.3 [گدارہ کسی نمبر3], Manwala [مان والا], Noor Shah [نورشاہ], Mohammed Shah [محمد شاہ] and Chuck [چک] No.94-A (*The same is, in Tehsil Kabirwala*) District Sahewal [ساہیوال] and in the ancient city of Depalpur [دیپالپور]. The people of the Dhepal [دھپال] Panni offshoot were also based there ***(Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***1941and 1954***).

Those who had migrated, in the ancient times, from the northern mountainous region to the south, they had made the ingress mostly via, Dera Bollan [درۂ بولان]. There was a great passage adjacent to the same which used to be a link with said vast area of Delhi [دہلی] and Aghrah [آگرہ] across the area of Marrot [مروٹ]. The same route was a bit easy terrain for those people to migrate into Sindh [سندھ], Multan [ملتان] and Sahewal [ساہیوال]. The said route was well defined and besides that, the free access to the southern area of Rajasthan [راجستھان] was also possible through the same route. The present people of said area and their abodes were the defined vestiges in a sequence, in the area.

Reasons of amalgamation into the Rajpoot people [راجپوتوں میں ادغام کے اسباب]:

The history was witness to the fact that there was a great political turmoil between the Pathans and Hindu rulers particularly in the area of Rajputana [راجپوتانہ]. Then the general public was also inclined to embrace Islam as their religion other than some Rajpoot [راجپوت] rulers. There were also many other reasons for the social integration of the Pathan tribes into the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people. We may draw the inference even otherwise that those who had migrated from the northern mountainous region to Rajasthan [راجستھان] and to other areas as mentioned above, had made their entry into those areas when they had yet to embrace Islam. There was a major societal divide resultantly and it had cropped up between those who had embraced Islam and others who were maintaining the status quo with regard to their beliefs. The two polarized factions notwithstanding the same had their unaltered allegiance with their respective tribal status. There was also a possibility that the Muslim migrants had compromised their original tribal status

because of the severance of their relationship with their tribal center. They had no other option therefore amidst the Pathan specific policy of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] but to assume their collective identity as a newly emerged Muslim Rajpoot [راجپوت] community. There was an irrefutable and a harsh reality however that a biggest exodus was imposed on the Pathan people during the reign of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] when their growing strength was taken as a threat to his reign. The Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had deemed it appropriate perhaps to ruffle up the Pathans in order to break their growing numerical concentrations. He had promoted the Hindus and Muslims, Rajpoot [راجپوت] Jatt [جاٹ], Turks [ترک] and Iranian people simultaneously. Then, he was not only inclined to fluster up the established religious practices in order to make said exodus policy more effective but, he was constrained to make some laws as well. The Pathans were debarred to be appointed in the army at a rank above two or three thousand [دو یا تین ہزاری] according to said laws. The Pathan community was stigmatized as a whole therefore as if they were some outcaste and untrustworthy people. The Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had 412 Mansabdars [منصبدار] in his army and there were just nine of them who were Pathans. The said anti-Pathan laws had perpetuated till the reign of the last Mughal Emperor. The Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had also by design bestowed besides that the title of "Khan" [خان] upon the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people as well. Thus, he had helped the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people to be at par with the Turks and Pathans whereas "Khan" [خان] was a title which was particularized for the Pathan people only. The Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had also established the family relationships with the Hindu Rajpoot [راجپوت] people. He had integrated them into the royal family and had made them stakeholders in the power struggle. The Hindu and Muslim Rajpoot [راجپوت] people had enjoyed thus a very elevated social position as against the Pathans during the reign of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The status of the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people was much consolidated in all the areas, particularly in the area of Rajputana [راجپوتانہ]. The Rajpoot [راجپوت] people were so very well organized that they had literally whipped out the Pathan aura from the scene and the Pathan community was totally overwhelmed by the Hindu Rajpoot [راجپوت] people in the areas where they were less in number. The said radical social upsurge of the Hindu Rajpoot [راجپوت] people had demoralized the Pathans even otherwise. They were so bemused as a result that they had to make efforts to preserve their lost supercilious countenance. The situation had emerged in such a manner that the Pathan people had deemed it appropriate to amalgamate into the Hindu Rajpoot [راجپوت] community in order to preempt the social pre-eminence of the Hindu Rajpoot [راجپوت] people and/or to win the matching support like the

Rajpoot [راجپوت] community in a much polarized state of affairs. The said well coordinated move was also directed to avert any further anti-Pathan opprobrious fury of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر]. Thus, they had assumed perhaps the identity as Rajpoot [راجپوت], just as a measure of societal adjustment. The said adjustment had become the general order of the day with the passage of time and the Pathans had also assumed the name as "Panni" [پنّی], "Kalyore" [کلیور], "Toori" [طوری], "Lohana" [لوہانہ] and "Loan Rajpoot" [لون راجپوت] in the vast areas of Sahewal [ساہیوال], Multan [ملتان], Sindh [سندھ] and Rajputana [راجپوتانہ] respectively. This leads one to draw the inference that, the ancestors of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] in Sahewal [ساہیوال] were from the "Lohana" [لوہانہ] tribe and by virtue of the same nexus, were originally from the Panni nation. They had not embraced Islam just like the other tribes of said nation and had retained their communal identity as Rajpoot [راجپوت] even after embracing Islam. The same way they were also constrained to assimilate themselves under the social dictates of the Hindu Rajpoot [راجپوت] community in the wake of vituperative Pathan specific policy of the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The original identity of the ancestors of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] was though dumped into the obscurity under the then social dictates yet they had always remained rooted among the people of the Panni nation which was an accomplished ruling nation and used to exist even before the Jesus Christ era.

Confirmation through historical references [تاریخی حوالوں سے تصدیق]:

We hereby give the historical references with regard to the status of the Rajpoot [راجپوت] identity of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] to further substantiate our abovementioned treatise.

Colonel Tad had referred to the Panni nation as the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people in his famous book which was captioned as, "Rajasthan" [راجستھان] (***Page No.248***). He had referred to said nation as Muslims in the context of the "Sheikhawati" [شیخاوتی] state (***Page No.1630***). We have already discussed this above. He had neither clarified the self-contradictory status of Rajpoot [راجپوت] and the Muslims nor had he even bothered to be inquisitive about it. He had almost *ignotum per ignotius* reproduced the hearsay narrative with regard to the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people without even ascertaining the factum of history.

Major I.T. Ridgway, the former recruiting officer, had mentioned in his book which was captioned as, "Afaghana" [افاغنہ] that, the "Panni" [پنّی] people were the Ghurghasht [غرغشت] Pathans. They had migrated from Ghazni [غزنی] to Hindustan. The people of the Panni [پنّی] or Panerri [پنڑی] nation had opted to settle down in the Kohana [کوہانہ] district Rohtak [رہتک] other than in Blund Sher [بلند شہر] and in the town of Khawaja [خواجہ]. The Panni [پنّی] nation as result was mistakenly taken as the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people (***Page No.218***). They were also based in the "Sheikhawati" [شیخاوتی] area, which was located in the northwest of Jaypur [جے پور] (*Writer*) (***Page No.412***).

The British government had published a handbook for the Indian Army with the caption as "Pathans" just to secure their vested political interests. The said book was about the Pathans which had revealed in the manner, as below:

> "The people with the "Panni" origin used to live in "Sheikhawati" [شیخاوتی] in southern Hindustan and in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] etc. They were considered to have Rajpoot [راجپوت] origin just by virtue of their residential abode" (***Page No.103, 218***).

Surgeon Major H. Blue had expressed his views in "Races of Afghanistan" in the manner, as below:

> "The Afghans had integrated well into Seryaban [سریابن] which was the national name of the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people".

Colonel Tad had expressed his views further that, those who were known as the "Panni" [پنّی] people, used to be considered also as "Jatt" [جاٹ] at some places other than as Rajpoot [راجپوت] and Pathan. They were known as "Ponia" [پونیہ] or Poniah [پونیہ] also with a little bit of change in the pronunciation of the word "Panni" [پنّی]. There used to be a residential area near Bikaneer [بیکانیر] at Rajputana [راجپوتانہ], which was also known by the same name (***Page No.1420***).

There was an offshoot of the Panni nation, according to Syed Altamakhereen [سیدالتماخرین], which was known as "Kalyore" [کلیور] (***Volume No.1 Page No.81***). Colonel Tad had written it as "Kelora" [کلورا] just by twisting the sound of the word "Kalyore" [کلیور]. He had declared it to be

an offshoot of the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people. The frequent use of the word "Kelor" [کلور] had culminated however into the sound and shape as "Kelora" [کلورا]. He had expressed his views in this regard that, the "Kelora" [کلورا] and the "Sharie" [صحرائی] were two Muslim nations. They were considered to be the emerging communities on the social horizon as per parochial perceptions. He had also expressed his views that those people had hailed from the "Lohana" [لوہانہ] tribe which had included "Lohani" [لوہانی] as well. Those who were Hindus also had among them the "Lohana" [لوہانہ] and the "Ponia" [پونیا] people (***Page No.1552***). There was yet another statement in this regard that, there were the Taderi [تادری] and the Thorie [تہوری] nations (i.e. Toori [طوری] *Writer*) and their origin was unknown (***Page No.1552 to 155***). The statement of Colonel Tad had confirmed at least this much that, "Kalyore" [کلیور] and the "Lohana" [لوہانہ] people had some kind of *inter se* relationship. We have already mentioned above that they both were offshoots of the "Panni" [پنّی] nation and both of them were categorized as the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people. Then as far as the word Thorie [تہوری] was concerned, it was the distorted form of the word Toor Zai [طورزئی] seemingly. They were also based in Baluchistan where they were considered to be an offshoot of the "Panni" [پنّی] nation (***Fehrist Aqwam Baluchistan*** [فہرست اقوام بلوچستان] ***1941 Page No.54, Races of Northwestern Frontiers Province Page No.77***). The same was also known as Terie [طرئی] or Toor [طور] and were based in Kashmir as well. The people of said nation were also based in Dera Pewarr [درۂ پیواڑ] and they were considered as Pathans. They used to be the followers of Pir Roshan [پیرروشن] at some point of time. There were some factions who used to take them as from the Shiaite [شیعہ] school of thought (***Hayat Afghani*** [حیات افغانی] ***Page No.117, English Dictionary Pathan Nations Page No.258***). Colonel Tad had changed the word Terie [طرئی] slightly and he had written it as Thorie [تہوری]. Then, he had declared them as Rajpoot [راجپوت] or perhaps they used to be known as such even previously. Since, he had not conducted any research therefore he had admitted his ignorance with regard to their origin (***Page No.1558***). The aforementioned explicit historical references had endorsed our viewpoint to the extent that there were some people of the Panni [پنّی] nation who were taken as Rajpoot [راجپوت] under some social order as mentioned above and those people used to include the ancestors of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] as well.

The Ponia [پونیا] tribes were included among the Jatt [جاٹ] people in the report which was captioned as "Castes" and was regarding the affairs and management of Raj Marwar [راج ماڑواڑ]. Colonel Tad had also referred to a Bikaneer [بیکانیر] based nation with the same name. He had

called them as Jatt [جاٹ] people whereas their area was known as "Ponia" [پونیا] (***Page No.1420***). The word Ponia [پونیہ] was the distorted manifestation of the word "Panni" [پنّی] which was used in the plural form as well. The author of the book, captioned as Imrat Ahmedi [امرات احمدی] had stated in the context of Pathans that the "Panni" [پنّی] people were also based in Marwar [ماڑواڑ].

Filiations of Quaid-e-Azam with the Panni nation [قائد اعظم پنّی قوم کے فرزند ہیں]:

The aforementioned historical statements had endorsed categorically that, the Panni people along-with some of their offshoots were considered to be the Rajpoot [راجپوت] people in some areas under certain communal and social order. The same had also included the Lohana [لوہانہ] tribe of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah [قائداعظم محمد علی جناح]. The genealogical nexus of Quaid-e-Azam [قائد اعظم] was always with the Panni nation which was generally known as the Panni Pathans. There was one possibility which cannot be ruled out that the courage, confidence, defiance, eloquence and other charismatic qualities and the amazing grace with which Quaid-e-Azam [قائد اعظم] was blessed and which was the hallmark of his leadership, he was supposed to have inherited those traits genetically from his ancient ancestors who were none others than the Panni nation. The contribution which he had rendered in the history of the Subcontinent required no comments however because the whole world is familiar with the same.

Wali Tonk Raj Ameer-ud-Dolla Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni
[والئ ٹونک راج امیر الدولہ نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]:

Nawab Ameer Khan was from the Sallar Zai tribe of the upper Bunair [بونیر] (*Frontier*) area. The said area was also identifiable as the area on the north of River Kabul [دریائے کابل] and in the west of River Indus [دریائے سندھ]. Sallar Zai [سالالرزئی] is an offshoot of the Jadoon [جدون] tribe of the Panni nation. The numerical strength of their fighters used to be one thousand and three hundred only in 1910 (***Dictionary Page No.41, Ghrabat Nigar*** [غرابت نگار] ***Page No.896***). Moza Alti [موضع الٹئ] near Jaorr [جَوَّڑ] was the actual native place of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] and his grandfather namely Talai Khan [طالع خان]. He had landed in Hindustan during the reign of Mohammed Shah [محمد شاہ] and had participated in the battles of Rohailkhand [روہیل کھنڈ]. Then, he had opted to settle down in the Sanbhal [سنبھل] area where he had ultimately breathed his last. There were a number of Panni people in the

Sanbhal [سنبھل] area and his son namely; Mohammed Hayat Khan [محمد حیات خان] had also adopted his ancestral profession. When the Rohail [روہیل] people were defeated by Shujja-ud-Dolla [شجاع الدولہ] in collaboration with the British then Hafiz-ul-Mulk Rahmat Khan [حافظ الملک رحمت خان] had embraced Shahadat as a consequence thereof. Mohammed Hayat Khan [محمد حیات خان] had opted to live as a recluse thereafter for the remaining part of his life.

Ameer Mohammed Khan [امیر محمد خان] was the son of Mohammed Hayat Khan [محمد حیات خان]. He was born in 1182 Hegira (1768 A.C.) and was very keen to become a soldier instead of acquiring education. The biography of Ameer Mohammed Khan [امیر محمد خان] was not full of interest only rather it was a golden chapter in history. He had ventured out for his practical life at the age of twenty or twenty two along-with some friends. The affluent people used to hire mercenaries in those days to meet any crisis or emergency. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] used to work as a mercenary in central Hindh [ہند], Gujarat [گجرات] and Deccan [دکن] etc. He was a freelancer and used to spend money on his friends very lavishly. The constraints to manage his peculiar state of affairs used to keep him on the move to amass more money. He had sold his horse once under very compelling circumstances to provide food and drinks to his friends. He used to resultantly attract a big circle of friends and used to belong to a group of the Pendarrs [پنداڑ] people according to W.W Hunter.

Relationship with Halker [ہلکر سے تعلقات]:

There was a great tussle among the Merhatta [مرہٹہ] Sardars in those days. Jaswant Rao [جسونت راؤ], son of Takogee Halker [ٹکو جی ہلکر], was able to save his life amidst said tussle and he had barely managed his escape from the scene. He had started making efforts to get back his ancestral estate thereafter. There were some well-wishers who had advised him to seek help from Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]. He had engaged him resultantly and they had entered into a number of pacts and promises to stay together and to share the booty equally. They had even exchanged turbans in this regard to ensure the fulfillment of their promises even at the cost of their honor which used to be the extreme gesture of avowal to ensure the element of unity and harmony, in those days. Then Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] pursuant to the

same, had created the environs of pomp and show for Jaswant Rao [جسونت راؤ], just within a very short span of time.

Jaswant Rao [جسونت راؤ] had remained aloof when the battle had taken place thereafter between the Merhatta [مرہٹہ] people and the British colonists. The Merhatta [مرہٹہ] people were defeated whereas the British were desirous to reach any settlement with Jaswant Rao Halker [جسونت راؤ ہلکر]. Jaswant Rao Halker [جسونت راؤ ہلکر] had placed very tough conditions at that time and in the wake of said situation which were unacceptable however to the British government and as a consequence some infrequent skirmishes had taken place between them. Jaswant Rao Halker [جسونت راؤ ہلکر] and Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had attacked very ferociously as a team, the British colonists and they had caused them heavy losses. The two Sardars had to travel to Patiala [پٹیالہ] and Punjab [پنجاب] amidst those skirmishes and the British people, in the wake of those visits, had developed the apprehensions that some collaboration was being worked out with the Sikhs [سکھ] with some kind of ulterior motives. They had resultantly initiated the peace talks afresh and had assigned the State of Indoar [ریاست اندور] to Jaswant Rao Halker [جسونت راؤ ہلکر] in the process to superimpose a charm and allurement strategy to curb the execution of his imminent plans. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had refused to accept the friendship pact and he had threatened to wage a war with the help of Shah Shujja [شاہ شجاع]. He had approached Shah Shujja [شاہ شجاع] in Kabul [کابل] and when he had failed to amass his willingness in this regard, he threatened to form a lashker of his tribal people to initiate a battle against the British government. Jaswant Rao Halker [جسونت راؤ ہلکر] had drawn the conclusion, probably with the help of his advisers on learning the same, that the likely eruption of such war was targeted to curtail his power. He had decided to sign the pact therefore with the hope to take control of the State of Indoar [ریاست اندور].

When, Jaswant Rao Halker [جسونت راؤ ہلکر] was able to make-up his mind fully he had decided to sever his relationship with his friend and thus he had strengthened his relations with the British government on the one hand and he had approached Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] on the other hand. He had placed his turban at the feet of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] while he had acknowledged his indebtedness to him for all his gains and avails. He had requested him to help

further to consolidate his position. When, Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] was able to witness the display of humbleness and humility of Jaswant Rao Halker [جسونت راؤ ہلکر], he placed his seal before him just out of courtesy and thus he had given him the free hand to use it wherever it was required to be affixed. The seal affixation of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] on the pact was in fact a precondition which the British had imposed in order to rule out his intentions to wage any war. Jaswant Rao Halker [جسونت راؤ ہلکر] had availed the opportunity all enthused and then he was able to take the State of Indoar [ریاست اندور].

Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had affixed his seal although on the pact and the British government was also satisfied yet he had never surrendered to their authority. He had maintained his autonomous status. Then he had left for Rajputana [راجپوتانہ] after the aforementioned event.

Powerful eagle at the twilight of his reign [آخری دور کا ایک طاقتور شہباز]:

Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had spent his last ten to twelve years of leisure life in Rajputana [راجپوتانہ] which consisted of three large states. The states like Jaypur [جے پور], Jodhpur [جورھپور] and Udaipur [اودے پور] were not included in the same. The inter-state relationship of Jaypur [جے پور], Jodhpur [جورھپور] and Udaipur [اودے پور] were also passing through a period of turmoil at that time. The reason for was that the daughter of Rana [رانا] of Udaipur [اودے پور] namely Kishan Kumari [کشن کماری] was voluptuously pretty. She was engaged with the Raja of Jodhpur [جورھپور] and the engagement with Wali Udaipur [والئ اودے پور] was terminated just due to the inter-state tussles. Then, the engagement of Kishan Kumari [کشن کماری] was arranged instead with the Maharaja [مہاراجہ] of Jaypur [جے پور] which had resulted in the practical skirmishes among three states. Those skirmishes had rendered Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] very indecisive. He had sided with one state initially and then he had to switch over his loyalties to side with the other state. The jitters of indecisiveness were put to rest when he was appointed as a controller of goods for the Durbar [دربار] of Udaipur [اودے پور].

Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] was the most powerful person among the last independent rulers of Hindustan. He even had about forty thousand soldiers and one hundred and fifteen cannons at his disposal and about one hundred thousand cavalrymen. There were many foot soldiers at his command and they were all equipped with roaring cannons according to Makhzan Ahmedi [مخزن احمدی]. He used to take a lot of tribute money and tithe from non-Muslim Rajas of Rajputana [راجپوتانہ]. He used to spend said money on the educated Muslim elite and on religious scholars of his time (***Page No.31, 32***). Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had stated *in propria persona* in 1814 according to an English writer that he had fifty thousand cavalrymen, twelve thousand infantrymen and heavy artillery under his command (***Tareekh Hindustan*** [تاریخ ہندوستان] ***Annex by Mill Watson Volume No.6 Page No.922***). Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] was a very able leader and he was a brave soldier according to another English writer. He had an organized army therefore he was at his best in terms of equipment and weaponry among the rest of military statesmen in Hindustan (***Hindustani Reyastain*** [ہنددستانی ریاستیں] ***by Mohan Sanha Mahqa***, ***Annex by Lord Hunting's Page No.11***). The British were not ready to leave unnoticed such a great quintessence of prowess unsupervised right in the thick of Hindustan. They had lacked the courage at the same time to challenge Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] because they were cognizant of fact that, he was quite capable to put up an impenetrable defense. There was also a possibility that throwing a challenge to him was likely to provide a new impetus to life which was mundane at that time. The move of such nature was likely to expedite their exit from Hindustan as well. They had never opted to confront Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] in practical terms. They had worked however on the sinews of his strength and thus they had chocked his supplies and other aids to his army. This way they were able to pave the way to erode him gradually by igniting the practical fire of internal rifts among his troops (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.89 to 92***).

Political situation of Hindustan [ہندوستان کی سیاسی صورت حال]:

The glorious reign of the Mughal Empire had lasted for about two hundred and fifty years by that time and had an overwhelming influence over the areas from Kabul [کابل] to Kandahar [قندھار] and from Assam [آسام] and Arakan [ارکان] to Karakorum [قراقرم]. Those areas were passing

through a period of turmoil at that time and most of the provinces had started to drift away from the center one after the other. The anarchy and the civil war like conditions had erupted and the parochial forces had started to emerge virtually on the surface in the entire area. Hayder Ali [حیدر علی] was able to lay the foundation of an actual Islamic state in Mysore [میسور] and Sultan Tipu Shaheed [سلطان ٹیپو شہید] had invigorated his campaign with religious fervor. The impact was tarnished however by the skeptic critics from within. The Merhatta [مرہٹہ] troops had literally taken over the state control after the disintegration of the Mughal Empire. The time had taken such a turn that even the very hub of the Mughal reign was also in the immediacy of the Merhatta [مرہٹہ] grasp. Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] was the first one to have given the first fatal blow to the Merhatta [مرہٹہ] rule at Panipat [پانی پت]. They had stayed in power although for about forty years yet the pace was set for a slow and gradual wrecking of their main strength.

Ranjeet Singh [رنجیت سنگھ] was able to stabilize a permanent government in Punjab [پنجاب] apparently. The historians were aware of the fact that the same was not governance rather it was a well devised militia rule which had meted out such treatment to the Muslims which was indescribable in words. The control of Sindh was maintained with four powerful Ameers, at that time.

Shujja-ud-Dolla [شجاع الدولہ] was the ruler of Owad [اودھ] whereas Nizam [نظام] was in Deccan [دکن]. Since, it was impossible to stabilize the rule of the entire Hindustan uniformly therefore Ali Wairdey Khan [علی ویردی خان] had strengthened an independent reign in Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] by integrating the locals, with the intention to stabilize the local administrative control, which was in total disarray. Sadat Ali Khan [سعادت علی خان] had lost half of the Sultanate of Owad [اودھ] just because of his personal ambitions whereas the remaining half was also up against a mammoth political challenge. The Doalat Nizam [دولت نظام] was also reduced to half of its original size due to internal administrative problems. The British were able to paralyze the rule of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] very quickly and they had succeeded in making it a stepping stone for their colonial rule. The British had remained busy during said period of turmoil to stabilize their rule through a gradual but an organized strategy.

Moral decadence of the Muslims [مسلمانوں کا اخلاقی زوال]:

The Muslims had also fallen deep into the moral decadence during said political situation which was deteriorating continuously. We do not intend to go into the details but it will be sufficient to explain that Sir David Actorloni who was also described in the local books of history as "Loni Akhter" [لونی اختر] he was able to enter into an agreement very cunningly with Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]. He had succeeded in pinning him down to the terms which were suitable to him. He was married to a Hindu woman. The British ruler of Banaras [بنارس] namely Augustus Brook had also married a Muslim woman namely Hayat-un-Nisa [حیات النساء] according to the "Makhzan Ahmedi" [مخزن احمدی]. There was an Englishman in Kanpur [کانپور] who had also married a Muslim woman. Then an officer namely Kerk Patrick who was assigned the job to take the official record into the custody after the Shahadat [شہادت] of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] and he had performed said job quite willingly, his wife namely Sherf-un-Nisa [شرف النساء] was also a Muslim lady. The reference of just one instance will suffice to explain the moral decadence of the Muslims in the Frontier province. The Sikhs used to kidnap the Muslim girls from said area and there literally used to be no resistance whatsoever. There was one incident according to which when Mollana Walayat Ali [مولانا ولایت علی] was in Bengal [بنگال] under the instructions of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] to preach the Islamic way of life, he had written that he was thirsty on his way therefore he had walked up to a well along-with his companions. There were some young girls who were filling up their water bags. The companions of Mollana Walayat Ali [مولانا ولایت علی] were working out the method of drinking water from the well and just then one of the girls announced in the Pashto language that they were welcome to use her bowl. She was a kidnapped girl in fact from the frontier area. This was the period as a matter fact when the Sikh reign of terror was at its peak which was actually the period during which the Muslims were subjected to revenge.

گر مسلمانی ہمین است کہ حافظ دارد واۓ گردر پس امروزبود فردائے

Joining up of Syed Ahmed Shaheed in the lashker of Nawab

[سید احمد شہید کی نواب کے لشکر میں شمو لیت]:

Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] was quite perturbed because of the precarious conditions of the Muslims. He had resultantly joined the lashker of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai

Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had unveiled the fact one day while he was in the company of lashker in the manner, as below:

> The providence had dawned on him in Qusba Ray Braily [قصبہ رائے بیلی] that, "he was supposed to join the lashker of the Honorable Nawab Ameer-ud-Dolla [نامدار امیر الدولہ]. The providence had chosen him also to serve said area. The will of the providence was to use him for certain other jobs as well". He had moved out from there after receiving said pleasant news and then he had made himself available after a few days to serve the Honorable Nawab (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.87***).

The war strategy of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] as mentioned above and then his bravery and resilience coupled with aforementioned statement of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had established the fact that, if any reckonable force was available among the Ameers in those days and which was expected to initiate the renaissance movement of Islam or Jihad [جہاد], which was the military base of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید], who was in his thirties, had joined him along-with his elder brother namely Ibraheem [ابراھیم], in 1812. He had already served previously the movement of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had many weaknesses however and one such weakness was that if someone was desirous to approach him with ostentatious humbleness, he was always susceptible to succumb to his charm quickly and with no reservations. The second weakness was that as soon as he used to have some money he was in the habit to spend it lavishly. He used to make very hectic efforts even to generate the salaries of his troops. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had joined Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] with the intention to give the religious sanctity to the objectives of his grand force (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.92***). Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had endorsed the program of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] as a result. The happy-go-lucky attitude and the lavish spending style of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had become so popular that it was used as a proverbial reference i.e. if a man who had the capacity to spend lavishly in Punjab [پنجاب] his name was "Nawab Tonk" [نواب ٹونک].

Initiation of the Tonk Raj [ٹونک راج کی تاسیس]:

We have already mentioned above that Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] and Raja of Indoar State [ریاست اندور] namely Jaswant Rao Halker [جسونت راؤ ہلکر] had very good and cordial relations. Rajas of Indoar State [ریاست اندور] always used to give him an extraordinary respect and honor by virtue of his indomitable nature. The father of Jaswant Rao Halker [جسونت راؤ ہلکر] namely Takogee Halker [ٹکو جی ہلکر] had given some areas to Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] whereas the state of Tonk [ریاست ٹونک] had come into being by virtue of combining those areas. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had not assigned any name to his area. He had used the name rather as "Tonk Raj" [ٹانک راج]. The said term was very much prevalent even at the time of the division of Hindustan.

Battle of Jaypur [جے پور کی لڑائی]:

The battle of Jaypur [جے پور] was described generally in the manner that the Wali Jaypur [والئ جے پور] was indebted to Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]. He had to pay in fact a large sum of tithe to him but he was reluctant to make said payment. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] was based in Jodhpur [جورھپور] and he had not paid the salary to most of soldiers of his lashker for quite some time. There was a great resentment therefore among them. The commander of Jaypur [جے پور] area namely Chand Singh [چند سنگھ] was a close relative of the Raja. When, he had received the aforementioned information he decided to show some belligerency and thus he was able to capture one of the dominions of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]. The said dominion was known as Malpuray [مالپورے]. Chand Singh [چند سنگھ] had returned to "Tonk" [ٹونک] thereafter where he had surrounded the area of Ameer Gharr [امیر گڑھ]. The said belligerent act of Chand Singh [چند سنگھ] had set afloat the insurgency in many areas of Rajasthan [راجستھان] against Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had moved his troops out pursuant thereto from Jodhpur [جورھپور] in order to curb the insurgency. Chand Singh [چند سنگھ] had vacated the captured areas in the wake of said

situation and then he was able to escape to Jaypur [جے پور] immediately. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had recaptured then most of the areas of Jaypur [جے پور]. He was also able to recover some money to make payment to his troops. He had assigned the duty to his subordinates thereafter to recover the remaining amount and then he had left for "Sheikhawati" [شیخاوتی] i.e. the northwestern area of Jaypur [جے پور]. The "Sheikhawati" [شیخاوتی] area, due to lack of rain, was experiencing a severe wave of drought at that time. There was an aged Raja namely Oadhay Kern [اودے کرن] among the Rajas of Jaypur [جے پور]. Mowakal Gee [موکل جی] was grandson of Oadhay Kern [اودے کرن] and he was issueless. Sheikh Burhan-ud-Din [شیخ برہان الدین] was a well known saintly person in those days. Mowakal Gee [موکل جی] had made a request therefore to Sheikh Burhan-ud-Din [شیخ برہان الدین] to pray for him that, God may help him to be the agnate of his grandchildren. Sheikh Burhan-ud-Din [شیخ برہان الدین] had prayed for him and his prayer was answered affirmatively and resultantly Mowakal Gee [موکل جی] was blessed with a son. Mowakal Gee [موکل جی] had named his son as "Sheikhagee" [شیخاجی] or "Sheikh Gee" [شیخ جی] just as a token of acknowledgement of the prayer by Sheikh Burhan-ud-Din [شیخ برہان الدین]. The area of his descendants had also become known just by virtue of said name as "Sheikhawati" [شیخاوتی] subsequently. The people of the area were Hindus yet they used to recite Kalima [کلمہ] and they used to also slaughter their animals in accordance with the Islamic practice and they used to consider the use of pork as Haram [حرام] (***Colonel Tad***).

As soon as Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had made his return from the area Chand Singh [چند سنگھ] had set afloat his moves once again to strengthen his power struggle. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had also returned back to Jaypur [جے پور] and then he had escaped to Jodhpur [جودھپور] once again after encountering Chand Singh [چند سنگھ] in a battle. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had also participated in said battle practically.

Attack against the city [شہر پر حملہ]:

The Lords *noblesse*s of Jaypur [جے پور] were divided into two groups after sometime. The former Dewan Chather Bhoj [دیوان چھتر بھوج] and some other lords had formed a group whereas Dewan Manjhi Das Prohet [دیوان مانجی داس پروہٹ] had his separate group. Dewan Chather Bhoj

[دیوان چھتر بھوج] and some other lords had also sought help from Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]. He had marched then with his army towards Jaypur [جے پور]. Dewan Manjhi Das Prohet [دیوان مانجی داس پروہٹ] was well prepared however to defend his position and he had divided his army into three squads. He had deployed one squad at Bagh [باغ] (*Garden*) which was in the east of the city and the second squad was also deployed inside another Bagh [باغ] (*Garden*) and said place was subsequently named after him as Manjhi Bagh [مانجی باغ]. The third squad was committed under the command of Chand Singh [چند سنگھ] and was deployed inside Bagh Bhat [باغ بھٹ]. Moti Donger [موتی ڈونگر] was the name of a mountain which was near the Jaypur [جے پور] city where he had placed his heavy artillery. (Donger [ڈونگر] means in the Jay Puri [جے پوری] language as "Hill").

Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had initiated the attack against Chand Singh [چند سنگھ] despite all the aforementioned preparations whereas his commander had made the deployment at the eastern Bagh [باغ] with the intention to find an easy escape route in case he had to sneak out. Thus he was all set to attack the city but when the commander of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] namely Mahtab Khan [مہتاب خان] had decided to move forward, the cannons which were placed at Moti Donger [موتی ڈونگر] had started blazing the fire. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had sent the warning at that time that, "If the artillery fire from Moti Donger [موتی ڈونگر] was not halted then, he was all set to attack Moti Donger [موتی ڈونگر] instead of attacking the city and he was not supposed to spare a single person as a consequence" in such eventuality. The artillery fire was stopped forthwith resultantly after said warning.

Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had moved towards Manjhi Bagh [مانجی باغ] thereafter and he was able to defeat the Jay Puri [جے پوری] deployment despite all the entrenchments which they had made outside the city. He had also destroyed them as a measure of defensive tactics. Dewan Manjhi Das Prohet [دیوان مانجی داس پروہٹ] was left thus with no other option but to remain confined within the precincts of the city.

Siege and Truce [محاصرہ اور صلح]:

When, the city was under siege for twenty four days and there was no result then Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had passed the orders ultimately to the artillery squad to open the attack and resultantly Raja of Jaypur [جے پور] had panicked and helplessly he had forwarded a request for truce. The said Raja was very arrogant and he was known for his luxurious lifestyle. The deposed ruler of Owad [اودھ] namely Wazir Ali Khan [وزیر علی خان] had sought refuge from him at some point of time but he had handed Wazir Ali Khan [وزیر علی خان] over to the British rulers. The said act was absolutely contrary to the Rajpoot [راجپوت] traditions. The sinister move, which he was able to initiate, was with the intention to receive the propagated fixed reward money from the British government. He had also received diamonds prior to that from Wazir Ali Khan [وزیر علی خان] for providing him the protection. The truce negotiations were set afloat anyway and Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had insisted even then that if there was no money then there will be no negotiations. The Raja would have given the money probably under compulsion but he was not left with much in his reserves. He was obliged to initiate the negotiation therefore through his Rani [رانی]. She was a daughter of Raja Man Singh [راجہ مان سنگھ] of Jodhpur [جودھپور]. He had brotherly relations with Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]. She had sent him a missive through which she had expressed the views that you were obliged to have the brotherly relations with my father and I do not take you as my uncle rather I take you as my father. Will it please you to besiege my city and belittle your daughter? No sooner, Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had received the missive he had issued orders to lift the siege forthwith and then he had left the city without even receiving a single penny. We may point out that Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] was in the army of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] even during said battle.

Siege of Madhurajpuri [مادھوراج پوری کا محاصرہ]:

The siege of Madhurajpuri [مادھوراج پوری] was the last independent venture of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]. Madhurajpuri [مادھوراج پوری] was located in the Jagir of Rani [رانی] of Jaypur [جے پور] (*Daughter of Raja Man Singh* [راجہ مان سنگھ] of Jodhpur [جودھپور]). The Thakur [ٹھاکر] namely Thakur Bhagat Singh [ٹھاکر بھگت سنگھ] of the neighboring area had captured it. Then, he had made hostage the father-in-law of Nawab

Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] namely Mohammed Ayaz Khan [محمد ایاز خان] along-with his family. He had incarcerated them all in the fort of Madhurajpuri [مادھوراج پوری]. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had besieged the fort but his two attempts to conquer the fort were foiled badly. He had planned in the first attempt to detonate the portion of fort wall with some gunpowder in order to divert the attention of the enemy, prior to initiating the full attack. The gunpowder was not even ignited as yet when some Pathan trainee groups had rushed out and they had prematurely opened the attack. They were not conversant with the local Hindustani language and had failed to understand the commands therefore they had reached the assigned enemy area probably well before the detonation. Thus, they had made themselves susceptible perilously to onslaught and they had sustained heavy losses. The second attempt was also foiled because the cannons were deployed inside the fort to launch the barrage of shells. When the orders were passed to the troops however to make the advancement, the orders had not reached to the entire deployment uniformly and resultantly they had failed to make the unison attack. Thus, said attack had also not yielded the desired results. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] was present physically however as a special advisor of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] on both occasions.

The siege was well in place and a negotiated settlement *uti possidetis* was reached with the British government. *The detail will be given, later.* The negotiations had also taken place with one usurper namely Thakur Bhagat Singh [ٹھاکر بھگت سنگھ] and resultantly Mohammed Ayaz Khan [محمد ایاز خان] was released along-with his family (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.96 to 98***).

Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni and his state of affairs
[نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی کی حالت]

Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] was no doubt a very brave and a gallant person. He had failed to produce the best results however despite having a large army and despite availing the best opportunities which were quite sufficient to make him earn long a lasting and conspicuous place in the history. He had also planned to wage Jihad [جہاد] against the British colonists in collaboration with Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Panni [نواب غلام

رسول خان پنّی] of the state of Kernol in the company of the brother of the Nizam Deccan [نظام دکن] namely Nawab Mubaraz-ud-Dolla [نواب مبارزالدولہ]. He was unable to participate in said Jihad [جہاد] however due to his inadequate planning. Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان پنّی] had fought therefore against the British Raj single handedly and he had embraced Shahadat [شہادت] in the process and had lost his state as well. *The detail of the same will be given, later*. The said Jihad [جہاد] was initiated at the behest of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. The entire energy and the formidable force of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] were wasted however for a very trivial and a temporary gain. He had acted most of the time as a mercenary and he used to make his militia force available for anyone whosoever used to offer him money. The extravagance on his part had touched such limits that whatever amount of money he was able to collect he used to spend the same lavishly and his army used to remain without salary for months. When, the troops used to rise in protest, Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] used to feel pushed only then to explore the new sources of income. The British had expanded their influence however slowly and gradually and the so-called Hindustani elite had also strengthened the hands of the British government which had also brought a checkmate on the activities of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]. The very reliable clique in the camp of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] was also cognizant of said fact and some of them had also started to look towards the British government.

Jodhpur incident [جودھپور کا واقعہ]:

The Rani [رانی] and the crown prince along-with the Thakurs [ٹھاکر] of Jodhpur [جودھپور] had invited Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] clandestinely according to "Waqaie" [وقائع] and they were able to convince him even to the extent that Raja Man Singh [راجہ مان سنگھ] was playing in the hands of Indoraj Wazir [اندوراج وزیر] and his Guru namely Dave Yonath [دیویوناتھ]. They were desirous to get rid of them resultantly and pursuant thereto Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had passed the orders to his mercenaries to murder Indoraj Wazir [اندوراج وزیر] along-with Guru Dave Yonath [دیویوناتھ]. He had also fixed the reward money of Rupees three hundred thousand in this regard therefore mercenaries were able to fulfill the assignment without much

ado. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had given however the mercenaries Rupees one hundred thousand only out of the total reward money and he had deferred the payment of Rupees two hundred thousand for an indefinite period. The payment was actually withheld as a condition to ensure attaining more gains through some other ventures. The mercenaries had disagreed to accept said conditional arrangement and they had insisted to get the full payment unconditionally. They had also threatened to hand him over to the British government in case of non-payment. The said behavior and conduct was too much to handle for Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] therefore he was very perturbed and he had scolded and admonished the mercenaries. Then he declared them as disloyal people and had also severed his relations with his mercenaries because he treated them as foes in the garb of friends. He also declared, in the wake of their inadequate behavior and while inculcating that, their very status as mercenaries was dependant on his good luck.

The aforementioned events had also not proved to be an eye opener for Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]. He had persisted despite that with his disorderly way of living. The very presence of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had brought however, a very motivating influence in his life. The physical presence of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had also introduced the overall religious impact in his life and resultantly Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] used to give him extra-ordinary respect. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had also assessed him from all angles and he used to also highlight for him the ill-designs of the British colonists.

Difficulties of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni
[نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]:

Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had failed to assess and evaluate the ill-designs of the British colonists with which they had penetrated into different sections of society in Hindustan. They had consolidated their control in the process very gradually. He was over confident in other words, because of his matchless bravery and gallantry which was not in commensuration however with his reckless lifestyle. He was standing all alone literally by the end of 1817 as result of the same. There were three British divisions which had

moved into central Hindh, in the meantime from three different directions with some unpredictable planning. They had placed themselves amongst the Pander [پنڈار] people (*who were Muslims mostly*) along-with Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] and Sindhya [سندھیا] in such a manner that their placement had hampered their interaction and communication. There was one company of the British army on the other hand which was placed right in the middle of the two factions of the army of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] and thus, they had divided his army into two sections and both sections were also disconnected from their regiment for any interaction or communication. They had made generous and very lucrative offers besides that to the elite *noblesse* of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] and thus they were able to win them over. Faiz Ullah Bangush [فیض اللہ بنگش] along-with his Rasala [رسالہ] had no other choice but to join the British flanks as a result of advancement of the British troops which had created the impression that the other Sardars were also likely to have Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] arrested in order to earn the reward money from the British government. The British had invited Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] for some conciliatory negotiations after creating, very successfully, such mind boggling conditions. Mr. Metcalf had sent the draft of truce agreement in this regard through Munshi Neranjan Lal [منشی مرنجن لال] from Delhi [دہلی] to Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] which was the period when Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had besieged Madhurajpuri [مادھوراج پوری]. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] was left therefore with no other option and he had given his consent for negotiations through a missive to Data Ram [داتا رام] in the backdrop of those compelling political circumstances. He was in Jaypur [جے پور] and then he had given the consent to prepare a truce agreement.

Agreement with the British government [انگیزوں سے عہد نامہ]:

The salient terms of the agreement were in the manner, as below:

I. The areas which were given by Takogee Halker [ٹکو جی ہلکر] to Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] were supposed to remain with him.
II. The entire army unit of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی], except the people who were required essentially to maintain the administrative control, was supposed to be dismantled. The soldiers of the dismantled army unit were supposed to be absorbed however in the British army.
III. The British army was supposed to purchase the cannons and the weaponry of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] against a stipulated price.
IV. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had to abstain from attacking any area and he was also bound to help the British government in eliminating the Pander [پنڈار] people.

The British government had agreed to give Rupees five hundred thousand to Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] as a stipulated price for his cannons and other armory. They had paid Rupees two hundred thousand upfront in this regard. Since, there was no provision with regard to time stipulation and Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] was expected to accept all the terms without any reservation therefore the British government had also made the offer of sending the elder son of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] namely Sahibzada Mohammed Wazir Khan [صاحبزادہ محمد وزیر خان] to Delhi [دہلی]. They had also agreed to bear the expenses of his boarding and lodging.

Shrewdness of the British government [انگریزوں کی عیاری]:

Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] was a brave man but he was not an intelligent person. Had he aspired to have a dominion under his control he could have attained very easily a very large adjoining area of "Tonk" [ٹونک] in Rajputana [راجپوتانہ]. The dictates of time were such that the British government could have agreed to give him readily even much more than what he was expecting. He had made however a very strange demands that besides Tonk [ٹونک] he was desirous to have the Pergana [پرگنہ] of Sanbhal [سنبھل]

in U.P (Uterperdaish) which was his native place. He had placed those ungainly demands perhaps due to the reason that there was a big group of the Panni people which was based in Sanbhal [سنبھل]. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] was pushed into a very complex situation resultantly and he had agreed to take therefore the area of Palwal [پَلوَل] instead of Sanbhal [سنبھل]. The British colonists had imposed the condition very cunningly and they had retained the administrative control of those areas as a result. They had convinced Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] in this regard to receive the revenue and had even made him accept thereafter a reasonable stipend only instead of revenue. He had started receiving Rupees one hundred and fifty thousand as a fixed stipend in the name of Sahibzada Mohammed Wazir Khan [صاحبزادہ محمد وزیر خان]. Thus he had relinquished his claim even on Palwal [پَلوَل] by accepting the stipend.

The legal counsel of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had signed the original agreement in this regard on 9th November 1817 whereas the Council General had endorsed the agreement on 15th November 1817. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had handed it over to Sir Actorloni after the due verification on 9th December 1817 (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.105 to 109***).

جہاں بانی سے ہے دشوار تر کار جہاں بینی

The troops of Mohammed Umer Khan [محمد عمر خان], Ayaz Khan [ایاز خان] and Raja Bahader Lala Singh [راجہ بہادر لال سنگھ] were pursuantly inducted on regimental basis into the British army.

Separation of Syed Sahib from the Lashker [سید صاحب کی لشکر سے علیحدگی]:

The aforementioned agreement was negotiated and was signed very secretly. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] was busy guarding the siege in the battle of Madhurajpuri [مادھوراج پوری] at that time along-with the army of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی]. He had always warned Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] to watch out the cunning moves of the British colonists but as soon he had learnt as about the agreement he was left with no other option but to keep himself

aloof from the rest of the lashker. When, Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had disclosed the implications of the agreement thereafter Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had expressed his sentiments with tears according to an eye witness by saying that whatever was ordained by the providence was bound to take place and if you have decided to go to Delhi [دہلی] then, take Sahibzada Mohammed Wazir Khan [صاحبزادہ محمد وزیر خان] along because his boarding and lodging was agreed to be borne by the British government at Delhi [دہلی].

Financial assistance of Syed Sahib [سید صاحب کی مالی امدادواعانت]:

Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] was a practical whiz kid because when Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] was on his way back from Hajj [حج] and he was supposed to go past Tonk [ٹونک] then he had also made a promise to wage the Jihad [جہاد]. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] and his son Wazir-ud-Dolla [وزیر الدولہ] had accompanied him for about four miles during his journey. The family of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] was made to stay in Tonk [ٹونک] to take rest at that time. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had also presented a big horse to Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] and besides that he had also given him many weapons along-with other goods and some cash money. He had also taken a promise that Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] was supposed to fall back upon him in the future to secure his help in case of need. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had written a letter therefore to Wazir-ud-Dolla [وزیر الدولہ] on 13th Zeqad [ذی القعد] 1246 Hegira (25th April 1831) which was just eleven days prior to his embracing Shahadat [شہادت]. He was the crown prince in waiting (*This was his last letter towards Hindustan*). He had explained the conditions of war through said letter and had informed him about his program as well (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.750***). Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had sent Mollana Walayat Ali [مولانا ولایت علی] to southern Hindh and Bengal [بنگال] on 2nd May 1831 prior to embracing Shahadat [شہادت]. The said delegation had the mandate to motivate the people for Islamic Jihad [جہاد] against the British colonialism. Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان پنّی] of the state of Kernol and his brother Nawab Mubaraz-ad-Dolla [نواب مبارزالدولہ] Nizam of Deccan [نظام دکن] and Nawab Ameer-ud-Dolla [نواب امیر الدولہ] Ameer Khan Panni Wali-e-Tonk [امیرخان پنّی والئ ٹونک] had taken the pledge unanimously therefore on the Shahadat [شہادت] of Syed Ahmed

Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] to wage Jihad [جہاد] against the British Raj in the light of his motivation campaign. They had amassed a lot of ammunition and guns in this regard but their program was leaked out to the British government in 1839. (*The result of said leak out will be discussed later in the context of Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Panni* [نواب غلام رسول خان پنّی]). Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] had decided to hoist however the flag of Jihad [جہاد] against the British colonialism after receiving a blow from them and particularly when he had come to realize his own mistake which had resulted however in a fruitless exercise. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had embraced Shahadat [شہادت] in May 1831. The information with regard to the preparatory exercises of Jihad [جہاد] by Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان پنّی] had come into the notice of the British government in 1839. Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی] was arrested in October 1839 and was sent into exile in Madras [مدراس] where he was killed just a few days thereafter by the British government. Thus, he had embraced Shahadat [شہادت].

Nawab Wazir-ud-Dolla Bahader Nusrat Jung Panni [نواب وزیر الدولہ بہادر نصرت جنگ پنّی]:

We do not feel inclined to give the full account about the achievements of Nawab Ameer-ud-Dolla Mohammed Khan [نواب امیر الدولہ محمد خان] and whatever we have already discussed above seems to be sufficient. The son of Nawab Ameer-ud-Dolla Mohammed Khan [نواب امیر الدولہ محمد خان] namely Nawab Wazir-ud-Dolla [وزیر الدولہ] had become Wali-e-Tonk [والیٔ ٹونک] after him and his family was based in Sindh at Kot Pir Jogoht [پیر جو گوٹھ]. Nawab Wazir-ud-Dolla [وزیر الدولہ] had brought the wives of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] along-with other relatives to Tonk [ٹونک] after his Shahadat [شہادت] in 1839 A.C (1655 Hegira). He had also fixed the stipend probably for each one of them whereas some of the relatives were also assigned the responsible posts as well. He had established a Jagir for the daughter of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] namely Syedah Sayra [سیدہ سائرہ]. The general worth of which was Rupees eleven thousand. The income of said Jagir had gradually multiplied to Rupees eighteen thousand. Syedah Zahra [سیدہ زہرہ] had died on 4th Shawal [شوال] 1279 (25th March 1863). There was a general perception that she had stayed in Tonk [ٹونک] thereafter and was also buried there. The other wife of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] namely Syedah Walia [سیدہ ولیہ] had also moved from Sindh to Tonk [ٹونک] and Nawab Wazir-ud-Dolla [وزیر الدولہ] had accompanied her on foot in her Palki [پالکی] out of sheer respect. He had covered a big distance in the same manner. He had probably

shouldered the Palki [پالکی] for about one mile. The Jagir of Syedah Zahra [سیدہ زہرہ] was handed over to her as soon as she had reached Tonk [ٹونک]. The said devolution of Jagir was by virtue of her fiduciary relationship.

Syedah Walia [سیدہ ولیہ] had died on 18th Rajab [رجب] 1262 Hegira (12th July 1846). She had lived for about sixteen years after the death of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. Nawab Wazir-ud-Dolla [وزیر الدولہ] used to visit her to pay his respects as long as she was alive. Nawab Wazir-ud-Dolla [وزیر الدولہ] once had the privilege to see the dress of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. He had placed the dress on his head out of sheer respect and reverence for Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. Then he had walked home on foot. Syedah Walia [سیدہ ولیہ] used to cook food with her own hands occasionally for Nawab Wazir-ud-Dolla [وزیر الدولہ] and she used to pray for his long life as well.

The third wife of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید], who was in the frontier province, had also lived there for about six to seven years after his Shahadat [شہادت]. Then she had also reached Tonk [ٹونک] via Sindh where she had spent the remaining part of her life. She had died in or around 1900 A.C. (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.822 to 823***). We will conclude the descriptive account regarding the achievements of said family of the Panni nation just after a brief narrative as mentioned below.

The nephew of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] namely Syed Mohammed Ali [سید محمد علی] had written a book under the caption as "Makhzan Ahmedi" [مخزن احمدی] which was about his achievements till the beginning of Jihad [جہاد]. He had spent his entire life in Tonk [ٹونک] and it was quite obvious that Nawab Wazir-ud-Dolla [وزیر الدولہ] must have facilitated him (***Afadat Mehr*** [افاداتِ مہر] ***Page No.139***). He had another nephew by the name of Syed Hameed-ud-Din [سید حمید الدین]. He had accompanied Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] during his Jihad [جہاد] and his letters were the best source of information according to the book which was captioned as "Ahwal-e-Safer" [احوالِ سفر]. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had sent him to Hindustan with a special assignment. The incident of Balakot [بالا کوٹ] had taken place when he was away. Syed Hameed-ud-Din [سید حمید الدین] used to enjoy a very respectable status in Tonk [ٹونک] and he had also died there (***Afadat Mehr*** [افاداتِ مہر] ***Page No.140***). There was one Mohallah in Tonk [ٹونک]

which was known as “Mohallah Qaflah” [محلہ قافلہ]. It was named as such because he had stayed there during the period when the Jihad [جہاد] movement was in progress.

Nawab Mohammed Ali Khan Panni [نواب محمد علی خان پنّی]:

The love for Islam and the religious zeal of Nawab Ameer Mohammed Khan Sallar Zai Panni [نواب امیر محمد خان سالارزئی پنّی], who was the father of Nawab Wazir-ud-Dolla [وزیر الدولہ], can be assessed very easily from the aforementioned narrative. He had not shared only the same school of thought with Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] rather those Nawabs [نوابین] had supported him practically to an extent which was possible. The founder of the state of Tonk [ٹونک] had committed some mistakes which had created a lasting impact and he had tried to restructure everything with the intention to bring amelioration in the overall situation. Then his son namely Sahibzada Mohammed Wazir Khan [صاحبزادہ محمد وزیر خان] and grandson namely Nawab Mohammed Ali [نواب محمد علی] had also demonstrated the same religious zeal with regard to their allegiance with Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] which was also reflective in their practical life. Nawab Wazir-ud-Dolla [وزیر الدولہ] had compiled a book with the caption as “Wasaya Alwazir Ali Teriqa Albasheer Al-Nazeer” [وصایا الوزیر علی طریقہ البشیر النزیر] which had contained forty brilliant advices. The book was available in two large size volumes of 360 and 214 pages respectively and was full of interesting narratives about Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] and Shah Ismaeel [شاہ اسماعیل]. Then there was “Tareekh Ahmedi” [تاریخ احمدی] which was written on the movement of Nawab Mohammed Ali Khan [نواب محمد علی خان]. He had become ruler of Tonk [ٹونک] in 1845. Nawab Wazir-ud-Dolla [وزیر الدولہ] Wazir Mohammed Khan [وزیر محمد خان] had supposedly assigned the job of book compilation to Nawab Mohammed Ali Khan [نواب محمد علی خان]. Then there were many people who were invited randomly to ratify the contents of the narratives. Nawab Wazir-ud-Dolla [وزیر الدولہ] used to extend the invitations to the people in Tonk [ٹونک] to notify their narrations about Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. Nawab Mohammed Ali Khan Panni [نواب محمد علی خان پنّی] was an organizer in this regard for the compilation of the book. The compilation was completed by 1272 Hegira (1855) and then the book was published with the caption as “Tareekh Ahmedi” [تاریخ احمدی] (***Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.19 and 20***). That was how the people of the Panni nation had not only promoted Jihad [جہاد] of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] with their profound interest and

allegiance but they had also rendered their contribution in the process of book compilation. The said book was authentic with regard to his achievements.

LEADING PANNI FAMILIES IN INDIA

[بھارت کے ممتاز پنّی خاندان]

The Panni Pathans had the history of dealing with arrows and lances therefore they were also able to hoist the flag of their glory and grandeur in the land which was known for its delicacies and sophistications i.e. Owad [اودھ]. They had integrated well in the conventional way of life and social culture of Owad [اودھ]. Then they had reflected the same delicacy in their social mannerism and etiquettes over the years and were obliged to maintain it for all times to come. The Panni Pathans have a peculiar Pathan look and body structure and height yet they were always obliged to show the same finesse in their mannerism which had culturally made the Lukhnow [لکھنؤ] area a distinct place. They were always obliged to maintain their euphoric Pathan approach in their respective milieu notwithstanding the same. They tend to mix up their blood very reluctantly with the non-Pathan people.

The Pathan families had landed in Owad [اودھ] initially just to render the military services and they were granted the grand Jagirs against rendering those military services. They had acquired *par excellence* said military status. The history of the area had witnessed that the providence had bestowed upon some members of those families the worldly as well as the religious excellence very graciously whereas their excellent services were always coupled with the virtues like gallantry and bravery. Then their extreme love and efforts for renaissance of Islam and the personal and financial contribution and their participation in the Jihad [جہاد] of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] and then the struggle and love for the country, which was such a genuine asset that every faithful Muslim would like to aspire fervently for the same. Those qualities of the Panni families were the real product of their clear conscience which they had inherited from their ancestors. Those families were based in the same area until recently whereas some of them had migrated to Pakistan after the independence.

The areas of Owad [اودھ], where those excellent people used to live, used to include the most significant places like Lukhnow [لکھنؤ], Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ] and the town of Gotni [گوتنی]

in district Pertab Gharr [پرتاب گڑھ]. There were very influential and important people of those families in those areas until recent times and those areas were studded with many monuments which were the remnants of their glorious past.

The town of Gotni [گوتنی] had earned a very peculiar significance due to the Jihad [جہاد] of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] which was a center of his movement. The Panni families of the area had contributed as a matter of fact for his movement both physically and financially. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] used to travel to Gotni [گوتنی] frequently for the purpose of consultation. The town of Gotni [گوتنی] was established in fact by one of the individuals of those Panni families. The word "Gotni" [گوتنی] means as "Grazing Area". The contribution of those families was praiseworthy anyways in the history making process of Subcontinent.

FATEHPUR HODA [فتح پور ہودہ]:

Panni Mohallah [پنّی محلہ]:

The area of Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ] was the capital of the district where the Panni people had enjoyed a very significant social status. The proof was that there was a place known as the "Panni Mohallah" [پنّی محلہ] which was very much in existence until recent times. The "Panni Mohallah" [پنّی محلہ] was a very large area with hundreds of houses and thousands of residents. There was a shrine of a Panni Nawab in the same city. There was a grave close to the shrine which was known as "Ghorr Shaheed" [گھوڑ شہید]. The said grave was of a loyal horse of a Nawab allegedly which had dropped dead close to the shrine when it had rushed back from the battlefield to the house of Nawab after his Shahadat [شہادت] on the horse back.

Shah Mohammedpur [شاہ محمد پور]:

Shah Mohammed Khan Panni [شاہ محمد خان پنّی] was a renowned personality of Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ]. He had laid the foundation of a new city which was known as "Shah Mohammedpur**"** [شاہ محمد پور] just by virtue of his name. The same was a thickly populated area. The status of said place was although just like a Mohallah yet, the entire area was known by the name i.e. "Shah Mohammedpur" [شاہ محمد پور].

Panni Bagh [پنّی باغ] and Panni Barahderi [پنّی بارہ دری]:

There used to be a garden near "Shah Mohammedpur" [شاہ محمد پور] which was established in commemoration of Shah Mohammed Khan Panni [شاہ محمد خان پنّی]. The garden was known as "Panni Bagh" [پنّی باغ] and there used to be a Barahderi [بارہ دری] as well which was known as the "Panni Barahderi" [پنّی بارہ دری]. The actual Barahderi [بارہ دری] had although submerged somewhere under the currents of time yet the remnants were very much traceable there until lately. The surrounding area of "Panni Barahderi" [پنّی بارہ دری] was developed fully but despite that said area was known as "Panni Barahderi" [پنّی بارہ دری] until recently.

Kamalpur [کمال پور]:

There was a town which was developed in Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ] India by a very talented person namely Nawab Kamal Khan Panni [نواب کمال خان پنّی]. The said large town was named as Kamalpur [کمال پور] after his name which was popular by the same name until recent times.

Jagirdar Abdur Rahman Khan Panni [جاگیردار عبدالرحمان خان پنّی]:

Jagirdar Abdur Rahman Khan Panni [جاگیردار عبدالرحمان خان پنّی] was a leading personality of the city. He had owned a large Jagir in Khalaspur [خالص پور] near Lukhnow [لکھنؤ].

Nawab Sher Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب شیر محمد خان پنّی]:

There was another prominent personality in the area and his name was Nawab Sher Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب شیر محمد خان پنّی]. He had earned the title of Nawab for himself. He was based in Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ]. The ruins of his Hawaili [حویلی] used to remind always about his glorious past.

Khudadad Khan Panni [خداداد خان خان پنّی]:

Khudadad Khan Panni [خداداد خان پنّی] was another renowned personality in said area. He was also based at the same place. He was grandson of Nawab Sher Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب شیر محمد خان پنّی]. He had three sons and the name of his eldest son was Abdul Qudoos Khan Panni [عبدالقدوس خان پنّی].

Abdul Qudoos Khan Panni [عبدالقدوس خان پنّی]:

Abdul Qudoos Khan Panni [عبدالقدوس خان پنّی] had enjoyed the parity among his other relatives in terms of status and affluence. The most significant quality for which he was popular was his love for the poor people. He used to get mixed up very easily with poor people and he used to share their grievances and used to derive pleasure in solving their problems. The general public also used to give him his due because of his selfless support. He had tremendous qualities of leadership and had owned a large Jagir in Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ] in 1904. He used to pay, as annual revenue, a sum of Rupees four thousand three hundred only which used to be generated from said Jagir.

Ghulam Mustafa Khan Panni [غلام مصطفیٰ خان پنّی]:

Ghulam Mustafa Khan Panni [غلام مصطفیٰ خان پنّی] was son of Qadir Khan Panni [قادر خان پنّی]. He had inherited a large estate from his father and used to pay a sum of Rupees six thousand as annual revenue as per fixed rates according to official Gazetteer of Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ]. He had a son by the name of Ghulam Mujtaba Khan Panni [غلام مجتبےٰ خان پنّی] and had migrated to Lahore at the time of independence (***Gazetteer of Fatehpur Hoda*** [فتح پور ہودہ] ***Page No.107***). He was a military instructor initially but he had started the law practice after his retirement. The signboard with his name as "Panni Traders" used to be publically noticeable very easily which was affixed conspicuously on a big building near the Nela Gunbad [نیلا گنبد] square Lahore.

There were other well known people like Dhoman Khan [دھومن خان], Serband Khan [سربند خان] and Ameer Khan [امیر خان] in Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ] other than the abovementioned leading personalities of the Panni nation. There were a number of people from the Panni nation who were in Lukhnow [لکھنؤ] and Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ] until recently. There were some who were farmers whereas the others were in the profession of law and some of them used to work as

traders as well. The very presence of those people in the area was by virtue of their rendering military services. They were victimized however during the British Raj and some of their Jagirs were confiscated too.

Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی]:

There was another Panni family in Owad [اودھ] which had also earned a big name. The founder of said famous military family was Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی]. When the race to acquire the military jagirs was in progress in Hindustan, his distinguished family members used to hold many key positions at that time. According to some information said family was also a true patriot family and was a true follower of Islam. There were many members who had earned a distinct name in various fields of life. They had earned the distinguished position and status on the one hand and on the other hand they were able to give a particular direction to the history of the Subcontinent. They used to enjoy a good reputation also in terms of affluence, gallantry, benevolence and self-respect and were able to change the course of history in Hindustan by waging Jihad Bissaif [جہاد بِالسیف] (*Sword*) and Jihad Bilmal [جہاد بِالمال] (*Wealth*) and Jihad Billisan [جہاد بِالسان] (*Tongue*) and Jihad Bilqalam [جہاد بِالقلم] (*Pen*). The Muslims of Hindustan may well feel very proud justifiably on the overall performance of said family.

Grace, Grandeur and Grand Opulence [جاہ وجلال اور امارت وشکوہ]:

Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] and his younger brother Nawab Purdil Khan Panni [پُردِل خان پنّی] were the main and very significant personalities of said family. Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] had also a military estate whereas his native place was Gotni [گوتنی]. He was based in Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ] which was a few miles away from Gotni [گوتنی]. The level of his affluence was measurable from the fact that, he had paid a sum of Rupees five hundred thousand five hundred and five Ashrafi [اشرفی] to his wife as prompt Mehr [مہر] at the time of Nikah. He had a collaboration understanding with Shujja-ud-Dolla Wali-e-Owad [شجاع الدولہ والئ اودھ] (*1167 to 1188 Hegira*) to the extent that, in case of war he was bound to be summoned. They were at par with each other however in terms of their respective social status (***Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No.214***). He had participated in many a battle at

the behest of Wali-e-Owad [والئ اودھ] and had rendered great services in this regard. The distinctive grace, grandeur and the grand opulence which he had enjoyed was the result of rendering great military services in the battlefield.

There were some miscreants who had created a revolt in Bandhail Khand [بندھیل کھنڈ]. Nawab Shujja-ud-Dolla Wali-e-Owad [شجاع الدولہ والئ اودھ] had summoned Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] in the wake of said situation and no sooner Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] had reached the Dewan Khana [دیوان خانہ] then Nawab Shujja-ud-Dolla Wali-e-Owad [شجاع الدولہ والئ اودھ] had opted to leave his Dewan Khana [دیوان خانہ], instantly. The same act was with the intention to deny him the courtesy of rising for him and offering salutations. The act of leaving the Dewan Khana [دیوان خانہ] was also with the baleful intention to impose the same obligation on Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] instead to offer him the salutations. Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] was made to sit therefore and he was asked to wait for the reentry of Nawab Shujja-ud-Dolla Wali-e-Owad [شجاع الدولہ والئ اودھ] in the Dewan Khana [دیوان خانہ]. Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] was a brave and sensitive person therefore he was able to assess the situation and he had requested for a Musala [مصلہ] and while he was on it, he had started the recitation of Quran Majeed. Nawab Shujja-ud-Dolla Wali-e-Owad [شجاع الدولہ والئ اودھ] had made his reentry in Dewan Khana [دیوان خانہ] ultimately and he had found Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] busy in the recitation of Quran Majeed therefore Nawab Shujja-ud-Dolla Wali-e-Owad [شجاع الدولہ والئ اودھ] had no other option but to wait for him to finish. Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] had taken his time and then he concluded the recitation of the Quran Majeed after some time. He had stood up thereafter and he had hugged Nawab Shujja-ud-Dolla Wali-e-Owad [شجاع الدولہ والئ اودھ] while sitting next to him (***Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No.214***). That was how Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] was able to preserve his self-esteem and self-respect by bringing himself at par with Nawab Shujja-ud-Dolla Wali-e-Owad [شجاع الدولہ والئ اودھ].

One brilliant achievement [ایک شجاعانہ کار نامہ]:

There were also some other Sardars who were also present in Dewan Khana [دیوان خانہ] at that time. Then, Nawab Shujja-ud-Dolla Wali-e-Owad [شجاع الدولہ والئ اودھ] had disclosed the incident

of revolt in Bandhail Khand [بندھیل کھنڈ]. He had held up the beetle-leaf [پان کا بیڑا] thereafter along-with a sword and he had thrown the challenge to those who were present there to sort out the miscreants. Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] had volunteered at that time and he had picked up the beetle-leaf [پان کا بیڑا] and then he tucked in the sword around his waist. He had landed in Bandhail Khand [بندھیل کھنڈ] thereafter along-with his troops where he was able to sort out the miscreants. There was an individual however from the Bandhail Khand [بندھیل کھنڈ] tribe who was able to enter somehow or the other into his camp. He had cut Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] into two pieces with one blow of his sword despite the fact that said Nawab had put on an iron helmet under his turban. The said incident alone was enough to describe the manly courage and qualities of Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] (***Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No.214***).

Martyrdom and fortitude of the mother [شہادت اور والدہ کی بلند حوصلگی]:

Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] was joyously on his way back from the battlefield after the victory. There were some individuals of Bandhail Khand [بندھیل کھنڈ] however who had ambushed him. They had opened the fire as soon as they were able to get the opportunity and thus they had literally perforated his entire body with the bullets. Nawab had fallen from his horse resultantly and the horse had galloped for miles and to reach back to Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ]. The mother of Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] was alive at that time. She was worried but she had made a vociferous declaration that "If Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] had escaped from the battlefield he was not supposed to be pardoned". Then, she was informed on the following morning that Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] was ambushed and he was martyred. The heart feelings one can imagine only with which his mother must have received the news of martyrdom of her young son! The general belief in any case was that the brave lady had offered two Nawafil Shukerana [نوافل شکرانہ] and then she had said that "My son was able to prove his manliness". The sons of such mothers were destined to prove their worthiness in the history. The dead body of Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] was brought to Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ] where he was buried in a mausoleum. The said mausoleum was there until recent times.

The tomb of the horse of Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] was also in Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ] close to the school near Tehsil office. The same place had become known with the passage of time as "Ghorra Shaheed" [گھوڑا شہید] ***(Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No.215***).

Purdil Khan Panni [پُردِل خان پنّی] and Mohammed Saeed Khan Panni [محمد سعید خان پنّی]:

We have neither been able to trace out any information about the children of Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] nor had we the information about his younger brother namely Purdil Khan Panni [پُردِل خان پنّی]. We were able to obtain however this much information that Purdil Khan Panni [پُردِل خان پنّی] had a son and his name was Mohammed Saeed Khan Panni [محمد سعید خان پنّی]. The history of Nawab Kramat Khan Panni [نواب کرامت خان پنّی] had revealed that he was a man of field and intellect. The brief history of grandson of Mohammed Saeed Khan Panni [محمد سعید خان پنّی] and son of Purdil Khan Panni [پُردِل خان پنّی] namely Allah Dad Khan Panni [اللہ داد خان پنّی] was also available but in a disorderly manner ***(Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No.215***).

The mother of Allah Dad Khan Panni [اللہ داد خان پنّی] was daughter of Sherzaman Khan [شیرزمان خان] and her name was Zamania Bagum [زمانیہ بیگم] or Zamania Bibi [زمانیہ بی بی]. He was the same Sherzaman Khan [شیرزمان خان] whose grandfather namely Mohammed Shahab Khan [محمد شہاب خان] had established the town of Gotni [گوتنی] in district Pertab Gharr [پرتاب گڑھ] during the reign of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan [سعادت علی خان]. The historiographer of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had written it as Gotnah [گوتنہ] instead of Gotni [گوتنی]. The religiosity in the maternal family of Allah Dad Khan Panni [اللہ داد خان پنّی] was such that anything against the Sharait was intolerable. The sound of music even used to be banned totally in all the Mohallahs [محلہ] around Gotni [گوتنی] and in its outskirts ***(Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No.215***).

Respect for Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید سے عقیدت]:

Allah Dad Khan Panni [اللہ داد خان پنّی] had two wives. The first wife was daughter of Saeed Khan Maswaie [سید خان مسوائی] from Fatehpur city [فتح پور شہر]. She was literally drenched in superstitions whereas Allah Dad Khan Panni [اللہ داد خان پنّی] was influenced by Islamic teachings

immensely and despite his best efforts his wife had proved to be an irredeemable case. Allah Dad Khan Panni [الله داد خان پنّی] therefore had no other option except to sever the relationship with her. The second wife was daughter of Khan Sher Zaman Khan [خان شیر زمان خان] Raees Gotni [رئیس گوتنی] and her name was Aisha Bibi [عائیشہ بی بی]. He had two sons and two daughters from said wedlock. The name of his eldest son was Ismaeel Khan Panni [اسماعیل خان پنّی]. He was named as such because of Shah Ismaeel Shaheed [شاہ اسماعیل شہید]. The said family had great respect for the martyred members of the family because they had rendered great sacrifices for them. The name of the younger son was Mohammed Yusuf Khan Panni [محمد یوسف خان پنّی]. The relatives of the wife of Allah Dad Khan Panni [الله داد خان پنّی] were more in Lukhnow [لکھنؤ] than in Gotni [گوتنی] and all his brothers-in-law namely Ahmed Ali Khan [احمد علی خان] Ashraf Ali Khan [اشرف علی خان] and Wajid Ali Khan [واجد علی خان] were based in Lukhnow [لکھنؤ] just because of their jobs. Allah Dad Khan Panni [الله داد خان پنّی] used to stay at Lukhnow [لکھنؤ] mostly therefore he used to visit Raye Braily [رائے بریلی] occasionally which was a city of his spiritual mentor namely Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] ***(Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No.215 and 216***).

Participation in Tanzeem Mujahedeen and bequest of property
[تنظیم مجاہدین میں شرکت اور وقف جائیداد]:

We have already mentioned above that Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] used to travel to Gotni [گوتنی] frequently to organize the Mujahedeen [مجاہدین]. The cities of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] namely Raye Braily [رائے بریلی], Fatehpur Hoda [فتح پور ہودہ] and Gotni [گوتنی] (Keramankpura [کڑامانکپورہ]) were located contigously. Whenever Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] used to visit Gotni [گوتنی], he used to stay with Mohammed Wajeeh Khan [محمد وجیہ خان] (*Railway Employee*) father of Mohammed Saleem Khan Panni [محمد سلیم خان پنّی]. The father of Mohammed Wajeeh Khan [محمد وجیہ خان] namely Abdul Aziz Khan Panni [عبدالعزیز خان پنّی] was also a staunch supporter of the Jihad movement [تحریک جہاد]. Allah Dad Khan Panni [الله داد خان پنّی] was undoubtedly deadly against superstitions. The interest which he had evinced in the Jihad movement [تحریک جہاد] can be gauged from the fact that he had dedicated his entire property for the movement of the Mujahedeen [مجاہدین]. He had retained one house only which he had inherited from his in-laws along-with a garden which was in Sher Gherr [شیر گڑھ] near Gotni [گوتنی]. The subsequent events after the Shahadat [شہادت] (4th May 1831) of Syed Ahmed [سید احمد] had revealed that Allah Dad Khan Panni [الله داد خان پنّی] was desirous to reorganize the

Mujahedeen [مجاہدین]. He had also named his son as Ismaeel Khan Panni [اسماعیل خان پنّی] to see the fulfillment of said desire. The said name was given to his son in commemoration of Shah Ismaeel Shaheed [شاہ اسماعیل شہید]. Allah Dad Khan Panni [اللہ داد خان پنّی] had passed away well before the independence war of 1857. The whereabouts of his place of death were unknown even to his grandson namely Khan Mohammed Ajmal Khan [خان محمد اجمل خان]. He was a member of Rajia Shaba India and then he had worked as a private secretary to Mollana Abul Kalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد]. He had died presumably while organizing the Jihad movement [تحریک جہاد] because history was all quiet with regard to his place of burial ***(Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No. 216, Letter by Khan Mohammed Ajmal Khan*** [خان محمد اجمل خان] ***Dated.23 September 1964 addressed to Writer***).

Participation of Mohammed Yusuf Khan Panni in Jihad [محمد یوسف خان پنّی کی جہاد میں شرکت]:

The younger brother of Allah Dad Khan Panni [اللہ داد خان پنّی] namely Mohammed Yusuf Khan Panni [محمد یوسف خان پنّی] was also a staunch believer in Jihad Fe Sabeelallah [جہاد فی سبیل اللہ]. He had also participated in the Jihad movement [تحریک جہاد] with all his resources. He had dedicated his life in this regard to realize the true objectives of Jihad [جہاد] ***(Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No. 216***). Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had hailed from Raye Braily [رائے بریلی] and Gotni [گوتنی] was the headquater of his movement where his family was settled very nicely. Mohammed Yusuf Khan Panni [محمد یوسف خان پنّی] used to travel frequently to Afghanistan to organize the Jihad movement [تحریک جہاد]. He used to disguise as a "Derwaish" [درویش] during those trips. He had shifted to Afghanistan after the defeat in the independence war of 1857. He had performed Hajj [حج] several times as a "Derwaish" [درویش] ***(Letter by Khan Mohammed Ajmal Khan*** [خان محمد اجمل خان] ***Dated.2nd May 1961 addressed to Writer***). He was a man of resilience and he had lived his life with a real pragmatic approach as a true Mujahid [مجاہد]. He used to take the avowal [بعیت] from others and he used to carry a barbed sword with him. He was married to his cousin and after her death he had opted to live without marriage. There was a general perception that he was associated with the independent Mujahedeen of the frontier province. He used to travel to Afghanistan frequently in the same context ***(Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No. 216***). Since he had no children therefore he had developed wanderlust and he used to spend most of his time in travelling ***(Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No. 216***). He was a spiritualist by nature and he used to recite the Masnawi of

Mollana Rom [مثنوی مولانا رومؒ] with an amazing cadence. He used to offer Azan [اذان] in the mosque in a true Arabic accent. He had never allowed anyone else to perform said sacred duty during his lifetime ***(Letter by Khan Mohammed Ajmal Khan*** [خان محمد اجمل خان] ***Dated.9th May 1961 addressed to Writer***).

Mohammed Ismaeel Khan Panni, Mujahid of independence
[جنگ آزادی کے مجاہد محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی]:

Mohammed Ismaeel Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] was the eldest son of Allah Dad Khan Panni [اللہ داد خان پنّی]. He was born in the year when Syed Ahmed [سید احمد] was martyred at Balakot [بالا کوٹ] (24th Zeqad [ذی القعد] 1264 Hegira 1831). He was about 25 or 26 years old when the independence war of 1857 had taken place. He was employed in the royal force of Owad [اودھ] and was filled therefore with the fervent sentiment of patriotism. He was also a very courteous person just like his forefathers. He was also a very religious person and had taken active part in the anti-British insurgency of 1857. There was a saintly person in Allahabad [الہ آباد] whose name was Shah Ahmed Ullah Farooqi [شاہ احمد اللہ فاروقی]. He was from the family of Shah Muhabat Ullah [شاہ محبت اللہ]. Mohammed Ismaeel Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] had kneeled before him for the avowal (Bait [بعیت]). He was the leader of the revolutionary movement of the Mujahedeen [مجاہدین] at Kanpur [کان پور] and Lukhnow [لکھنؤ]. He was named Mohammed Ismaeel [محمد اسماعیل] by his father just in commemoration of Shah Ismaeel Shaheed [شاہ اماعیل شہید] because Syed Ahmed [سید احمد] and his son Shah Ismaeel [شاہ اماعیل] were martyred in the same year when he was born. When he had grown up he had opted to be a Mujahid [مجاہد] just fulfill the desire of his father. We have not been able to trace out however the detail account of his life history. When the exercise for the general arrests was in progress after the insurgency of 1857 he was declared as an absconder army officer. He had escaped to Agerah [آگرہ] where he had remained with Molvi Freed-ud-Din Kerrvi [مولوی فریدالدین کڑوی] who was a senior lawyer at that time. Then, he had moved to Delhi [دہلی] where he had become a police officer in Alwer [الور] with the help of Nawab Faiz Ali Khan [نواب فیض علی خان], Raees of Pahassu [رئیس پہاسو] (District Ali Gherr [علی گڑھ]) or Masee-ul-Mulk Hakeem Mahmood Khan [مسیح الملک حکیم محمود خان] father of (Late) Hakeem Mohammed Ajmal Khan [حکیم محمد اجمل خان]. He had remained stationed there for about thirty years and then he had opted to live at Gotni

[گوتنی] after his retirement. The said Mujahid [مجاہد] son of a Mujahid had died in 1918 at Allahabad [الہ آباد] ***(Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No. 216 and 217).***

Mutiny i.e. war of independence [غدر یعنی جنگ آزادی]:

The way the events of 1857 were disclosed by the family members of Mohammed Ismaeel Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] had confirmed the fact that the movement was carried forward in a totally disorganized manner. When the members of the movement had started looting the treasury in Allahabad fort [قلعہ الہ آباد] as per verbal account rendered by them and the boxes were thrown open, the voracity and greed had touched such limits that the members of the movement had swarmed those boxes, like vultures. They had drawn their swords against each other in said stint and there were many boxes notwithstanding the same which had remained lying there intact and unopened. They had also disclosed that the rioters had moved like a throng and there was an extreme polarization among the Sardars and they were desirous to belittle each other. The Poorbi Hindus [پوربی ہندو] were unmanageable totally in this regard because some initial victories had made them extremely arrogant. They had marshaled a sentence that, " جہ کُے موڑ پہ پہی رکھ دے وہی بادشاہ ہو جئے" (Even if we put a shoe on the head of anyone he was bound to be a king) ***(Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No. 216 and 217).*** When they were placed at the Kashmiri Gate [کشمیری دروازہ] at Delhi [دہلی] and were instructed to hold it as a battlefront, they had drifted away arrogantly by saying "تمو سپاہی اور ہمتو سپاہی نہیں" (You are soldiers and we are not soldiers).

Nikah [نکاح] with Amalia Cook:

Mohammed Ismaeel Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] had brought with him an English lady namely Amalia Cook to Kanpur [کانپور]. Mohammed Ajmal Khan [محمد اجمل خان] had expressed his views in this regard that "there was an English lady who had opted to elope with my father Mohammed Ismaeel Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی]. He had brought home Amalia Cook on the horse back. She was converted to Islam by Allah Shah [الہ شاہ] and then he had solemnized Nikah [نکاح] with her" (***Periodical Urdu Adab Azad Number Traqi-e-Urdu*** [اردوادب آزاد نمبر ترقئ اردو] ***(Hindh) Volume No.8.1959***). When the British rule had gained roots then said lady had made an offer of a valuable Jagir against her release but Mohammed Ismaeel Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] had declined. He was probably very scared and he had sent her either to Kanpur [کانپور] or

Lukhnow [لکھنؤ]. The British government had made some hectic efforts thereafter to locate the whereabouts of Mohammed Ismaeel Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] but they had failed to determine the same. This mystery had remained unresolved however that whether said hectic effort was made to award him a Jagir or apprehend him for punishment ***(Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No. 218)***.

Ahmed Yaqoob Khan Panni [احمد یعقوب خان پنّی]:

Mohammed Ismaeel Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] had three sons namely Ahmed Yaqoob Khan Panni [احمد یعقوب خان پنّی], Ahmed Allah Khan Panni [احمدالہ خان پنّی] and Mohammed Ajmal Khan Panni [محمد اجمل خان پنّی]. The first son Ahmed Yaqoob Khan Panni [احمد یعقوب خان پنّی] had opted to stay in Rajasthan [راجستھان] after the independence movement of 1857. He had also accompanied Mohammed Ismaeel Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی], when he had moved back to his native place i.e. Gotni [گوتنی] district Pertab Gharr [پرتاب گڑھ] in 1902. He was proficient in the Persian language which he learnt at home whereas he learnt English language while he was in police service. He had opted to live a secluded life since 1921 whereas he was in Allahabad [الہ آباد] in 1941. When he was at a ripe age of 94 his two sons had decided to adopt the nationality of Pakistan. There were number of people of the Panni nation in Raye Braily [رائے بریلی] and Gotni [گوتنی] district Pertab Gharr [پرتاب گڑھ] until lately. The Jagirs of those Panni families were commandeered after the independence movement of 1857. The British government had commandeered even those Jagirs which were not granted by them because they had declared all the Jagirdars as anti-British. There were some members among them who were agriculturalists or they were in the profession of law. Ahmed Allah Khan Panni [احمدالہ خان پنّی] had also joined service after completing his education. He had migrated to Pakistan thereafter and he had opted to settle down in Karachi ***(Letter by Khan Mohammed Ajmal Khan*** [خان محمد اجمل خان] ***Dated.9th May 1961 addressed to Writer***).

Mujahid-e-Huriyat Mohammed Ajmal Khan Panni [مجاہدِحریت محمداجمل خان پنّی]:

Mohammed Ajmal Khan Panni [محمد اجمل خان پنّی] was the second son of Mohammed Ismaeel Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی]. He was based in Delhi [دہلی]. He was a man of many colors and shades. He was blessed with the ability to bridge the past with present progressively. He was the

same Mohammed Ajmal Khan Panni [محمد اجمل خان پنّی] about whom Mollana Abul Kalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد] had referred repeatedly in his writings. He was a known Mujahid [مجاہد] by virtue of his sword and tongue whereas his name had attained a very significant distinction in the context of anti-British movements and for the liberation of the country from their colonial rule. He was also a great scholar and he had rendered many great services on the quiet for the advancement of knowledge and education. He was also a true lover of Islam and was a great philanthropist just like his forefathers. There were a very few people who were actually familiar with his tremendous contribution in promoting the patriotism. There was only one reference in this regard that Mollana Abul Kalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد] had appointed him as his private secretary. He had served Mollana Abul Kalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد] till his last breath and his total tenure of office with him was twenty five years approximately which had proved explicitly the kind of candid understanding between them and the uniformity in the intellect and mental disposition.

Education and national service [تعلیم اور قومی خدمت]:

Mohammed Ismaeel Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] the father of Mohammed Ajmal Khan Panni [محمد اجمل خان پنّی] had very friendly relationship with Maseh-ul-Mulk [مسیح الملک] Hakeem Mohammed Ajmal Khan [حکیم محمد اجمل خان]. The friendship was so strong that even the name Mohammed Ajmal Khan Panni [محمد اجمل خان پنّی] was also a commemorative name of Hakeem Mohammed Ajmal Khan [حکیم محمد اجمل خان]. Mohammed Ajmal Khan Panni [محمد اجمل خان پنّی] had continued his education with the science subjects under the instructions of Hakeem Mohammed Ajmal Khan [حکیم محمد اجمل خان] till F.Sc. The objective was to acquire an adequate knowhow in the field of Tabbat [طبابت] (*Holistic practices*). Mohammed Ajmal Khan Panni [محمد اجمل خان پنّی] had given up science education however after the death of his father. Then he had obtained the M.A. (*Master of Arts*) degree in philosophy from Ali Gherr [علی گڑھ] university and he had also completed education in the field of law thereafter. The Turks had started the civil disobedience movement in those days against the British Raj. Mohammed Ajmal Khan Panni [محمد اجمل خان پنّی] had taken charge as a caliph [خلیفہ] of the whole district and for the congress committees. Then, he had completed M.A. (*Master of Arts*) degree in the Arabic language after a few years. He had ended up doing L.L.B ultimately and then he had started the practice of law. He was also a lecturer in the Arabic language in Allahabad [الہ آباد] for some time. He was

motivated by his sense of patriotism at the same time and he had also brought out an English weekly Newspaper i.e. "Dawn" from Allahabad [الہ آباد] in 1929. When the liberation movement was set afloat in 1931 he had landed in the practical field and he was actively involved in introducing some modernity in the society. He had also opted to travel to Hejaz [حجاز] in the same context in 1935. When he had witnessed the plight of the Palestinian Arabs, he was motivated to the extent that he had laid the foundation of the Palestinian congress on his return to Hindustan. Then he had published his most important book with the caption as "Nazool Quran Kareem" [نزول قرآن کریم]. He had become the private secretary to Mollana Abul Kalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد] in 1937 and he had served him till his death ***(Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No. 218)***.

Mohammed Ajmal Khan Panni [محمد اجمل خان پنّی] had also written some other books like "Seyaseyat" [سیاسیات] "Pasmanzer-e-Islam" [پس منظرِ اسلام] and "Serat-e-Nabvi" [سیرتِ نبوی] which was in about ten volumes. He had published about fifty articles and periodicals with the caption as "Bunyadi Hindustani" [بنیادی ہندوستانی] whereas it was in about one thousand pages collectively. He had also published a standard book on the "Serat-e-Nabvi" [سیرتِ نبوی] in the Urdu language in the light of the Quranic precepts (*Quran Kareem* [قرآن کریم]). He was desirous to have said book translated in various international languages ***(Jamat Mujahedeen*** [جماعت مجاہدین] ***Page No. 218)***. He also had some other books to his credit like "Arsat Kalase" [ارسط کالیس] "Mukhdoom Sabir Kaleedi Sultan-ul-Hindh Ghreeb Nawaz" [مخدوم صابر کلیدی سلطان الہند غریب نواز] *Translation*: Bhagwat Geeta [ترجمہ بھگوت گیتا] *Translation*: Jap Gee [ترجمہ جپ جی] etc. He was a member of Rajia Sabah (*India*) when we (*Writer*) were in correspondence with him. He was very keen to have his book translated in one hundred languages of the world which was captioned as "Serat-e-Nabvi" [سیرتِ نبوی]. He was desirous to have it circulated in Pakistan as well as in the other Muslim countries of the world at the eve of fourteen hundred years of the first revelation of the Quran on the Prophet Muhammad [ﷺ]. That was how he had planned to dislodge his sacred duty to propagate the message of Islam in the entire world just in three years. He had requested us (*Writer*) to convince the then government of Pakistan to help him materialize that sacred duty ***(Letter by Khan Mohammed Ajmal Khan*** [خان محمد اجمل خان] ***Dated.23rd September1964 addressed to Writer***).

Similarity in mental and intellectual disposition with Mollana Abul Kalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد سے ذہنی قلبی اور قلمی قُرب]:

The intellectual flight and mental affinity of Mohammed Ajmal Khan Panni [محمد اجمل خان پنّی] with Mollana Abul Kalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد] were assessable very easily from the following article which was written by the renowned economist Mohammed Mumtaz Hassan Sahib [محمد ممتاز حسن صاحب] while he was presenting a review on the book of Mollana Abul Kalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد]. The same was known popularly as Ghubar-e-Khatir [غبارِ خاطر]. The "Forward" [دیباچہ] of said book was written by Mohammed Ajmal Khan Panni [محمد اجمل خان پنّی] and he had passed the comments in this regard in the manner, as below:

> "This fact will not be inappropriate at this stage to refer to the "Forward" [دیباچہ] of the book which was written by Molvi Ajmal Khan Sahib [مولوی اجمل خان صاحب]. The said "Forward" [دیباچہ] was absolutely amazing because of its intellectual finesse. Molvi Ajmal Khan Sahib [مولوی اجمل خان صاحب] had deserved all the appreciation because while commenting on the writing style of Mollana Abul Kalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد], he himself had repeated his style very successfully. He had earned in the process all the appreciation. The said "Forward" [دیباچہ] was in an identically and colorfully decorated prose form with the tinge of poetry with and floating metaphors and similes. Then, it was glorified phonetically in between the sentences. I will dare go even to the extent that the gush of emotions of respect for Mollana Abul Kalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد] which had emanated in the "Forward" [دیباچہ] had, resolved the enigmatic situation for the reader that, the name of the writer was Molvi Ajmal Khan Sahib [مولوی اجمل خان صاحب] in the "Forward" [دیباچہ] whereas the way of writing was that of Mollana Abul Kalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد] squarely. The "Forward" [دیباچہ] was quite sufficient to eternalize the intellectual popularity of Molvi Ajmal Khan Sahib [مولوی اجمل خان صاحب] and if his pen was capable to bring forth more such writings on the same pattern, he was to be called most definitely as Mollana Abul Kalam Azad Sani [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد ثانی]" (***Naie Tahreerain*** [نئی تحریریں] ***Volume No.1 Page No.136***). Mr. Abu Ali [ابو علی] (Azam Gherr [اعظم گڑھ]) had written about the modern edition of the collective letters of Mollana Abul Kalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد] which was captioned as "A General Review of Ghubar-e-Khatir [غبارِ خاطر]" and the same had not included the "Forward"

[دیباچہ] of Molvi Ajmal Khan Sahib [مولوی اجمل خان صاحب]. He had eulogized his way of writing in the manner, as below:

"This fact was surprising that "Forward" [دیباچہ] by Molvi Ajmal Khan Sahib [مولوی اجمل خان صاحب] was not included in the edition which was not less than the main subject in any manner whatsoever just because of its eloquence and superb descriptions etc. The way of expression had given rather a perfect semblance of Mollana Abul Kalam Azad [مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد] (***Weakly Chattan*** [چٹان] ***Lahore 29th June 1967***).

FAMILY OF THE PANNI GOVERNORS OF BRAR PROVINCE (INDIA)

[صوبہ برار (بھارت) کے پنّی کورنروں کا خاندان]:

The province of Brar [برار] like other areas of India was reflective of the glorious past and great history of the Muslims. The kind of splendor and grandeur with which the Muslims had governed said province, the vestiges of the same had always spoken voluminously. Those vestiges were there, until recent times. The way the Panni people had represented the Muslims in the area, was also an interesting chapter in the Muslim history. The period in question was very significant however due to its eventfulness. The governors of said Panni nation had proved the worth of their bravery as rulers during their initial reign at Deccan [دکن]. Thus they had earned the name in the history but said period was not documented and preserved unfortunately in the archives of history in a descriptive manner. Those Muslims were also able to get the due recognition of their worthy dependence in the battlefield. Thus they had given the special link-status to their area in the history. The same period was also very unique from another angle besides those praiseworthy achievements. The ultimate responsibility to pave the way for East India Company from the north of the Subcontinent was also pinned on those Muslim rulers of said era. The kind of treatment the British rulers had meted out to them, despite their invaluable services, was also a very heartbreaking story in the history. The leaders of said nation had fought tooth and nail in the support of the Nizam Deccan [نظام دکن]. They had also confronted Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] and had fought against the British rulers as well. Then some of them had also sided with Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] simultaneously. They were the ones who had the ability to vie the Nizam of Deccan [نظام دکن] and they were the ones who had earned the honor to cast aside with disdain the arrogance of all the haughty and mighty. They had promoted

the norms of self-respect and reliance by shedding their own blood. They had won many battles and they were daring enough to solve the enigmatic situations with the help of their swords. The historical monuments have always narrated the tales of their gorgeous and glorious past in the city of Ailchpur [ایلچپور] (*Former province of Brar* [برار]). The founder of said chain of Panni governors of Brar [برار] was Nawab Ismaeel Khan Bahader Ba Sermust Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان بہادر بہ سر مست خان]. He was also known in some books of history as "Ismaeel Khan Bahader Al-Mukhatib Sermust Khan [اسماعیل خان بہادر المخاطب سر مست خان]. The said family of the Panni nation had ruled the Brar [برار] province very majestically for about one century.

History and geography of Ailchpur [ایلچپور]:

Ailchpur [ایلچپور] was capital of the Brar [برار] province. The historical significance was assessable from the angle that the Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had made one of the villages as his capital unlike Ahmed Nager [احمد نگر] at the end of sixteenth century which was known as Balapur [بلا پور]. The historian Albarooni [البیرونی] had given the reference of said place for the first time in the thirteenth century. He had referred to it as a famous city of Deccan [دکن]. When, the Muslims had conquered Davegerri [ویوگری] in 718 Hegira (1318), they had also captured Ailchpur [ایلچپور] simultaneously. There was a mosque which was built in 869 Hegira (1425). When Nizam-I namely Asif Jah [آصف جاہ] had become the independent ruler of Deccan [دکن] in 1137 Hegira (1724) then said city had dwindled in its historical significance to some extent. Ailchpur [ایلچپور] was divided into three Talqas [تعلقوں] under the Muslim rule i.e. Ailchpur [ایلچپور], Uriapur [اڑیا پور] and Mailghat [میل گھاٹ]. The headquarters of the first two Talqas were also known by the same name. The main center of third one was called as "Chakalaya" [چکالایا]. The main cities of said province were Chothnay [چوتھنے], Ailchpur [ایلچپور], Pertwader [پرت وادر], Anjan Ghaon [انجن گاؤں], Kerg Ghaon [کرگ گاؤں], Surs Ghaon [سرس گاؤں] and Chandro Bazaar [چھاندرو بازار] etc. The roads of Ailchpur [ایلچپور] were very wide which were fully paved and were linked to Ameraoti [امراؤتی]. They were also connected with the Chakalaya [چکالایا] city via Ghatnugh [گھٹنگ]. The said city was known, at some point of time, for its production of high quality mattresses "Durries" [دریاں]. There used to be jungles as well as grazing areas. The Panni Nawabs had built numerous public welfare places [ایلچپور] in Ailchpur like wells, gardens and mosques as well as, some beautiful palaces etc. Nawab Ismail Khan Bahader Ba Sermust Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان بہادر بہ سر مست خان] had constructed one of the forts subsequently. There were

numerous places and shrines, worthy of visiting as well. Those shrines had included perhaps the graves of the Panni governors as well. There was also a famous Khankah [خانقاہ] (shrine) of the Bahman [بہمنی] era which was made prior to 895 A.C. The son of Nawab Ismail Khan Bahader Ba Sermust Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان بہادر بہ سر مست خان] and second governor Nawab Slabat Khan [نواب صلابت خان] had also built a Sheesh Mahal [شیش محل] in said area (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.12 Page No.20***).

Jamadar Sultan Khan Panni [جمعدار سلطان خان پنّی]:

Sultan Khan Panni [سلطان خان پنّی] was a Panni family head among the governors of Brar [برار]. We were unable to trace out the information about his life but this much information was available only that he was appointed at the post of Jamadar [جمعدار] in the army of Nizam-ul-Mulk-I [نظام الملک اول] Asif Jah [آصف جاہ] (*Died on 1169 Hegira 1747 A.C.*). The said post used to be authoritative and powerful post in those days. The authority of Jamadar [جمعدار] used to overshadow the authority of other high officials and the powers of the Kotwal [کوتوال] of the city. Sermust Khan [سر مست خان] was son of Azmat Khan Panni [عظمت خان پنّی] and one of the daughters of Sultan Khan Panni [سلطان خان پنّی] was married to him. Sultan Khan Panni [سلطان خان پنّی] was a big landlord (***Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1, Page No.380).***

Nawab Ismail Khan Bahader Ba Sermust Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان بہادر بہ سر مست خان]:

Nawab Ismail Khan Bahader Ba Sermust Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان بہادر بہ سر مست خان] was the eldest son of Jamadar Sultan Khan Panni [جمعدار سلطان خان پنّی]. He was among the founders of the governors of the Panni family in Brar [برار]. He was initially a Jagirdar by inheritance during the administration period of Syed Mohammed Slabat Jung Nizam-ud-Dolla Asif Jah [سید صلابت جنگ نظام الدولہ آصف جاہ] Wali-e-Deccan [دکن] (1164 Hegira to 1177 Hegira). He had about one thousand soldiers at his disposal as well. He had inherited his Jagir from his father (***Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1, Page No.380).*** Nawab Ismail Khan Bahader Ba Sermust Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان بہادر بہ سر مست خان] was a brave and courageous person. Since his luck stars were always supportive therefore he had remained on the track to make the gradual progress. He was appointed at the highest post as governor of the Brar [برار] province (***Hadeqa-tul-Alam*** [حدیقۃ العالم] ***Article No.2 Page No.333***).

He had also enjoyed his Jagir with the titles like Nawab [نواب] and Sermust Khan [سر مست خان] which was the proof of his military excellence. He used to reside in the fort of Ailchpur [ایلچپور] was the capital of Brar [برار]. Shah Alam Jalal-ud-Din [شاہ عالم جلال الدین] was placed at the throne of Delhi [دہلی] when he had taken the charge of governorship of province. The outspokenness of Nawab Ismail Khan Bahader Ba Sermust Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان بہادر بہ سر مست خان] had become a historical reference. He had participated in many battles and had earned a big name for himself because of his bravery. He had died while fighting against the lashker of Nizam Ali Khan Nizam Deccan [نظام علی خان نظام دکن] (1178 to 1218 Hegira (1764 to 1803). He had fought with a company of forty soldiers only against a sizable lashker according to some historians. Nawab Ismail Khan Bahader Ba Sermust Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان بہادر بہ سر مست خان] used to feel very proud of his bravery and he used to ridicule other Generals in this regard. He used to be considered therefore an impulsive and self centered person. There were some other historians who had discussed him also in the context of those attributes (***Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1, Page No.380).*** The author of the book Hadeqa-tul-Alam [حدیقۃ العالم] had referred to him with the expression of one of his rivals as "بہ تنبیہ آن جہالت کیش مغرور" (*Arrogance due to ignorance*). He had used the words as "افغان اجل گرفتہ" (*Afghan gripped by death*) (***Article No.2 Page No.333***).

Military action against Ahmed Nasir Khan Jung [احمد خان ناصر جنگ کے خلاف فوجی اقدام]:

Nawab Ahmed Nasir Khan Jung [احمد خان ناصر جنگ] had revolted against his father namely Nizam-ul-Mulk-I [نظام الملک اول] (*Died on 1161 Zeqad* [ذی القعد] *Hegira 1747 A.C.*) (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page, No.117***). Nizam had moved towards Deccan [دکن] in 1153 Hegira 1770 A.C after seeking the permission of the King whereas Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had moved to Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] on 20th Jamadi-ul-Awal [جمادی الاول] 1154 Hegira (1741 A.C) after ensuring the preparedness for war. The army of Nawab Ahmed Nasir Khan Jung [احمد خان ناصر جنگ] had fought in a disorganized manner against the army of his father which had included Nawab Ismail Khan Bahader Ba Sermust Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان بہادر بہ سر مست خان] as well. The reason was that there were a number of local people in the army of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] and there were also some amateurs who were scared enough to runaway as soon as the cannons had started blazing the fire. The smoke of cannon fire had also darkened the battlefield and while taking advantage of the

same, some of the elephant riders of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had managed their escape from the battlefield. Thus he was left at the disposal of just two hundred cavalrymen and no sooner those cavalrymen had moved towards the cannon carts of Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک اول], the cannon-ball loaders and the cannon-ball shooters had also taken a flight to escape. Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had seized those cannons and he had moved forward but Nawab Ismail Khan Bahader Ba Sermust Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان بہادر بہ سر مست خان] who was riding his horse along-with about three to four hundred horsemen, he had also taken the battlefield against Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] at that time but Nasir Jung was defeated and he was arrested after a fierce battle (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.5-154***).

Accountability of Sahib Maserlaumera [صاحب ماثرالامراء کا محاسبہ]:

Sahib Maserlaumera [صاحب ماثرالامراء] namely Nawab Sumsam-ud-Dolla Shahnawaz Khan Wakeel [نواب صمصام الدولہ شاہ نواز خان وکیل] used to have a big say in the matters of administration. The time was ripe however for his accountability as well. He was a target figure therefore from all sides. The entire army had approached the house of brother of the Nizam [نظام] namely Sharif Khan Basalat Jung [شریف خان بسالت جنگ] in this regard on 6th Zeqad [ذی القعد] 1175 Hegira 1756 A.C. They had made him sit in the Palki [پالکی] and then they took him to Nawab Nizam [نواب نظام]. They had approached Nawab Nizam [نواب نظام] with the request to strip off the Khilat [خلعت] of advocacy of Shahnawaz Khan [شاہ نواز خان] and award it to Sharif Khan Basalat Jung [شریف خان بسالت جنگ] else they all were supposed to be murdered. They were actually tired of Shahnawaz Khan [شاہ نواز خان]. Nawab Nizam [نواب نظام] was compelled to award thus the Khilat [خلعت] of advocacy to his brother and Shahnawaz Khan [شاہ نواز خان] was made to step-down from the post of advocacy. Basalat Jung [بسالت جنگ] had also asked him for the audit of accounts thereafter. He was summoned to the Durbar in this regard for consultation with other lords. Basalat Jung [بسالت جنگ] had not agreed however to this and he had decided to prepare his army for war. Then he had waged war against Shahnawaz Khan [شاہ نواز خان] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.271***).

Abjuration of Balagee and Rakhonath Raye [بلاجی اوررگھوناتھ رائے کی سرکوبی]:

Balagee [بلاجی] had illegally occupied most of the Perganas [پرگنہ جات] in the state of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد]. He had also seized many gardens and forts and he had worked constantly to expand his dominion. The Merhatta Sardar [مرہٹہ سردار] Raghonath Raye Bhonsa [رگوناتھ رائے بھونسہ] had captured the entire area of Brar [برار]. He was also busy in looting and plundering besides victimizing the people in the Meedak [میدک] vicinity. Balagee [بلاجی] had come to terms however with him just by virtue of conciliatory efforts of Mir Najaf Ali Khan [میر نجف علی خان]. Nizam [نظام] had sent Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] for the abjuration of Raghonath [رگھوناتھ] in 1173 Hegira. He had taken his lashker for Meedak [میدک] via Alghandel [الگندل] and he had met Mir Mughal Ali Khan [میرمغل علی خان] on his way. He was appointed as Subaydar [صوبے دار] of Nandeerr [ناندیڑ] by Salabat Khan [صلابت خان] after consultation with Ismail Khan Panni [اسماعیل خان پنّی]. The three of them had decided on priority to objurgate Raghonath [رگھوناتھ] and pre-empt his heinous designs and ill-objectives and they had deferred all other matters. The three Generals had reached the fort of Meedak [میدک] thereafter and Raghonath [رگھوناتھ] had also started the preparation on the other side for an encounter, which was imminent (***Durbar Asif Gul Awal Gulzar Rasoom*** [دربار آصف گل اول گلزار رسوم] *Page No.40*, ***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.253-54).*** Nawab Nizam [نواب نظام] had devised the formation in the wake of said situation in the manner that, Sermust Khan Panni [سر مست خان پنّی], Nawab Ismail Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان] and Sultan Khan Panni [سلطان خان پنّی] were placed on the right-hand side. When the battle had started, Raghonath [رگھوناتھ] was unable to face even the initial onslaught and he had to manage his escape from the battlefield. Nawab Ismail Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان] had chased him and that chase had continued for some days. Then he was left with no other option but to make a request through a letter for general amnesty. Sultan Khan Panni [سلطان خان پنّی] and Sermust Khan Panni [سر مست خان پنّی] were the intermediaries to avail the general amnesty for him. He had promised pursuant thereof to give an estate to Nawab Ismail Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان]. The estate in question was generating the revenue at that time which was worth Rupees five hundred thousand per annum. Sultan Khan Panni [سلطان خان پنّی] and Sermust Khan Panni [سر مست خان پنّی] had decided the terms of settlement with Raghonath [رگھوناتھ] thereafter (***Durbar Asif Gul Awal Gulzar Rasoom*** [دربار آصف گل اول گلزار رسوم] ***Page No.40***, ***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.253-54).*** When both sides were engaged in a battle against each other, the news had travelled down to them that Ibraheem Khan Gardee Panni [ابراھیم خان گاردی پنّی], Bhao [بھاؤ] and Baswas Rao [بسواس راؤ], who were on a mission to Hindustan (*Northern Hindustan*) to conquer and expand the dominion of Salabat Khan [صلابت خان], were torn apart by the Durrani [درانی] people and there was not a

single survivor. The said news was about the battle of Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] against the Merhattas [مرہٹہ] and it had taken place in Panipat [پانی پت].

Annihilation of Sada Shiv Merhatta Sardar [سدا شیو مرہٹہ سردار کی تباہی]:

Sada Shiv Merhatta Sardar [سدا شیو مرہٹہ سردار] had taken the fort of Ahmed Nager [احمد نگر] on 18th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1173 Hegira from the son of Turktaz Khan [ترکتاز خان] who was the administrator [قلعدار] of said fort which was prior to the aforementioned incident and was also in exchange of a portion of his estate. He had landed in the vicinity of Awadgeer [اودگیر] to engage Nawab Ismail Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان] in a fight in collaboration with Ibraheem Khan Gardee Panni [ابراھیم خان گاردی پنّی]. He was sacked by the Nizam [نظام] on 2nd Jamadi-ul-Awal [جمادی الاول] 1173 Hegira. Then the army of Nawab Ismail Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان] had swarmed the lashker of Ibraheem Khan Gardee Panni [ابراھیم خان گاردی پنّی] on the 6th day of said month and had decimated said lashker. They had seized twelve symbols of the Gardee [گاردی] lashker (***Durbar Asif Gul Awal Gulzar Rasoom*** [دربار آصف گل اول گلزار رسوم] ***Page No.73***). Ibraheem Khan Gardee Panni [ابراھیم خان گاردی پنّی] was an autonomous Sardar. He was known as "Gardee" [گاردی] or as "Guard" because he was a trained guard. He was a freelancer and used to work as a mercenary.

Arrest of Suria Rao Merhatta [سوریہ راؤ مرہٹہ کی گرفتاری]:

Suria Rao Merhatta [سوریہ راؤ مرہٹہ] always used to play a very deceitful role and he had murdered some very faithful Sardars whereas he had looted the others. He used to be in the lashker of Shahnawaz Khan [شاہ نواز خان] and Mir Najaf Ali Khan [میر نجف علی خان] whereas Mir Najaf Ali Khan [میر نجف علی خان] had the intention to arrest him to confiscate his all ill-gotten money and estate. There were some Sardars who were interested in his arrest by creating a deception but Mir Najaf Ali Khan [میر نجف علی خان] was against such moves and he had never subscribed to such ideas. Shahnawaz Khan [شاہ نواز خان] had extended the invitation notwithstanding the same to all the Sardars including Sermust Khan Panni [سر مست خان پنّی] to attend the Durbar. The leading personalities had gathered on the following morning along-with Soria [سوریہ] and all the Sardars had marked their presence one by one by appearing before Sardar Nawab Salabat Khan [صلابت خان] and then they had departed one after the other. Soria

[سوریہ] was the last one to appear and when he was about to return he was arrested (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.256***).

Company of Nizam Ali Khan [نظام علی خان کی رفاقت]:

Nizam of Deccan [نظام دکن] namely Salabat Jung [صلابت جنگ] had moved to the area of Balagee [بالاجی] after conquering Bankapur [بنکاپور]. He was advised to give then the area of Brar [برار] to his brother Nizam Ali Khan Asad Jung [نظام علی خان اسد جنگ] and Bijapur to Mohammed Sharif Khan Basalat Jung [محمد شریف خان بسالت جنگ] and Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] to Mir Mughal Ali Khan Nasir-ul-Mulk [میر مغل علی خان ناصر الملک] which was with the objective that his brothers were supposed to help him whenever required because the French people had failed to do much for him, despite taking a lot of money from his father. Nawab Salabat Jung [نواب صلابت جنگ] had implemented the plan forthwith by accepting said suggestion and then he had sent his brothers to their respective areas. He had appointed Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میر نظام علی خان] at army posts along-with other lords and had included Nawab Ismail Khan Panni [نواب اسماعیل خان پنّی] and Sermust Khan Panni [سر مست خان پنّی] and he had moved to Brar [برار] thereafter (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.264***).

Battle of Nizam and Hayder Ali against British [انگریزوں سے نظام اور حیدر علی کی لڑائی]:

Nawab Salabat Jung [نواب صلابت جنگ] had died on 20th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1177 at the age of seventy. Nizam Ali Khan Asad Jung [نظام علی خان اسد جنگ] had taken charge of administration of Deccan [دکن] after him. He was the fourth son of Asif Jah-I [آصف جاہ الاول]. He had decided to fight against the British colonists in 1181 Hegira in collaboration with Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] to have his country freed from their physical presence. Nawab had lacked in an effective artillery attack and when the battle had started the army of the Nizam [نظام] was placed on the right-hand side of the English army which had aimlessly started to fire the cannon-balls (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.368***). When the British army was able to assess that the artillery attack from Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] was operative effectively and the cannons of the Nizam [نظام] were ineffective on the contrary they had turned their cannons towards the lashker of the Nizam [نظام] and then they had unleashed a heavy artillery attack which had rattled them fairly and squarely. Sermust Khan Panni [سر مست خان پنّی] and the other Sardars had attacked the British

army with full force and they were able to turn their face. Nizam Ali Khan [نظام علی خان] had sustained however very heavy losses in the process therefore he had to withdraw from the battlefield in sheer embarrassment and he pinned the responsibility of ill-planning on his commander namely Rukn-ud-Dolla [رکن الدولہ] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.369***). The British had diverted their attention towards Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] after sorting out the lashker of the Nizam [نظام]. He had fought against them in a protracted battle. The Nizam [نظام] and Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] had decided that Rukn-ud-Dolla [رکن الدولہ] and Nawab Manawer Khan Panni Kernoli [نواب منور خان پنّی کرنولی] and Ismail Khan Panni Ailchpuri [اسمعاعیل خان پنّی ایلچپوری] along-with twenty thousand cavalrymen were supposed to provide the support to Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی]. The battle had continued thereafter for a very long time between Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] and the British colonists. The Nizam [نظام] had decided to end the battle against the British colonists in the meantime for unknown reasons. He had left Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] all alone to fight against them. Thus he was able to outmaneuver Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] by disengaging himself (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.330***). The Nizam [نظام] had opted to go to Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] after when he had concluded an armistice with the British colonists and some lords and Nawab Ismail Khan Panni [نواب اسماعیل خان پنّی] had accompanied him (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.332***). The British colonists had ambushed Rukn-ud-Dolla [رکن الدولہ] in said battle but he had not disclosed it to Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی]. He had entered into some kind of arrangement with the British colonists (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.330***) which was subsequently construed as an act of espionage.

Award and Khilat [انعام اور خلعت]:

Nizam [نظام] had arrived at Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] in 1181 Hegira along-with Nawab Ismail Khan Panni [نواب اسماعیل خان پنّی] and other lords after entering into an armistice with the British colonists. Then he had awarded them Khilat [خلعت] and other ornaments in the order of their status. Then, he had bid them the farewell (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.332***).

Governorship of the Brar province [صوبہ برار کی گورنری]:

When Nizam Ali Khan [نظام علی خان] and Sermust Khan Panni [سر مست خان پنّی] had reached back Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] on 27th Jamadi-ul-Awal [جمادی الاول] in 1173 Hegira after conquering Qala

Kalian [قلعہ کلیان] and Nermal [نرمل] with the assistance of other lords then he had sacked Subaydar of Brar [برار] namely Ghulam Rasool [غلام رسول]. He had appointed instead Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] also known as Sermust Khan Panni [سر مست خان پنّی] as governor of the area (***Hadeqa-tul-Alam*** [حدیقۃ العالم] ***Article No.2 Page No.284, 315***). Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] was a close aide of the Nizam [نظام] during all those expeditions.

Chastisement of Jano Gee Bhonsala Merhatta Sardar [جانو جی بھونسلہ مرہٹہ سردار کی اصلاح]:

The Merhatta Sardar namely Jano Gee Bhonsala [جانو جی بھونسلہ] was Talqadar [تعلقہ دار] in the Brar [برار] province when Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] who was also known as Sermust Khan Panni [سر مست خان پنّی] had taken charge of Brar [برار] and Ailchpur [ایلچپور] as governor. He was quite notorious for his misdoings. He was unmanageable apparently and one way or the other the Nizam [نظام] had to tolerate him. Jano Gee Bhonsala [جانو جی بھونسلہ] had formed good traditional relations however with Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی]. He was also familiar with the temperament of said Merhatta Sardar [مرہٹہ سردار] and his other aides. He had succeeded in bringing the due reforms therefore after assuming the control of the office of governorship (***Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1, Page No.370).***

Differences with Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفرالدولہ سے شدید اختلافات]:

Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] was the third son of Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک], Asif Jah [آصف جاہ] and his actual name was Syed Mohammed [سید محمد]. He was known by the name of Salabat Jung [صلابت جنگ]. He was appointed as Subaydar of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] and his post was up-graded during the reign of King Ahmed Shah [احمد شاہ]. He was awarded the title of Asif-ud-Dolla Zafer Jung [آصف الدولہ ظفر جنگ] (***Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1, Page No.368)*** He used to needlessly maintain a euphoric state of mind (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.350***).

We have already explained that Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] used to rate his bravery and chivalry very high therefore the petty maneuverings had never unnerved him. He was not the type by nature to show even otherwise any flexibility and humbleness and even the Nizam [نظام] was expendable for him in this regard. The Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام]

namely Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] was in his real self toady however and all the subordinates and sub-rulers of the Asfia Sultanate [سلطنت آصفیہ] were afraid of him because of his authoritative position. They used to please and praise him in accordance with the then prevalent practices. Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] had always expected from Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] to extol him like others. He was desirous to see him lower his self-esteem in the process just like other lords and estate owners. He had directed Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] several times to appear in his Durbar [دربار] on a regular basis in order to see the fulfillment of said latent expectation. He was desirous to always see him appear in the Durbar [دربار] with some presents because it was considered to be a gesture of obedience and submission in those days and non-appearance and maintaining the complacency for a longer period used to be taken as an indicator of revolt or rebellion. Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] used to detest those practices however because it used to amount for him to molest his ego and pride. The gulf of their differences had widened resultantly and the polarization with Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] had touched the extreme limits.

When Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] had failed to figure any way out he had started making inroads into the defenses of Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] in collaboration with the Nizam [نظام] by toeing a line of seditious action against him. Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] was also familiar with this. The situation had deteriorated even to the extent that he had started repairing the fort of Ailchpur [ایلچپور] with lime and stones as a measure of defense strategy. There was a historian who had narrated the situation in this regard in the manner, as under:

" چوں میانِ ظفر الدولہ و اسماعیل خان پنّی نظام ایلچپور بنا بر شک ہمچشمی عداوتے ہم رسید و ظفرالدولہ کہ اقتدارش روز اَفزوں بود، زمیداران سَرکش مطیع ومنقادِ اُو شدہ بودند میخواست کہ اسماعیل خان پنّی را نیز مائل بہ انقیاد خود گرداندواسماعیل خان پنّی ایں معانی را بدتراز مرگ دانستہ از غرور فطرتی ونشاء بہادری اقتدار اُو را باسنگ اعتبار نمی سنجید بنا بد حزم واختیاط حصار ایلچپور را از سنگ اہک تعمیر کرد "

(***Hadeqa-tul-Alam*** [حدیقۃ العالم] ***Article No.2 Page No.350, Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.350, Rasheed-ud-Din Khan*** [رشیدالدین خان] ***Page No.78, 277***).

Plethora of intrigues [سازشوں کا جال]:

Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] had although instigated the Nizam [نظام] even through his father Nizam Ali Khan [نظام علی خان] yet he was never interested to see any unnecessary bloodshed. The Prime Minister Syed Shukker Khan Ruken-ud-Dolla [سید شکر خان رکن الدولہ] was also of the opinion that the two brilliant and dependable friends were not expected to entangle with each other unnecessarily (***Durbar Asif Gulzar*** [دربار آصف گلزار دوم] ***Page No.73)***. He had tried to check one way or the other the adventurism of Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ]. Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] had hoodwinked him however and he had ordered Rukn-ud-Dolla [رکن الدولہ] to make the advancement towards Ailchpur [ایلچپور] in the beginning of Ramadan [رمضان] 1187 Hegira. Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] had also followed him to ensure the necessary food supply and aid. The Nizam [نظام] had summoned back Syed Shukker Khan Ruken-ud-Dolla [سید شکر خان رکن الدولہ] (***Durbar Asif Gulzar*** [دربار آصف گلزار دوم] ***Page No.74)*** in the wake of said situation when he was midway. Thus he was able to foil all the ill-designs of Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] temporarily against Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی].

Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] was unable to digest said exercise which had outmaneuvered him because he was deadly against Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی]. The historians had maintained the view that he had maligned the position of Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] constantly and in different ways before the Nizam [نظام]. He was always very keen to settle the account with him through a war. There was someone from some unknown quarter who had made an assassination attempt even against the Prime Minister Syed Shukker Khan Ruken-ud-Dolla [سید شکر خان رکن الدولہ] which had paved the way of Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] to take some action against Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی]. The Prime Minister Syed Shukker Khan Ruken-ud-Dolla [سید شکر خان رکن الدولہ] was considered to be a kind hearted person. When there was no hope of his survival after the assassination attempt then he had made the prediction that Mubaraz-ul-Mulk [مبارز الملک] Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] was likely to be victimized after his death which had become the general perception at that time that they were the ones who were behind the assassination attempt too. Syed Shukker Khan Ruken-ud-Dolla [سید شکر خان رکن الدولہ] had sent for his Munshi [مُنشی] in the wake of said situation and then he had dictated him some letters upon which he had affixed his signatures as well. He had exonerated both Mubaraz-ul-Mulk [مبارز الملک] and Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] from the bogus charge of the assassination attempt through those letters ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.348).*** Zafer-ud-

Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] had exploited the situation nonetheless for good two years despite those letters. He had tried to suppress the bickering fire of revenge in the process and was eventually able to convince the Nizam [نظام]. Then, the governor of Ailchpur [ایلچپور] and Brar [برار], Nawab Ismail Khan Bahader Ba Sermust Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان بہادر بہ سر مست خان] had received the message from the Nizam [نظام] in 1189 Hegira in the month of Safer [صفر] to handover the control of Ailchpur [ایلچپور] to him. Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] somehow or the other had defied the compliance of his orders ***(Durbar Asif Gulzar*** [دربار آصف گلزار دوم] ***Page No.76***, ***Hadeqa-tul-Alam*** [حدیقۃ العالم] ***Page No.318)***.

When Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] was able to sense the failure in the attempt of belittling Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] he had decided to approach Nizam Ali Khan [نظام علی خان] and had convinced him to appoint his younger son namely Ali Jah [علی جاہ] in the province of Brar [برار]. The governorship of the Brar [برار] province was handed over to Ali Jah [علی جاہ] on 7th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1189 Hegira (4th January 1778) and Bhram Jung [بہرام جنگ] was appointed as a vice governor ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.349).*** Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] had disregarded however those orders once again.

Third order of the Nizam against Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni
[محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی کے نام نظام کا تیسرا حکم]:

The Nizam [نظام] had planned to tour the Brar [برار] province in the wake of aforementioned circumstance and he had established his camp in the outskirts of Ailchpur [ایلچپور]. There used to be a general practice in those days that when any ruler used to tour any area the Nazim [ناظم] and sub-ordinate appointees of the area used to queue up to welcome him. Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] along-with forty to fifty cavalrymen during said visit had opted to go out from Ailchpur [ایلچپور] in order to assess the situation. Then he had opted to establish his own camp very defiantly about one and a half mile away from the camp of the Nizam [نظام] (***Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1, Page No.370, Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.349).*** The Nizam [نظام] had sent him the order once again to vacate the Ailchpur [ایلچپور] fort because he was sacked as governor of Brar [برار]. He was left with the Jagirs of Balapur [بلا پور] in his name only. He was already informed prior to that on 5th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1189 Hegira to

handover the control of Brar [برار] to Ali Jah [علی جاہ] ***(Durbar Asif Gulzar*** [دربار آصف گلزار دوم] ***Page No.76***, ***Hadeqa-tul-Alam*** [حدیقۃ العالم] ***Page No.333)***. Then he was ordered to appear in the Durbar [دربار] of Nizam [نظام]. He had sent him verbal messages through Bhram Jung [بہرام جنگ] and Fatehmund Khan [فتحمند خان] among other officers ***(Hadeqa-tul-Alam*** [حدیقۃ العالم] ***Page No.333)***.

In the battlefield [میدانِ جنگ میں]:

When Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] had refused to ensure the compliance of the orders of the Nizam [نظام] then his act had closed the doors for any formal exchange of messages between them. Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] had formed a big and a properly equipped formidable lashker in the meantime. Then he had moved out to unleash an attack against Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] on 10th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1189 Hegira ***(Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1, Page No.370, Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.350).*** Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] had also buckled up his elephant to participate in the battle in the wake of said tactical move ***(Hadeqa-tul-Alam*** [حدیقۃ العالم] ***Page No.333)***. He had ordered the other Sardars of Rasala [رسالہ] to ensure the readiness and vigilance ***(Hadeqa-tul-Alam*** [حدیقۃ العالم] ***Page No.318)***. Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] was not fully aware about the gravity of situation. He was able to assess it thoroughly when Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] along-with his battery of artillery attackers was swaying like a sword of Damocles. The author of Hadeqa-tul-Alam [حدیقۃ العالم] had expressed his views in this regard in the manner, as below:

‘‘ وآں افغان اجل گرفتہ درآں وقت رُو تافتن از مقابلۂ ضابطہ جنگ وبہ ایلچپورمعاودت نمودن بنا بر نشۂ تہوری عار دانستہ’’

(***Article-II*** [مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.334***).

He was not at all reluctant to enter the battlefield. He had jumped into the battlefield rather under his instinctive sense of pageantry aggrandizement along-with his thirty to forty companions to fight against the mammoth army of Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ].

وقت عرفی خوش کہ نکشود دگر بر رخش

بردرنکشوده ساکن شد، دردگر نہ زد

Grit and gumption of Nawab and death [نواب کی تب و تاب اور ہلاکت]:

There was no question of assessing the matching strength of rivals. There was a mammoth army along-with heavy artillery on the one side and on the other hand there were just thirty to forty soldiers ***(Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1, Page No.371).*** The second rival had no room to show any resistance except the display of spontaneous courage and some instantaneous acts of grit and gumption. The companions of Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] had cracked down therefore like thunderbolts. They had started their attack like a lightening flash and they had attacked the lashker of Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] and they had unsettled the frontline of the lashker by ducking the artillery attack. They had reached in the middle of lashker within no time while fighting against each other. Then they had also come very close to the elephant of Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] because he was sitting in the couch (Amadi [عمادی]) on the back of the elephant at that time. The said unexpected move had jangled the entire planning of mammoth army and it had also disturbed their order of formation. Thus they had panicked and had lost the foothold in the battlefield and so much so Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] himself had slashed and cut whosoever had come face to face against him. He was able to reach very close to the elephant of Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ], in the process ***(Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1, Page No.371, Hadeqa-tul-Alam*** [حدیقۃ العالم] ***Page No.333, Rasheed-ud-Din Khan*** [رشیدالدین خان] ***Page No.278).*** The readers may well be able to imagine that what kind of dexterity of sword display was required for maintaining such kind of stay in the battlefield. The lone wolf Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] was bleeding head to toe in his chase and then he had run out of his breath in the process and he had fallen from his horse thereafter and he had also lost his sword. Then one of his companions namely Saeed Khan [سعید خان] had helped him grip his sword again. He was left with no strength however to put up any resistance ***(Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1, Page No.370)***. Then one soldier from amongst the rival party, which had surrounded him, had stepped out and he had chopped his head off. The head was presented to the Nizam [نظام] later on. Then the other soldiers had chopped the body of Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] into several pieces (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.350).***

پھر نہ تھا کچھ بھی بجزیک شعلہ پُر پیچ و تاب
شمع تک تو ہم نے بھی دیکھا کہ پروانہ گیا

Thus the famous Muslim General in the history of Hindustan and governor of Brar [برار] i.e. founder of the governors of the family of the Panni Pathans along-with some of his companions had died in the battlefield on 10th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1189 Hegira (1775 A.C). He had given away his life while protecting his self-esteem and ego against the lashkers of thousands of soldiers and he had recorded his bravery and chivalry with his blood in the pages of history ***(Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1, Page No.371).*** The author of Gulzar-e-Asfia [گلزارآصفیہ] had mentioned about those dare devils in the manner that they had given away their lives while fighting like the legendary character i.e. Rustam [رستم] ''انہوں نےرستمانہ جان دی'' (***Page No.78***) Rasheed-ud-Din Khani [رشیدالدین خانی] had eulogized them by writing that ''they had entered their name in the book of gallants'' and he termed his attack as a historical event (***Page No.279***). Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] had enjoyed the climax of his glorious rule for about thirty five years.

Reward for the Attackers [حملہ آوروں کو انعام]:

The entourage of the Nizam [نظام] had reached Ailchpur [ایلچپور] on 12th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1189 Hegira (1775 A.C) i.e. just two days after the incident. He had visited the shrine of Shah Rahman Quds Satera [شاہ رحمان قدس سترہ] after said victory and then he had offered the Shukerana [شُکرانہ] prayers. The Nizam [نظام] had awarded one hilt of the grand sword [قبضہ شمشیر علیٰ] and rank belt of seven thousand [بند ہفت ہزاری] to Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] as well as, to Aqil Khan [عاقل خان] who was Drogha [دروغہ] of Panj Hazari [پنج ہزاری]. He had bestowed the title of Mubaraz-ul-Mulk Bahader [مبارزالملک بہادر] upon Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ]. He was also awarded a strip [جھالر] of three thousand along-with a Palki [پالکی] (***Durbar Asif Gul Doam Gulzar Rasoom*** [دربار آصف گل دوم گلزار رسوم] ***Page No.74)***. He had started repenting however the dreadful aftermath of his highhandedness against Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی]. *The detail of the same will be given, later.*

Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] had summoned the sons of Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] i.e. Salabat Khan Panni [صلابت خان پنّی] and Bahlol Khan Panni [بہلول خان پنّی] in

his Durbar after his death. He had awarded them Serpaich Murasa [سرپیچ مرصع] other than a Jagir in order to redress their sense of grief and loss. They had reached Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] in Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1190 Hegira. Salabat Khan Panni [صلابت خان پنّی] was awarded besides the actual title an additional privilege to retain six thousand personal. He was awarded besides that, four thousand horsemen, Mahie Maratib [ماہئ مراتب], Serpaich Murasa [سرپیچ مرصع] and Jeffa [جیفہ] and Khunti [کھنٹی] and Mala-e-Merwaread [مالائے مروارید]. Bahlol Khan Panni [بہلول خان پنّی] was also awarded Serpaich Murasa [سرپیچ مرصع] and Jeffa [جیفہ] and Khunti [کھنٹی] and Mala-e-Merwaread [مالائے مروارید] (***Hadeqa-tul-Alam*** [حدیقۃ العالم] ***Page No.353, 364***). The father was murdered and his sons were awarded exceptional rewards by the murderer(s) which was a strange justice and if it was anything else then it was a political allurement!

SALABAT KHAN PANNI [صلابت خان پنّی] AND BAHLOL KHAN PANNI [بہلول خان پنّی] GOVERNORS OF BRAR [برار] AND AILCHPUR [ایلچپور]

Nizam Ali Khan [نظام علی خان] had apparently realized his mistake in 1189 Hegira after the death of Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] but it was too late by that time. When the Vice Governor of Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] had left to take charge of management of Brar [برار] and Ailchpur [ایلچپور] then he had also made the arrangements for the appeasement of both the sons of Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] under the instructions of Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.351)***. He had sent the Serpaich Murasa [سرپیچ مرصع] and Pandan [پاندان] for Salabat Khan Panni [صلابت خان پنّی] as well as for Bahlol Khan Panni [بہلول خان پنّی] respectively (***Hadeqa-tul-Alam*** [حدیقۃ العالم] ***Page No.333***). Then he had also awarded them the Jagir of their father which was in Balapur [بلاپور]. He had also granted them the areas of Badpenrepe bie [بدپنرپی بی] and Kuranj village [کرنج گاؤں] which were part of the Brar [برار] province and were declared to be the part of their Jagir.

Chivalrous performances [شجاعانہ کارنامے]:

Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] was a brave General just like his father. He was also able to get recognition of his bravery by fighting against the British colonists. There were although some achievements to his credit which cannot be termed as commendable from the nationalistic and patriotic point of view yet as far as his military acumen and skill of

warfare was concerned, it was worthy enough to be narrated because from a particular angle it had also proved to be a notable chapter in the history of Hindustan. When the war had broken out between Sultan Tipu Shaheed [سلطان ٹیپو شہید] and Nizam Ali Khan [نظام علی خان] and the Nizam [نظام] had invited him openly then Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] had participated in it practically and as mentioned in various books of history he had given an exceptional performance while watching the interest of the Nizam [نظام]. When the war had taken place at Kerala [کرالا] thereafter between the aforementioned two rulers then Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] had also participated in it on behalf of the Nizam [نظام]. Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] had joined the "Ailchpur Brigade" in 1618 Hegira (1803) which was the army brigade of General Woozair (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.12 Page No.20***). When Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] had revolted against his own father i.e. Nizam Ali Khan [نظام علی خان] then Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] had also joined him. The said revolt had ended on 14th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1197 Hegira after a formal apology in the Durbar of the Nizam [نظام]. The revolt had taken place shortly after when Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] had captured the fort of Nermal [نرمل]. The Nizam [نظام] in recognition of his bravery had awarded him the privilege to retain six thousand personal and four thousand cavalrymen along-with Mahie Maratib [ماہئ مراتب], Serpaich Murasa [سرپیچ مرصع] and Jeffa [جیفہ], Khunti [کھنٹی] and Mala-e- Merwaread [مالائے مروارید] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.365, 367).***

Lord Woozair, declared son of Nawab Salabat as his adopted son

[لارڈ ولزی نے نواب کے فرزند کو منہ بولا بیٹا بنا لیا]:

The British colonists had exploited the military acumen of Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] and had also performed beyond their expectations. They used to consider him as their right-hand man and their confidant and used to give him special protocol ostentatiously. Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] had also participated in several expeditions on their behalf and unfortunately it was Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] who had paved the way for the advancement of the British colonists from Deccan [دکن] towards the north. The British General Woozair (*who had became Lord Woozair, later on*), while acknowledging the meritorious services of Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی], had declared his son namely Namdar

Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] as his adopted son. The said event had taken place in an auspicious ceremony in which several military and non-military personals had participated. The lords of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] had also participated in a ceremony wherein General Woozy had made the formal declaration with regard to the adoption of Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی]. He had presented him a shirt [کرتہ] and a cap. He had also wrapped a belt of gold around his waist on which the words like "General Namdar Khan Panni" [جنرل نام دار خان پنّی] were engraved (***Rasheed-ud-Din Khani*** [رشیدالدین خانی] ***Page No.328***). The aforementioned event with regard to the British era had turned out to be the first shameless promise which was broken subsequently and the first initiation of the great political deception in the history of Hindustan.

Order to assist the British army [انگریز فوج کی مدد کرنے کا حکم]:

The history was quiet for some time with regard to the life of Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] but it had become quite vibrant in 1232 Hegira (1818 A.C). Apa Sahib [آپا صاحب] had become the self-acclaimed Raja of Nagpur [ناگپور] at the end of said year. Then the General select of Madras in accordance with the terminology of said period, was all out to objurgate the miscreants. He had landed in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] to ensure the realization of said objective (***Rasheed-ud-Din Khani*** [رشیدالدین خا نی] ***Page No.328***). Raja Bala Pershad [راجہ با لا پرشاد] had accompanied him as a gesture of goodwill from Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] to Farukh Nager [فرخ نگر] and from same point onward Raja Chandulal [چندولال] Wazir of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] had accompanied him to the hilltop of Kangan Paharr [کنگن پہاڑ]. Then Muneer-ul-Mulk [منیر الملک] had moved on from there to Talab Mir Alam [تالاب میر عالم] to extend him a warm welcome. He had accommodated him in his own Bungalow [کوٹھی]. Nawab Skinder Jah [نواب سکندر جاہ], the Nizam of Deccan [نظام دکن], had hosted a grand party in his honor (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.465).*** Raja Chandulal [راجہ چندولال] had sent a letter in the meantime to Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] in Ailchpur [ایلچپور] and he had requested him to help out the British colonists (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.465, Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.12 Page No.20***).

Capture of the areas under the Merhattas [مرہٹوں کے علاقہ پر قبضہ]:

The Nizam [نظام] and the British colonists were desperately in need of the assistance of Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی]. and as soon as he was able to reach

Ailchpur [ایلچپور], General Datay had written him a letter through which he had requested that whatever area of the Nizam [نظام] was under the occupation of Bhonsala [بھونسلہ], he was supposed to capture it forthwith. Then Raja Chandulal [راجہ چندولال] had also written a letter to his son namely Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] who was in Ailchpur [ایلچپور] at that time. He had also requested him to capture the villages which were under the control of Bhonsala [بھونسلہ] because it was not very easy for the Nizam [نظام] to reduce the influence of the Merhattas in said area and/or to expel them from there without the cooperation of Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی]. The British colonists on the other hand were keen to use Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] to make their inroads into Hindustan whereas Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] on the other hand was also making use of the opportunity to safeguard his own interests. He had captured some of the villages and then he had cleared most of the areas from the Merhattas [مرہٹہ] gradually in collaboration with his son Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی]. The political benefit, which the British colonists and the Nizam [نظام] had derived from the situation, was a declaration of annulment and cancellation which was made in respect of the areas in the state of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] where the Merhattas [مرہٹہ] were exercising their influence (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.466, Rasheed-ud-Din Khani*** [رشیدالدین خا نی] ***Page No.331).*** Those achievements were not supposed to be termed however as very commendable from the nationalistic point of view because the advancement of the British colonialism towards the northern Hind had started exactly at that point of time in history.

Nawab [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی**] never acknowledged the authority of the Nizam**:

Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] had refused to participate in the marriage ceremony of son of Nawab Skinder Jah [نواب سکندر جاہ] which had taken place sometime after the aforementioned incidents. He was reluctant even to integrate frequently with the associates of the Nizam [نظام]. He used to indulge in self-aggrandizement and he was arrogant just like his father. He had neither acknowledged the status of Raja Chandulal Wazir [راجہ چندولال وزیر] according to the historians nor had he given the due respect to his father-in-law Fateh Khan [فتح خان]. He was his Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] at that time. The historians had described his temperament even further that he had always considered himself as an unmatchable in the matters of warfare. He used to consider himself a General with none as his parallel. Raja Goband

Bux [راجہ گوبند بخش], who was an administrator [ناظم] in the adjoining area of also Nizam [نظام], was also not very happy with him due to said reasons. The aforementioned events had created a very complex situation for Raja Chandulal Wazir [راجہ چندولال وزیر] Wazir. He had also decided probably in the wake of said situation to bring an end to his rule.

General Hakim extended the reception [جنرل حاکم نے استقبال کیا]:

When Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] had received a letter from Raja and then he was left with only a few options. He had convinced his grandson Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابراھیم خان پنّی] and his father-in-law Mohammed Fateh Khan Bahader [محمد فتح خان بہادر] and his son Ghulam Hussain Khan (Mundozai Panni [مندوزئی پنی]) along-with one other person namely Baqir Shah [باقر شاہ] who was supposedly his right-hand man to accompany him. Then in the companionship of Captain Lane, he had prepared an expedition with an army of two thousand horsemen and equal number of infantrymen and he had loaded them with all the war arsenals (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.445, Rasheed-ud-Din Khani*** [رشیدالدین خانی] ***Page No.328)***. Then as soon as said lashker had reached Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] and said lashker had approached the commander-in-chief in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد], General Malcolm *in propria persona* along-with his guards was present to welcome them. He was invited to inspect the army of Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] along-with General Commander-in-Chief. He was also presented the Guard of honor *en grande tenue* after the cannon shots salutations.

Participation in the Khandase Poona and Nagpur conquest
[خاندیس پونا اور ناگپور کی تسخیر میں حصہ]:

The Commander-in-Chief General Malcolm had requested Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] to conquer the area of Khandase [خاندیس] in a joint mission and thus both of them along-with their respective lashkers had landed in the outskirts of Khandase [خاندیس] which was a very difficult area. The Nizam [نظام] had also sent a regiment under the command of a Colonel to give company to Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی]. Since Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] was very well acquainted with the topography of the area therefore with his cooperation Khandase [خاندیس] and the villages in the vicinity were conquered very easily according to the historians. They had a clash with the

Merhatta [مرہٹہ] army in Poona [پونا] on 15th Zil Hajj 1232 Hegira. The army of Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] had fought, first of all against the army of Baji Rao [باجی راؤ] and his commander Sada Shiv was killed during said clash (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.466*****)**. There was another Sardar [سردار] who was killed on 24th day of the same month and Apa Sahib [آپا صاحب] and Sham Roa [شام راؤ] were defeated thereafter. Then Baji Rao [باجی راؤ] had also escaped from Poona [پونا] to Sittara [ستارہ] in the following month. The British colonists had captured Poona [پونا] and Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] had met the British commanders Alfesson and Smith in Poona [پونا] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.466*****)**. There were some smaller areas which were also conquered thereafter with the assistance of Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] and Apa Sahib [آپا صاحب] was arrested in the month of Safer [صفر] 1233 Hegira (1817). Then the Nagpur [ناگپور] area was also conquered by the British colonists with the help of Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.350*****).** Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] was presented the guard of honor with twenty one cannon shots. Baji Roa [باجی راؤ] had made yet another attempt after that for a fight but he was defeated very badly.

Reasons for differences with Fateh Khan [فتح خان سے اختلاف کے اسباب]:

We have already referred to the polarization among Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] and the British colonists and the Nizam [نظام]. We feel inclined to dilate upon the reasons therefore behind the same along-with differences with Fateh Khan [فتح خان]. Fateh Khan [فتح خان] had maintained as a matter of fact a fully trained army of about two thousand infantrymen in the vicinity of Ailchpur [ایلچپور] and under the supervision of a British commander Mr. Work. He used to pay their salary regularly and Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] had never worried much in this regard. Then Mr. Henry Russell (Resident) had planned to bring reforms in the Skinderabad [سکندر آباد] cantonment in 1228 Hegira (1813) which was under the supervision of an English officer. He had ordered Fateh Khan [فتح خان] in this regard to expand his army. The idea of expanding the army was floated at the instigation of Raja Chandulal [چندولال]. The objective was to appoint the useful administrative and military officers so as to improve the effectiveness of their respective command and control in the area. Fateh Khan [فتح خان] had refused to expand his army however and he had refused to disturb his army deployment despite a second letter of Raja Chandulal [چندولال]. The latent

objective of the British colonists was to dissipate the concentrated strength of Fateh Khan [فتح خان] and when Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] was also able to assess their objectives, he had also disapproved said plan. Fateh Khan [فتح خان] like Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] and Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [نواب محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] had also never opted to travel to Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] to pay the customary homage to the Nizam [نظام]. The aforementioned reasons had created sufficient grounds of polarization between Raja Chandulal [چندولال] and the Nizam [نظام] against Fateh Khan [فتح خان]. Raja Chandulal [چندولال] was obliged to appoint Captain Lane as commanding officer of the army of Fateh Khan [فتح خان] on receiving said refusal from Fateh Khan [فتح خان]. Then he had committed both platoons of Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] under his command. Captain Lane was replaced by Captain Craft after some time and thus Raja Chandulal [چندولال] was able to reduce Fateh Khan [فتح خان] in shape and size practically (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.492*****).** Raja Chandulal [چندولال] was playing as a matter of fact in the hands of the British colonists. He was literally executing and implementing their conspiracy theory on their instigations.

Successful execution of the British conspiracy [انگیزوں کی کامیاب سازش]:

The situation was quite panicky on the appointment of an English officer and the wave had travelled through the ranks and files of the army of Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی]. There were about one thousand five hundred infantrymen and about one thousand Rohela [روہیلہ] personal and about five hundred local infantrymen who had declared their allegiance to Fateh Khan [فتح خان]. He was in Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] at that time as per his schedule (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.469*****).** There were a number of his infantry and cavalrymen who had changed their loyalties in the meantime whereas the rest were literally amidst overpowering their jitters.

Removal of rank and golden belt of General Namdar [نامدار جنرل کے خطاب اور طلائی پیٹی سے محرومی]:

Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] was in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] contrary to the wishes of his father. He was also taken aback by said situation which was simply exceptional. He had planned his return to Ailchpur [ایلچپور] out of sheer disappointment along-with his few hundred soldiers

but he was informed by Sidnam (*Resident officer*) that his awarded rank of General was also withdrawn along-with golden-belt (***Rasheed-ud-Din Khani*** [رشیدالدین خانی] ***Page No.323***) which was the pattern of the British politics and they had become the rulers of the entire Hindustan on the basis of the same.

میخانۂ مغرب کے دستور نرالے ہیں
لاتے ہیں سرود اول دیتے ہیں شراب آخر

Fateh Khan [فتح خان] had died on 2nd Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1235 Hegira (December 1819) (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.469, Rasheed-ud-Din Khani*** [رشیدالدین خانی] ***Page No.333***) which had brought Raja Chandulal [چندولال] to Skinderabad [سکندر آباد]. Then he had returned to Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] after sacking Raja Goband Bux [راجہ گوبند بخش] on the charge of accepting bribery. We have not been able to trace out any information about six to seven years of the life of Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] but we have been able to discover this much only that he was under debt during the last few days of his life. He was dependant on a rental property and the market value was three thousand five hundred Ponds only. Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] had left this world for his eternal abode in 1840 (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.12 Page No.20, Rasheed-ud-Din Khani*** [رشیدالدین خانی] ***Page No.333***).

Reforms [رفاہی کارنامے]:

Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] was not only a brave soldier and a gallant General but he was an expert administrator and besides that he had enjoyed the reputation as a man of taste and magnanimity. He had made Ailchpur [ایلچپور] a beautiful city just by expanding the castle which was built by his father and had added an artistic dimension to it. He had made a great garden and had promoted the ancient way of irrigation in the province as well. He had also constructed a grand Sheeshmahal [شیش محل] (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.12 Page No.20*)**.

Nawab Namdar Panni Governor Brar [نواب محمد نامدار خان پنّی گورنر برار]:

The Jagir had devolved upon his son i.e. Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] after the death of Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی]. The worth of the same was Rupees two hundred thousand only. He had his own Jagir besides that and the worth of both was also equal in terms of money. He was also given the title as "Nawab" [نواب] and he was appointed as governor of the Brar [برار] province. We have already described most of his achievements in the biography of his father (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.12 Page No.20***).

The British with wheels within wheels [انگریزکا فریب در فریب]:

The confidence of the Nizam of Deccan [نظام دکن] and the British colonists had soared very high after weakening the strength of the Panni governor family of Brar [برار]. Then Raja Chandulal [چندولال] had sent a letter in the month of Moherram [محرم] 1234 Hegira (October 1820) to Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] to pull out from the areas which he was requested to have released from the Bhonsala [بھونسلہ] and where he had established his own rule, subsequently. The same event had taken place when Nawab Salabat Khan Bahader Panni [نواب صلابت خان بہادر پنّی] was still alive. Then he was directed further to send the collected amount of revenue to the office of the Nizam [نظام] with the direction to deposit all the future revenue in the state treasury. Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] had challenged it while replying to the letter however on the ground that he had retained the previous correspondence as a proof and according to it he was directed to bring as much area as was possible under his direct control by using the requisite force. He had expressed his views further that he had earned the control of those areas by risking his personal life and there were many others who had put their lives at stake for him only. Then he had explained that he had incurred a massive expenditure to protect the same and to maintain a huge army for surveillance. Thus he had not only refused to withdraw from those areas rather he had claimed the personal ownership of it. Raja Chandulal [چندولال] had rebutted said claim however on the ground that the underlying intent of the previous correspondence was to capture those areas as a state administrator and not in his personal capacity. He had directed him again to deposit the generated revenue in the state treasury forthwith. The situation was defused through an accord however after a lengthy and protected correspondence. Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] was supposed to step-down according to the same from the administrative control of those areas in favor of the state after deducting all the incurred expenditure and he was supposed to retain Rupees one million only. The said agreement was complied with duly (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page***

No.470, Rasheed-ud-Din Khani [رشیدالدین خانی] ***Page No.333***). The connivance of both the Nizam of Deccan [نظام دکن] and the British colonists had proved that they were bent upon weakening the administrative strength of Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] with the intention of substantiating the British colonial rule.

Relinquishment of Talqa and heirless death [تعلقہ سے دستبرداری اور لاولد انتقال]:

Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] was able to live for three years only after becoming the governor of the Brar [برار] province. He had handed over more than five hundred cavalrymen to the British colonists who had joined him when the army of Fateh Khan [فتح خان] was dismantled. The commanders of which were Mohammed Ali Baig [محمد علی بیگ] and Manawer Baig [منوربیگ] whereas the name of the army was "Ailchpur Brigade" (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.12 Page No.20***). When the new arrangement was put in place, the system through which the soldiers who used to be marked present physically on receiving their monthly salary was changed, as well. Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] himself used to go out thereafter with the money and used to dish out the salary to the soldiers individually. The said change was also apparently initiated by the British colonists with a particular motive because after paving their way and despite the numerous efforts of the Nizam of Deccan [نظام دکن] they had not vacated the area and was present there physically (*The British army had not withdrawn from the Brar* [برار] *province till 1947 whereas, they had withdrawn their army from the entire country*). The commanders of the army were also English officers. The system was changed at their instigation to create a chaotic situation in order to demoralize Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی]. The British colonists were also deceiving the Nizam of Deccan [نظام دکن] under their new system. Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] was spending however more than his income. He had requested Raja Chandulal [چندولال] to reduce therefore the payment of dues to Rupees sixty lacs as against the due amount. Raja Chandulal [چندولال] had fixed the payment accordingly and the due payment was also fixed on said figure for the ensuing period. The financial position of Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] unfortunately had deteriorated further to pay even the same. The income of his Talqa [تعلقہ] of Balapur [بلا پور] was Rupees one million per annum whereas it was yielding Rupees seven to eight lacs only due to some unknown reasons. Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] had ultimately stepped down voluntarily from the Talqa [تعلقہ] of Balapur [بلا پور] in 1247 Hegira in the wake of said deteriorating financial circumstances. He had relinquished all

his other privileges and then he had opted to accept the service under the British Raj at a salary which was allocated by the British government. Raja Chandulal [چندولال] had occupied said Talqa [تعلقہ] of Balapur [بلا پور] thereafter. Then, he had attached the army troops with the official contingent which was subsidized and maintained duly. The British colonialist mindset had remained operative and fully functional nonetheless against Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] and they had succeeded in their plan ultimately to consolidate their grip on the Brar [برار] province. The heirless Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] had died ultimately in 1258 Hegira (1842) or according to Rasheed-ud-Din Khan [رشیدالدین خان] (***Najam*** [نجم]) in 1260 Hegira ***Page No.492, Rasheed-ud-Din Khani*** [رشیدالدین خانی] ***Page No.336***).

Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni Ailchpuri [نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی ایلچپوری]:

Since Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] had passed away and he had not left behind any male heirs therefore his nephew namely Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] had inherited his entire estate. He was also awarded all the titles and ranks of his uncle along-with army of cavalrymen and infantrymen. The main ministry of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] was also shuffled by that time and Raja Chandulal [چندولال] was removed under the charge of bribery and misappropriation of funds and his nephew Raja Ram Bux [راجہ رام بخش] was appointed in his place. Raja Ram Bux [راجہ رام بخش] had also proved to be a backhander like his uncle and he had imposed the condition on Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] to present a sum of Rupees fourteen lacs in cash to the Nizam [نظام] in order to earn the Khilat [خلعت] and to retaining the Talqa [تعلقہ]. Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] had not agreed to this and had sent him instead Rupees one million only. Raja Ram Bux [راجہ رام بخش] had received it but had deposited in the treasury Rupees three lacs deceitfully and thus he had misappropriated the remaining sum of Rupees seven lacs. When the Nizam [نظام] was able to learn that Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] had sent Rupees three lacs only he was quite perturbed and displeased therefore he had refused to send the Khilat [خلعت]. The result of said subterfuge was that Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] was not confirmed by his uncle on the status and rank (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.493, Rasheed-ud-Din Khani*** [رشیدالدین خانی] ***Page No.334***).

Unsuccessful intrigues and death [سازشوں کی ناکامی اور انتقال]:

Raja Ram Bux [راجہ رام بخش] was also removed from his post after some time under the charge of back-handing and Siraj-ul-Milk [سراج الملک] was appointed as Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] in his place. Since the status of Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] was not confirmed therefore Siraj-ul-Milk [سراج الملک] had decided to fight against him. He had sent a contingent of seven hundred local Mughal [مغل], Arab [عرب] and Roheila [روہیلہ] cavalrymen in 1243 Hegira (December 1846) under command of Khansaydar Jamadar [گھانسے خان جمعدار] to take over the Ailchpur [ایلچپور] fort from Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی]. The said contingent was fully equipped with the fighting arsenals which had included the cannons, as well. Since Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] had already paid an appropriate amount therefore considering being on the right course, he had refused to hand over the control of the fort and had decided to confront the onslaught. The contingent had returned empty handed and Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] had retained the control of the area uninterruptedly. The British colonists had started using the same tactics which they had used against the former governor namely Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی] in 1243 Hegira. They had started prompting the soldiers through a ploy and thus they were able to create a big row at the time of distribution of their monthly salary. They had moved the British troops in the Barahderi [بارہ دری] of Yameen-ud-Dolla [یمین الدولہ] simultaneously. Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] was able to foil their ploy however because he was able to manage some additional amount after distribution and then he had dismissed all the troublemakers. Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] had died in 1264 Hegira (1846) when the political situation was still in disarray. He had also passed away issueless like his uncle (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.492-93, Rasheed-ud-Din Khani*** [رشیدالدین خانی] ***Page No.337, Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.12, Page No.20***).

Bagum Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [بیگم نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی]:

There was no male heir after the death of Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] therefore Bagum Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [بیگم نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] had taken over the control of the estate along-with the administration which she had handed over thereafter to her father Ghulam Hussain Khan [غلام حسین خان] son of Mohammed Fateh Khan [محمد فتح خان]. He was father-in-law of Namdar Khan Panni [نام دار خان پنّی]. The rights of retaining the Jagir and ranks and privileges of Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] were although not confirmed

till that time yet said lady was able to manage the affairs of the state very intelligently despite all the odds. Shams-ud-Dolla [شمس الدولہ] was appointed as Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] in 1265 Hegira (1848) (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.493, Rasheed-ud-Din Khani*** [رشیدالدین خانی] ***Page No.357***).

Confirmation of Jagir [جاگیر مستقل کرالی]:

Bagum Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [بیگم نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] had presented Rupees seventeen lacs to Shams-ud-Dolla [شمس الدولہ], in 1265 Hegira and thus she was able to obtain a permanent confirmation certificate from him (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.493)***. Shams-ud-Dolla [شمس الدولہ] had also served for a few months only as Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] and was also removed against the charge of receiving bribery and gratification. Raja Ram Bux [راجہ رام بخش] was appointed once again on the post of chief minister after his removal.

Distribution of the estate to the backhanders and disintegration of the family
[جائیداد رشوتوں کی بھینٹ، خاندان کا خاتمہ]:

The differences had multiplied between Ghulam Hussain Khan [غلام حسین خان] and Raja Ram Bux [راجہ رام بخش] Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] in 1266 Hegira (1849). Since Raja Ram Bux [راجہ رام بخش] was a known backhander therefore he had demanded more money from Bagum Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [بیگم نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] with the promise to handover the area of "Patan Chroka" [پٹن چروکا] to her on receiving the bribe money. Ghulam Hussain Khan [غلام حسین خان] and his eldest daughter Bagum Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [بیگم نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] had not fallen prey to said allurement (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.492, Rasheed-ud-Din Khani*** [رشیدالدین خانی] ***Page No.357***). The refusal on their part had intensified the differences to an extent that even the state police had committed some atrocities on some very trivial matters against Ghulam Hussain Khan [غلام حسین خان]. Ghulam Hussain Khan [غلام حسین خان] was an experienced and seasoned Vattern General. He was able to manage the situation administratively but both sides had made thousands of people as scapegoats during said internal strife according to the historians (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.515*****)**. The state of Asfia [ریاست آصفیہ] was under debt at that time and had owed money to the British colonists. The army contingent, which was in a dire need of money, had become the focal point of trouble, as a consequence. This was the outcome

of the British strategy. The reserves of Bagum Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [بیگم نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] had also exhausted due to some unnecessary entanglements. She had paid huge sums as gratification money to the local administrator. Ghulam Hussain Khan [غلام حسین خان] was constrained to take loan from a local Hindu moneylender (Mahajan [مہاجن]) under those compelling circumstances. He had failed to pay back the same unfortunately. He was left with no other option in said situation but to sell the palace of Bagum Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [بیگم نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] along-with other property (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.12 Page No.20***). Thus the grandeur and graceful rule of one hundred and thirty to forty years of the Panni family in the Brar [برار] province had landed into total disarray. The said area of Brar [برار] had become a bone of contention between the Nizam of Deccan [نظام دکن] and the British Raj after the aforementioned painful journey of the Panni family. There were a number of traceable monuments of said Panni era until recently.

Nawab Bahlol Khan Panni [بہلول خان پنّی]:

Nawab Bahlol Khan Panni [نواب بہلول خان پنّی] was the youngest son of Nawab Ismail Khan Bahader Ba Sermust Khan [نواب اسماعیل خان بہادر بہ سر مست خان] He had also remained in the employment of Nizamat [نظامت] just like his elder brother Salabat Khan Panni [صلابت خان پنّی]. He had also received a Jagir along-with other rewards against rendering the meritorious services. When Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] was sent to occupy Ailchpur [ایلچپور] and Brar [برار] and he was given the Pandan [پاندان] and Serpaich Murasa [سرپیچ مرصع] then the arrangements were also made to appease both the sons of Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan Panni [محمد اسماعیل خان پنّی] under the instructions of Zafer-ud-Dolla [ظفر الدولہ] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.351)*** Then a Serpaich Murasa [سرپیچ مرصع], Pandan [پاندان] and Jeffa [جیفہ] were also sent to them. (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.349*****)** Nawab Bahlol Khan Panni [بہلول خان پنّی] was also decorated with a Serpaich Murasa [سرپیچ مرصع] and Pandan [پاندان] along-with his elder brother (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.350*****).** The said Panni Pathan [پنّی پٹھان] family had contributed tremendously in the history of Hindustan. The British colonists had used their bravery and gallantry and their expertise to occupy many areas. They had out played them however in their bravery and gallantry in collaboration with the Nizam [نظام] through intrigues simultaneously. They had pushed them into the abysmal depths of oblivion. The history was loyal to them despite all those odds. The aforementioned narrative which had reflected the darker and lighter sides of those families had always demanded more

research on some scientific lines for a better understanding of the British mindset. There were many other very significant chapters of our history besides the aforementioned chapter which the British colonists had practically concealed from the world.

PANNI PATHAN

Chapter-VIII

NAWABS OF KERNOL NO.1

[پنّی نوابان کرنول نمبر1]

گریزداز صفِ ما ہر کہ مردِ غوغا نیست گسے کہ کُشتہ نہ شد از قبیلۂ ما نیست

Who avoids my way, avoids pride Unwrought cannot be man of my tribe

NAWAB ADIL KHAN BAHADER PANNI, THE PIONEER OF THE FAMILY KNOWN AS AIDAL KHAN

[خاندان کا مورث اعلیٰ' نواب عادل خان بہادر پنّی المعروف بہ ایدل خان]

Attaining the Nawabhood [نوابی کا حصول]:

The Deccan [دکن] area was delinked from Delhi [دہلی] during the reign of Mohammed Tughlaq Jonnan Khan [محمد تغلق جوناں خان] (*1325 to 1351*) and then, there were two sultanates as a result i.e. the Bahni [بہنی] sultanate and Wajaynager [وجے نگر]. The founder of the Bahni [بہنی] sultanate was Zafer Khan [ظفر خان] which was a Muslim sultanate whereas the founder of Wajaynager [وجے نگر] was a Hindu. The Bahni [بہنی] sultanate had enjoyed its climax thereafter for about two hundred years i.e. from 1347 to 1526 A.C and then the Muslims had divided it into five smaller states i.e. Beder [بیدر], Brar [برار], Ahmed Nager [احمدنگر], Bijapur [بیجاپور] and Golconda [گولکنڈہ]. There used to be an individual in those days by the name of Adil Khan Panni [عادل خان پنّی] and he had landed in the area from the northern side and was able to get employment in one of those states. Adil Khan Panni [عادل خان پنّی] had progressed slowly and gradually and he was also known as Nawab Adil Khan Bahader Panni [نواب عادل خان بہادر پنّی]. The people usually used to call him as Aidal Khan [ایدل خان]. When he was at his active best, he had laid the foundation of two towns. The town named after his name as Adilabad [عادل آباد], was about ten miles away from Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن]. The other one was named as Nagpur [ناگپور] which was located at River Wardha [دریائے واردھا] in India (***Pictorial Hyderabad Deccan*** [حیدرآباد دکن]).

Children of the Nawab [نواب کی اولاد]:

Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] had a brother by the name of Ismail Khan Panni [اسماعیل خان پنّی]. He was the father of Nawab Adil Khan Bahader Panni [نواب عادل خان بہادر پنّی]. When Nawab Adil Khan Bahader Panni [نواب عادل خان بہادر پنّی] had died, he had five sons i.e. Mutie Khan Panni [مطیع خان پنّی], Ismail Khan Panni [اسماعیل خان پنّی], Ghalib Khan Panni [غالب خان پنّی], Skinder Khan Panni [سکندر خان پنّی] and Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی]. They used to enjoy their appointments at the highest posts in the sultanate just like their father. We have not been able to trace out the individual history of each one of them but we have been able to trace out this much only that Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] had three sons namely Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی], Amber Khan Panni [عنبر خان پنّی] and Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی]. The last one was also known as Bahader Khan Panni [بہادرخان پنّی] (***Pictorial Hyderabad Deccan*** [حیدرآباد دکن]). The detail account about the history of all three of them will follow later.

Jagir in the state of Kernol [ریاست کرنول کی جاگیر]:

Since the Panni Nawabs [نوابان] had ruled the state of Kernol for centuries with grace and grandeur therefore a descriptive account about Kernol seems essential prior to describing the historical significance of their respective roles in the Subcontinent.

The province of Kernol, which was named as “Kahernager” [قحر نگر] by the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر], had turned out to be in fact a nursery to acquire the grandeur and glory for the Panni nation, for about one hundred and seventy five odd years. The essential account of ancestral history of said nation has already been given above. The first Panni Nawab of said nation was Khizer Khan who was among the sons of Fateh Khan [خضّر خان ولد فتح خان]. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had awarded him said area as a Jagir in 1063 Hegira (1652 A.C). The British government had filed a case against the last Nawab i.e. Ghulam Rasool Khan Panni [غلام رسول خان پنّی] in the context of his incessant efforts for the renaissance of Islam, then they had attacked him militarily and had arrested him afterwards and he was detained in Madraas [مدراس] thereafter. He was murdered however in Wajaynager [وجے نگر] in 1255 Hegira 1839 and the British colonists had commandeered the Jagir of Kernol. The

worth of the Jagir of Kernol was lacs of Rupees but the British government had changed its status permanently. The relatives of Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان پنّی] had shifted to Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] gradually after his arrest and some of them had opted to receive the pensions from the British government on a regular basis whereas there were some others who were able to progress to attain very high posts in Hyderabad Deccan [دکن حیدرآباد]. They were also awarded the ceremonial titles along-with Jagirs. Then, there were some who had rendered services in military and had worked in administrative departments of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن]. There were a number of descendants of said family in Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن]. They were very well placed and one of them was Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Bahader Panni [نواب دوست محمد خان بہادر پنّی] and he was a Jagirdar [جاگیردار] in Zaferabad [ظفر آباد]. The Indian government had bought over his Jagir against payment.

Etymology of the word Kernol [کرنول کی وجہ تسمیہ]:

Kernol [کرنول] was among the four provinces of Madraas [مدراس]. The name of the capital was also Kernol [کرنول]. The River Kashna [دریائے کشنا] and Tang Bhadar [تنگ بھدار] used to merge into each other near the Kernol [کرنول] capital. The British government had compromised the composite status of the same permanently by annexing a portion with Madraas [مدراس] which had taken place after the downfall of the Panni Nawabs. The other portion was left annexed with the Mughal sultanate. The said portion was located in the southwest of the state of Asfia [مملکتِ آصفیہ] and used to yield cotton in abundance (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.16 page No.31***). The word "Kernol" [کرنول] is pronounced as Kundenavolu [کنڈنول] in the local language which means "Twilled Cotton" and said province was also known as Kundenavolu [کنڈنول]. The Kundenavolu [کنڈنول] area used to be popular in the past for producing very nice indigenous thread which used to be called as "Sela" [سیلا] in the local language. The name "Kundenavolu" [کنڈنول] had assumed the sound as Kanol [کنول] ultimately due to frequent use and with the passage of time it had permanently become popular as Kernol [کرنول]. The name "Kahernager" [قحر نگر] was assigned to the area by the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] which had never acquired however any popular status. The high quality chess boards also used to be manufactured in the area in the past (***Nishan-e-Hiaderi*** [نشانِ حیدری] ***Page No.289***). The cotton thread of the area, which was known as *Doria* [ڈوریہ], was also very popular for its fine quality and William Palmer used to export it to England.

DIMENSIONS [حدوداربعہ]

The total area of Kernol [کرنول] used to consist of eight thousand square miles (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.401***). The two rivers i.e. Kashna [دریائے کشنا] and Tang Bhadar [تنگ بھدار] used to flow in its north i.e. in width and length of one hundred miles approximately. Those two rivers used to divide the area of the Nizam [نظام] and the state of Kernol [کرنول] in a natural order. The two rivers used to embrace each other close to the capital Kernol [کرنول] and seemingly it used to pass a sarcastic smile on the colorful tales of the past. The flow of the two rivers always used to cater the needs of time. There were a number of caravans of many nations which had landed on the banks of those rivers at different times and then they had displayed their show of prowess and had perhaps also smitten the river banks with their blood and thus they had also muddled the water while crossing it. The district of Ghantoor [گھنتور] is in the northwest of Kernol [کرنول] whereas Nellore [نیلور] is in the east. Khadapa [کڈاپہ] or Kerpa [کڑپہ] along-with Antpur [انت پور] is in the south. The area of Bellary [بلاری] is in the south. The areas of Kerpa [کڑپہ] along-with Antpur [انت پور] also used to be the states of the Pathans in those days (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.16 page No.30***). The rulers of Kerpa [کڑپہ] were also from the Panni nation.

Natural division [قدرتی تقسیم]:

Kernol [کرنول] is surrounded by the "Nallamalais" mountain range from the eastern side and is surrounded by the "Erramamlaist" mountain range on the western side. The latter had divided said province into three parallel northwardly and southwardly sections and thus Kernol [کرنول] is the remotest mountainous area among three portions and used to also include the western ridge and said area is six hundred feet above sea level. This also includes the eastern ridge in its length. There used to be a number of natural nullas which used to flow from those hills and there used to be a number of valleys as well. Then the valleys were excavated further and were converted into big water reservoirs for irrigation purposes after the refurbishment of the embankments. There is a Dam in the area known as Kambam dam, which is the largest water reservoir. There are two clefts which lead to the main land from the hillside. The southern Merhatta railway lines also pass through the center of the area. There is an area which is known as "Nandeyal" [نندیال] and

the valley is a naturally plain and level area. The small natural nullas are the source of water supply for different portions of all three states (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.16 page No.30***).

Jungle, hunting ground and climate [جنگل، شکار اور آب و ہوا]:

There are a number of Jungles in the former state of Kernol [کرنول] and these have a variety of trees (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.16 page No.39***). The mountains are the natural hunting grounds and the lions and bears are available in the "Nallamalais" mountain range and the wolves are available abundantly in the entire area. The crocodiles are available around River Kashna [دریائے کشنا] and Tang Bhadar [تنگ بھدار]. There used to be many metal and diamonds mines of various qualities in the past (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.16 page No.30, 34***).

The climatic conditions of the former state of Kernol [کرنول] are very hot and cannot be considered as very healthy in any manner. The temperature tends to go up to 112 Fahrenheit in the months of April and May even under a shade. This falls down however to 27 degree in the month of November. The monsoon system moves into the area from the southwest in the month of June and continues till the month of September and brings the rains even in October but, those rains are light and irregular (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.11 page No.30***).

History [تاریخ]:

The ancient history of Kernol [کرنول] is unrecorded but this much information was available that when the Muslim united front of Deccan [دکن] had attacked Kernol [کرنول] in the recent past around 1565 A.C it had come under the occupation of Qutab Shahi [قطب شاہی] of the Muslim rulers of Golconda [گولکنڈہ]. The Muslims had attacked the area even thereafter on various occasions. Then, the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had ultimately occupied the entire southern area of River Kashna [دریائے کشنا] in 1687 A.C. (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.16 page No.30***). The said area was under the control of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] in 1030 Hegira (1656) which was awarded to him, as Altamgha (ownership) Jagir [آل تمغہ ملکیتی جاگیر] and he had taken the entire area by force from the Qaladar [قلعدار] of the area namely, Yusuf Khan [یوسف خان]. The areas where Sultan Tipu Shaheed [سلطان ٹیپو شہید] had ordered to set up the trade centers and were also included in the area of Kernol [کرنول] (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ]

Volume No. II, Page No.185). Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] had ruled the entire area as a dominion in 1066 Hegira 1655 A.C whereas said state had remained under the occupation of his descendants for about two hundred years thereafter. The Panni Nawabs had safeguarded said state with their sweat and blood. They had fought the historical battles of Kernatak [کرناٹک] during said period. The Merhattas and Salabat Jung [صلابت جنگ] had attacked them in 1741 and in 1751 respectively. Sultan Hayder [سلطان حیدر] had fought against them in 1755 whereas the Panders [پنڈار] had plundered them in 1816 (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.11 page No.30, 33***).

City and people [شہر اور باشندے]:

The state of Kernol [کرنول] used to consist of three major cities i.e. Kernol [کرنول], Nandeyal" [نندیال] and Kambam [کم بم] which used to consist of 751 Mozas [مواضات]. The state of Kernol [کرنول] was divided in eight Talqas [تعلقہ] collectively and the total population of Kernol [کرنول] was 876,055 people according to the census report of 1901 whereas one square of land used to be occupied by almost 115 individuals approximately. The population had multiplied to 914,432 by 1871 which had decreased due to a drought spell in the area, in 1876 (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.11 page No.34***). The Muslim population was 107,526 individuals in 1908 in said area. The Panni families still live in the city of Kernol [کرنول]. The names of its nine Talqas [تعلقہ] were: Mar Karpur [مارکارپور], Kambam [کم بم], Nandi [نندی], Kot Kor [کوٹ کور], Mala Kot [ملاکوٹ], Patti Kunda [پٹی کوندا], Nandeyal [نندیال], Serwol [سرول] and Kotli Kantala [کوٹلی کنتلا]. The nomadic people used to live mostly in those areas. The American missionaries since long time used to have their offices in the area (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.16 page No.24, 35***). The name of the capital of the Kernol [کرنول] state was also Kernol [کرنول] and said city is located at a distance of one hundred and fifty miles on the Madraas southern Merhatta railway station while going from Raipur [رائےپور] via Doran Chilm junction and then one can enter Alampur [عالمپور] from said point where many bloody battles were fought across River Kashna [دریائے کشنا] and Tang Bhadar [تنگ بھدار]. The half population of said area was Muslim in 1901 according to the Imperial Gazetteer (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.16 page No. 45***).

Historical monuments [تاریخی یادگاریں]:

There was a rock fort in the capital of Kernol [کرنول] which Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان پنّی] had built in 1137 Hegira (1744) after demolishing the old fort. This was in a dilapidated condition lately but some of its minarets [برج] were intact (***Tareekh Mumliqat Bijapur*** [تاریخ مملکت بیجاپور] ***Part-III Page No.418***). There was a minaret which was used as an ammunition depot by the local police until recent times (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.16 page No. 34***). There was another minaret [برج] in the area which was known till date as Lal Burj [لعل برج] and that was exactly where a Panni Nawab namely Nawab Tallat Ullah [امیرنواب طلعت الله خان] had his residence (***Letter Dated.29th December 1960 by Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni*** [مکتوب نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی حیدرآباد دکن]). The Panni Nawabs had fought many battles around said fort. *The detail account will be given, later*. Nawab Ibraheem Khan Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان پنّی] had raised a minaret in the area as a monument. There was also a mausoleum of Governor Hazarat Abdulwahab [حضرت عبدالوہاب] which was built in 1618 and was situated at the bank of River Halanderi [دریائے ہلندری] (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.16 page No. 45***). The mausoleum had a minaret as well. There were various plaques of different subjects affixed at the door of the mausoleum. The contents of some of them were in the manner, as below:

حامئ دیں بختہ الوزرا رخت چوبست ازایں خرابہ سرا
سال تاریخ 1028ھ جستم ازگردوں گوفت کہ 1028ھ بود خادم خقرا

(***Tareekh Mumliqat Bijapur*** [تاریخ مملکت بیجاپور] ***Part-III Page No.418***).

از عطارد خوابستم تاریخ آں عنبر سدشت گفت ہدیۂ شاکرم بہشت 1052ھ

There was another plaque which was fixed at another door and which had depicted a sentence in the manner, as below:

تاریخ بنائے دروازۂ غم زدہ

(***Tareekh Mumliqat Bijapur*** [تاریخ مملکت بیجاپور] ***Part-III Page No.418***).

There was a mosque in Kernol [کرنول] by the name of Lal Masjid [لعل مسجد]. There were a number of plaques on the outer wall and inside the mosque. The Persian stanzas were written in the manner, as below:

درایام سابق بنا گشتہ بود ہمیں خانۂ پاک رب ودود
کہ از جہد موخورسید حسین زاملاک خود کردہ جائے ستود
زسن یازدہ1051ھ سال پنجاہ ویک کہ ایں زمانہ کہنہ مسجد نمود
شکستۂ زپاباز بستہ لوا نظرکردہ ہر کس برائے ستود
سنش گفت باخضّر ہاتف جناں زتعمیر مسجد چہ رونق فزود

We may point out that Ghulam Rasool Khan Panni [غلام رسول خان پنّی] was Nawab of state of Kernol [کرنول] at that time when said mosque was rebuilt in 1151 Hegira.

The following sentence was inscribed on the outer side of mosque:

"قطعہ تاریخ از جانب ساعی کار خضّرخان خانو زئی جمعدار"

Khano Zai [خانو زئی] is an offshoot of the Panni nation (***Tareekh Mumliqat Bijapur*** [تاریخ مملکت بیجاپور] ***Part-III Page No.418***).

There used to be many ruins of ancient forts in the plain area in the state of Kernol [کرنول] which were located at "Sari Sailam" of "Nallamalais" mountain range. There were some remains of houses whereas the ruins of the city were also available ubiquitously which used to narrate the tale of the past glory in the tongue of the present, by establishing the proofs of vicissitudinous trends, in the history. There was time when each city of Kernol [کرنول] had its own fort and each village had its own Gharrih [گڑھی]. Those archetype vestiges had become extinct however with the passage of time and the minarets and Lathian [لاٹھیں] were in existence until recently in each village of Mar Karpur [مارکارپور] and Kambam [کم بم]. Whatever was in existence there had provided proof of the fact according to a historian that, there used to be a very reformed and a very well developed nation which used to live in said area at some point of time (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.427, Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.16 page No. 34***).

مگرگاہے نظیری کردہ است آرامگاہ اینجا
جُنوں از سایۂ دیوارِ ایں ویرانہ می خیزد
On this area at times one casts an eye

To see the fervor under the wall heaving a sigh

Reign of the Panni Nawabs [پنّی نوابوں کا عہد اقتدار]:

The Panni Nawabs [پنّی نواب] of Kernol [کرنول] had maintained their Aal Tamgha [التمغا] rule i.e. (Ownership Grant) since 1052 Hegira (1652) till 1255 Hegira (1839). Then the last Nawab namely Ghulam Rasool Khan Panni [غلام رسول خان پنّی] was martyred in the church of Terachanapali [ترچناپلی] through a ploy by the British administration and the state was divided and a portion of said state was given to the Nizam of Deccan whereas the remaining area was annexed to Madraas [مدراس]. Then one of the Nazims [ناظم] or Palegar [پالیگار] had revolted against them in 1846 A.C. He was arrested and was hanged till death at a public place (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.16 page No. 34***). The Panni Nawabs, who had ruled the area, their names and the reigning period, was calculated for different events in the manner, as below:

Nawab Khizer Khan Panni [نواب خضّر خان پنّی] 1063 Hegira or 1066 Hegira to 1086 Hegira (1676 A.C)

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] 1086 Hegira (1675) to 1627 Hegira (1714 A.C)

Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] (Popularly known as, Runmust Khan Kallan [المعروف بہ رنمست خان کلاں]) 1167 Hegira (1714) to 1132 Hegira (1719 A.C)

Mir Shamsheer Nawab Ibraheem Khan Bahader Panni [میر شمشیر نواب ابراھیم خان بہادر پنّی] (Popularly known as, Bahader Khan Panni [المعروف بہ بہادر خان پنّی]) 1132 Hegira (1719) to 1159 Hegira (1746 A.C)

Nawab Alif Khan Panni-I [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی اول] (Popularly known as, Bahader Khan Panni [المعروف بہ بہادر خان پنّی]) 1146 Hegira (1733) to 1159 Hegira (1746 A.C)

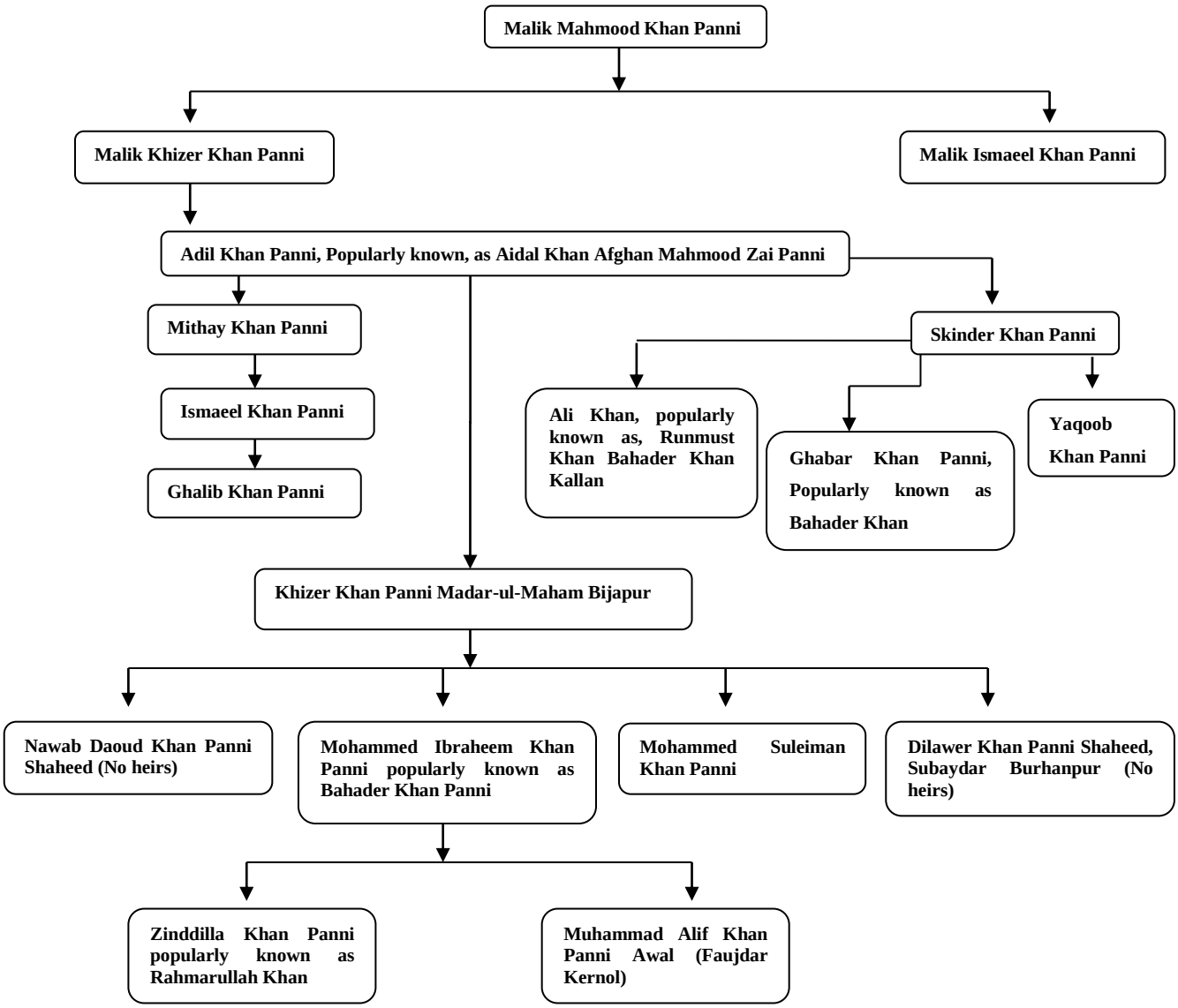
Nawab Manawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] (Popularly known as Runmust Khan Panni [المعروف بہ رنمست خان پنّی] 1146 Hegira (1753) to 1207 Hegira (1792 A.C)

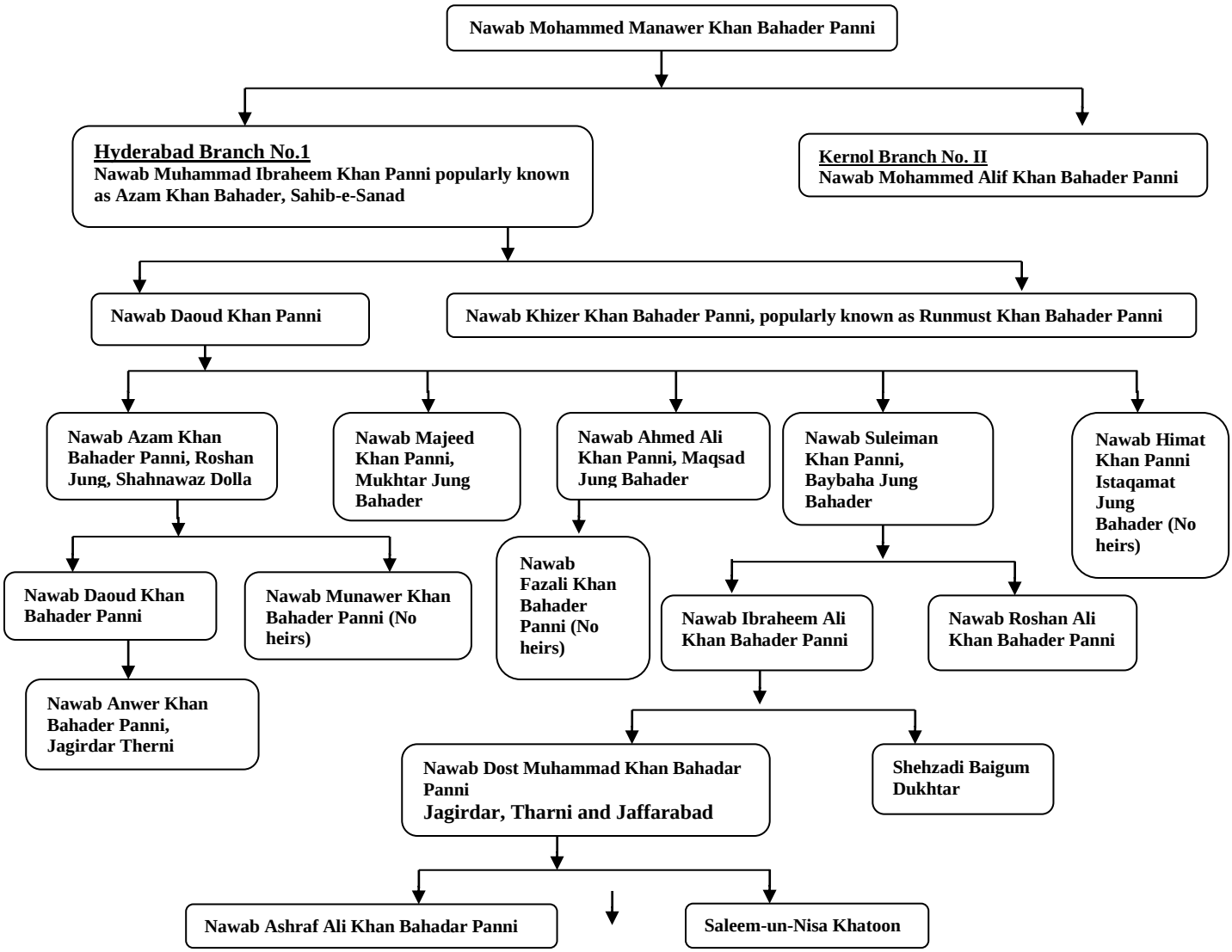
Nawab Alif Khan Panni-II [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] (Popularly known as, Bahader Khan Panni [المعروف بہ بہادر خان پنّی ثانی]) 1607 Hegira (1792) to 1239 Hegira (1823 A.C)

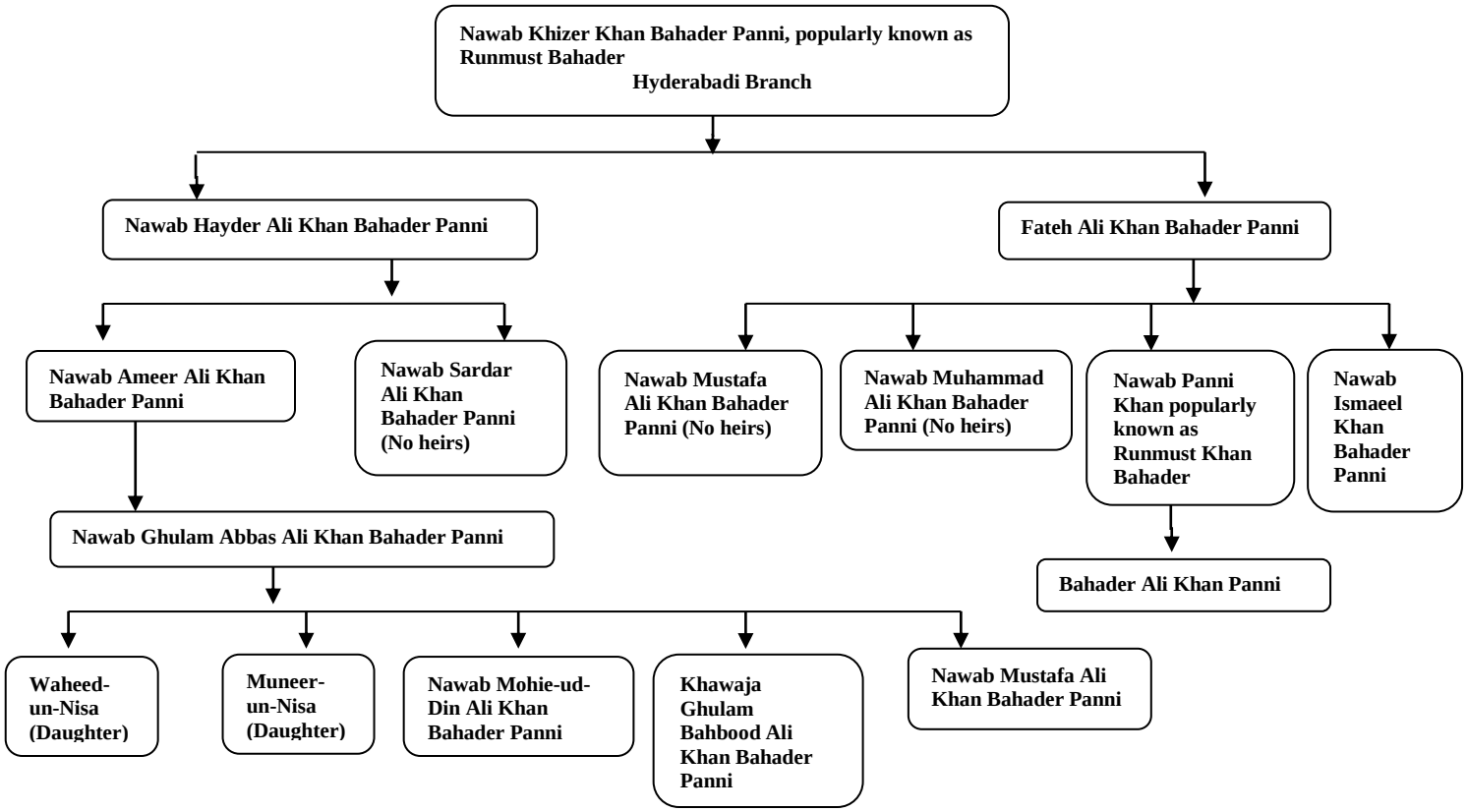
Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Panni Shaheed [نواب غلام رسول خان پنّی شہید] 1239 Hegira (1823) to 1255Hegira (1839 A.C) (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.16 page No. 34***)

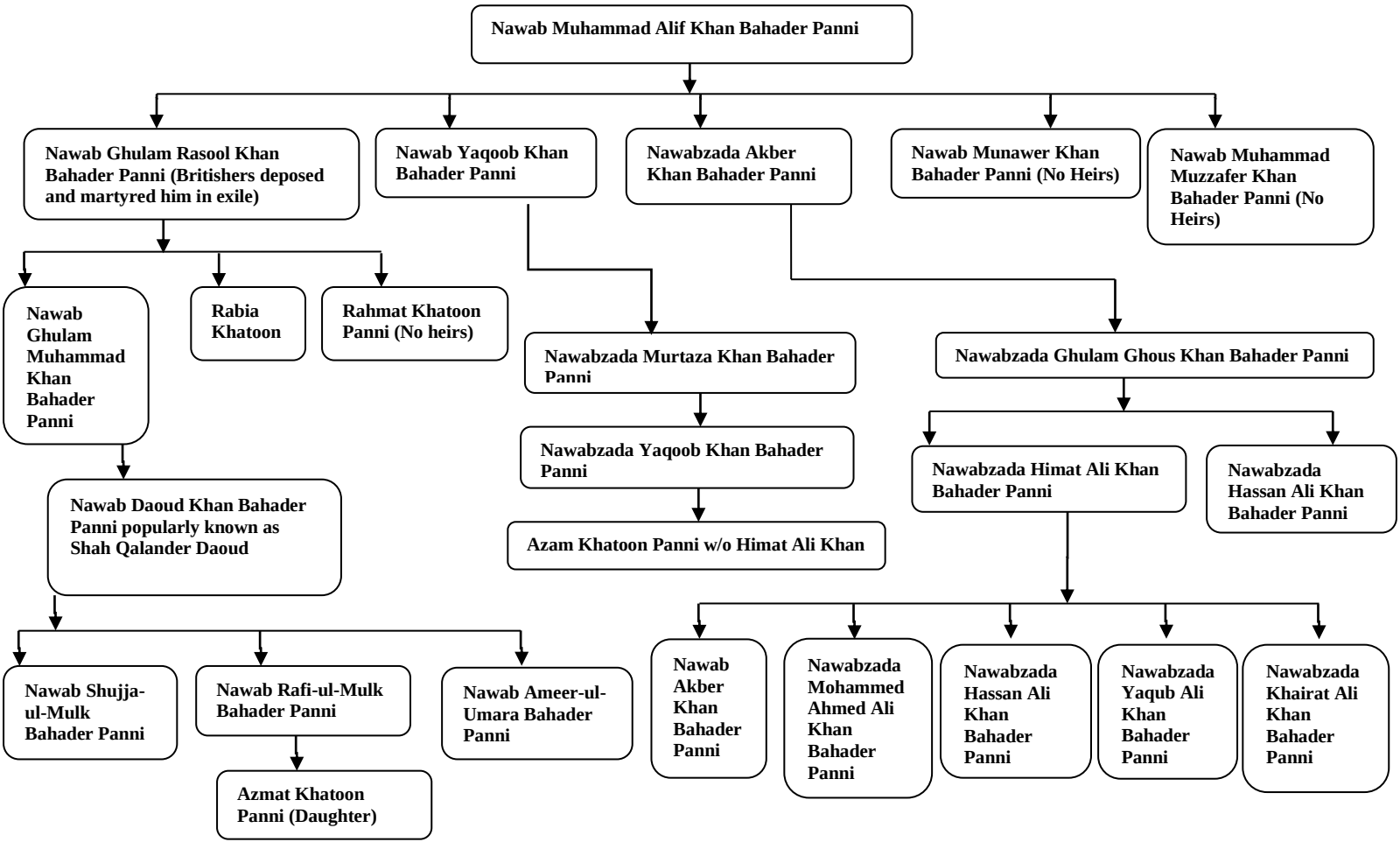
FAMILY TREE OF THE PANNI NAWABS OF KERNOL NO.1

(***Pictorial Hyderabad*** [حیدرآباد])


Malik Mahmood Khan Panni
Malik Khizer Khan Panni
Malik Ismaeel Khan Panni
Adil Khan Panni, Popularly known, as Aidal Khan Afghan Mahmood Zai Panni
Mithay Khan Panni
Ismaeel Khan Panni
Ghalib Khan Panni
Skinder Khan Panni
Ali Khan, popularly known as, Runmust Khan Bahader Khan Kallan
Ghabar Khan Panni, Popularly known as Bahader Khan
Yaqoob Khan Panni
Khizer Khan Panni Madar-ul-Maham Bijapur
Nawab Daoud Khan Panni Shaheed (No heirs)
Mohammed Ibraheem Khan Panni popularly known as Bahader Khan Panni
Mohammed Suleiman Khan Panni
Dilawer Khan Panni Shaheed, Subaydar Burhanpur (No heirs)
Zinddilla Khan Panni popularly known as Rahmarullah Khan
Muhammad Alif Khan Panni Awal (Faujdar Kernol)


Nawab Mohammed Manawer Khan Bahader Panni
Hyderabad Branch No.1
Nawab Muhammad Ibraheem Khan Panni popularly known as Azam Khan Bahader, Sahib-e-Sanad
Kernol Branch No. II
Nawab Mohammed Alif Khan Bahader Panni
Nawab Daoud Khan Panni
Nawab Khizer Khan Bahader Panni, popularly known as Runmust Khan Bahader Panni
Nawab Azam Khan Bahader Panni, Roshan Jung, Shahnawaz Dolla
Nawab Majeed Khan Panni, Mukhtar Jung Bahader
Nawab Ahmed Ali Khan Panni, Maqsad Jung Bahader
Nawab Suleiman Khan Panni, Baybaha Jung Bahader
Nawab Himat Khan Panni Istaqamat Jung Bahader (No heirs)
Nawab Daoud Khan Bahader Panni
Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni (No heirs)
Nawab Fazali Khan Bahader Panni (No heirs)
Nawab Ibraheem Ali Khan Bahader Panni
Nawab Roshan Ali Khan Bahader Panni
Nawab Anwer Khan Bahader Panni, Jagirdar Therni
Nawab Dost Muhammad Khan Bahadar Panni
Jagirdar, Tharni and Jaffarabad
Shehzadi Baigum Dukhtar
Nawab Ashraf Ali Khan Bahadar Panni
Saleem-un-Nisa Khatoon


Nawab Khizer Khan Bahader Panni, popularly known as Runmust Bahader
Hyderabadi Branch
Nawab Hayder Ali Khan Bahader Panni
Fateh Ali Khan Bahader Panni
Nawab Ameer Ali Khan Bahader Panni
Nawab Sardar Ali Khan Bahader Panni (No heirs)
Nawab Mustafa Ali Khan Bahader Panni (No heirs)
Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan Bahader Panni (No heirs)
Nawab Panni Khan popularly known as Runmust Khan Bahader
Nawab Ismaeel Khan Bahader Panni
Nawab Ghulam Abbas Ali Khan Bahader Panni
Bahader Ali Khan Panni
Waheed-un-Nisa (Daughter)
Muneer-un-Nisa (Daughter)
Nawab Mohie-ud-Din Ali Khan Bahader Panni
Khawaja Ghulam Bahbood Ali Khan Bahader Panni
Nawab Mustafa Ali Khan Bahader Panni


Nawab Muhammad Alif Khan Bahader Panni
Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni (Britishers deposed and martyred him in exile)
Nawab Yaqoob Khan Bahader Panni
Nawabzada Akber Khan Bahader Panni
Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni (No Heirs)
Nawab Muhammad Muzzafer Khan Bahader Panni (No Heirs)
Nawab Ghulam Muhammad Khan Bahader Panni
Rabia Khatoon
Rahmat Khatoon Panni (No heirs)
Nawabzada Murtaza Khan Bahader Panni
Nawabzada Ghulam Ghous Khan Bahader Panni
Nawabzada Yaqoob Khan Bahader Panni
Nawabzada Himat Ali Khan Bahader Panni
Nawabzada Hassan Ali Khan Bahader Panni
Azam Khatoon Panni w/o Himat Ali Khan
Nawab Daoud Khan Bahader Panni popularly known as Shah Qalander Daoud
Nawab Shujja-ul-Mulk Bahader Panni
Nawab Rafi-ul-Mulk Bahader Panni
Nawab Ameer-ul-Umara Bahader Panni
Nawab Akber Khan Bahader Panni
Nawabzada Mohammed Ahmed Ali Khan Bahader Panni
Nawabzada Hassan Ali Khan Bahader Panni
Nawabzada Yaqub Ali Khan Bahader Panni
Nawabzada Khairat Ali Khan Bahader Panni
Azmat Khatoon Panni (Daughter)

First Letter Addressed to the writer by one of the Nawabs of the family [خاندان کے ایک نواب کا مصنف کے نام پہلا خط]:

Muslim Lodge King Kothi Road
Hyderabad Deccan (A-B-India)
Dated 26.08.1959
Dearest and Honorable

Salam Masnoon [سلام مسنون],

Your letter Dated.16/07/ was received quite some time ago but despite best efforts I was unable to reply to it in time for which you will accept my apology. I thank you firstly for writing the letter along-with the history of the Panni nation and I congratulate you. I am also interested deeply to carry out some research with regard to the word Panni because one of the leading personalities among my ancestors was Nawab Daoud Khan Panni Shaheed [نواب داؤد خان پنّی شہید] and at least two to four dozen books of history had contained his reference. Our family history has been mentioned briefly in the Pictorial Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] but said book had disappeared from my library. I may not be able to send you therefore the requisite information. There was an interesting thing that my very own Mohallah [محلہ], which was situated at Karwan Sahoo [کاروان ساھو], was also associated with word "Panni" and said place used to be thickly populated with the Pathan people in the beginning. This is a deserted place at present and if some of our young relatives live there, they are equally unaware about the history of the Pathans. There was no seasoned person to let us know the history. There used to be a packed Mohallah at said place, the way any street may exist in Lahore presently. There is not even a semblance of it at present and presents, amidst some cottages, a combination of desertion and dissonance. I shall send you the detail information In sha-Allah [انشااللہ] at an opportune time and subject to its availability. I hope you are all well.

Yours faithfully,

D.M. Khan Panni

Second Letter

Muslim Lodge King Kothi Road
Hyderabad Deccan (A-B-India)
Dated 29.12.1960
Honorable Molvi Mohammed Sharif Khan Sahib Panni
Salam Masnoon [سلام مسنون],

Your letter Dated.19/09/1960 had reached on 26.09. Your effort and interest in compiling the history of the Panni nation was commendable. I hope that you must have found the requisite material from local libraries. Furthermore the second volume of Pictorial Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] which had disappeared from my collection was relocated without loss of time. I will send you the information to the extent of my family In sha-Allah [انشاالله] as soon as I will find a typist. The concerns to earn the livelihood and the plentiful litigation do not provide sufficient time for concentration on the literary side. The family history of mine, which has already been compiled even the arrangement to publish it, was not possible otherwise it would have been sufficient to satisfy your inquisitiveness. If you contact Kutab Khana Asifia [کتب خانہ آصفیہ] (Central Library Hyderabad), Kutab Khana Nawab Sallar Jung (Late) [کتب خانہ نواب سلار جنگ] and Idara Adabeyat Urdu [ادارہ ادبیات اردو] and Nawab Tallat Ullah Khan Sahib Raees Kernol [نواب طلعت الله خان رئیس کرنول] Lal Burj Kernol [لال برج کرنول] or you may like to undertake a journey then you will be able to avail those facilities hopefully which are normally made available to the writers and historians. We feel blessed that the Indo-Pak relations are improving. If you feel inclined to visit please let us know. Whenever you may find time kindly let us know about the progress as well as about your wellbeing.

Repeat.

The letter in hand was written during the course of many days and was not dispatched. The wedding of the daughter of one of my relatives namely Bashrat Ali Khan [بشارت علی خان]

was arranged but, he had expired just one day prior to the wedding. Then, I had also fallen sick just ten days thereafter. Kindly acknowledge receipt.

Dost Mohammed Khan Panni
Dated 29.12.1960

Amber Khan Panni [عنبر خان پنّی]:

Amber Khan Panni [عنبر خان پنّی] was brother of Khizer Khan Panni Shahjahani [خضّر خان پنّی شاہجہانی] and Ali Khan [علی خان]. He was known popularly as "Runmust Khan Kallan" [رنمست خان کلاں] whereas his name was mentioned as Bahader Khan Panni [بہادر خان پنّی] in the Hyderabad Pictorial. The reference of only one bloody battle was available in his biography in which he had participated and said battle had taken place at Balapur [بلاپور] which was among Ameer-ul-Umara Hussain Ali Khan [امیرالامراء حسین علی خان] and Qutab-ul-Mulk Syed Abdullah Khan [قطب الملک سید عبداللہ خان] and the nephew of Hasan Khan [حسن خان] namely Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] and Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-I [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول]. The aforementioned battle had taken place in the month of Zeqad [ذیقعد] 1131 Hegira (1718) when Abul-Fateh Naseer-ud-Din Mohammed Shah [ابوالفتح نصیرالدین محمد شاہ] was holding the throne of Delhi [دہلی]. The power struggle was in progress at that time between Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] and the Syed Brothers [سید برادران]. The nephew of the Syed Brothers [سید برادران] namely, Dilawer Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان] was killed in a bloody battle at Hasanpur [حسن پور] by Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک].

Participation in the battle of Balapur [بالا پور کی لڑای میی شرکت]:

When the aforementioned Syed Brothers [سید برادران] or in other words, the famous king makers in the history of Hindh had received the news regarding the killing of their nephew Dilawer Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان] by Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک], they were tremendously enraged. The reason was that they were the ones who had actually sent him with the army and his death was a clear challenge to their authority. When Hasan Khan [حسن خان] had received said dreadful news, he had started the preparations out of sheer rage to form a lashker. He was all out to wage a war against Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] but there were his well-wishers who had calmed him down.

Then they had decided to assign said job to Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان]. He was in Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] at that time. Syed Brothers [سید برادران] were in Delhi [دہلی] and Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had set up his camp in the vicinity of Burhanpur [برہانپور]. Ameer-ul-Umara Hussain Ali Khan [امیرالامراء حسین علی خان] had sent the official army along-with a few Merhattas as reinforcement to Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان]. They had instructed him to make the advancement against Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک]. Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] had also made his advancement towards Burhanpur [برہانپور] along-with entire lashker to objurgate Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.91***). Amber Khan Panni [عنبر خان پنّی] was also in his lashker.

Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] was anticipating the advancement from Ameer-ul-Umara Hussain Ali Khan [امیرالامراء حسین علی خان] and when he had learnt that Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] was passing through the cleft of Ferozepur [فیروزپور] he had also given orders for drum beating to initiate the war and he had moved out of Lal Bagh [لال باغ] of Burhanpur [برہانپور]. The monsoon spell was very much in progress and the River Yourna [دریائے یورنا] was about twelve miles away from Burhanpur [برہانپور] below Adilabad [عادل آباد] which was flowing at high tide (*City which was founded by Adil Khan Panni*). The army of Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] had stopped near Adilabad [عادل آباد] but Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had kept his advancement along the river side. He was in search of a location to initiate his ambush attack which was the peak season of torrential rains whereas the water used to overflow from the riverbanks even after the normal rains. The army of Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] was engulfed in a great difficulty as a result. They were neither in a position to move forward nor did they have the capacity to even hold their ground [نہ جائے ماندن نہ پائے رفتن]. The food reserves had also depleted. The mud was also slimy and black and had presented yet another challenge to the lashker of Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک]. There were some Merhattas of Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] who had also looted their goods which had added to the complexity of the situation. He had not lost heart and despite all the odds he had travelled about fifteen to twenty miles. Then he had landed in Brar [برار] and thus he was able to establish his camp in the plain area of Balapur [بلاپور] ultimately after a great toil and effort (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.91***).

Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] had also given up his entrenched position. The troops from both sides were encamped on the riverbanks yet the tension had not aggravated to such a level to invite any clash. There was random shooting of some arrows only and then both lashkers had

faced each other on the 5th of Shawal [شوال] 1132 Hegira (1719) (***Syed Altamakhereen*** [سیدالتماخرین] ***Volume No.2, Page No.57***). The stage was set for a decisive battle on Saturday the 6th of Shawal [شوال] and Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] had about thirty thousand soldiers with him. Amber Khan Panni [عنبر خان پنّی] was at the forefront with his lashker according to Allama Najam-ul-Ghani [علامہ نجم الغنی], (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.91***).

On the 6th of Shawal [شوال], the two sides had started exchanging cannon balls and resultantly the army of Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had sustained heavy losses. Then the battlefield was charged fully by 16th of Shawal [شوال] and the same had turned into a big inferno. The battlefield was in the plain area of a deserted village which was about three miles away from Balapur [بلاپور]. Since, Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] was an inexperienced young man therefore he had failed to take the appropriate precautionary measures for his own protection and had landed into a great difficulty because one of the soldiers of Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had given him a fatal blow of sword in an encounter. He had chopped off his hand as a matter of fact. Then, there was another soldier who had made him breathe his last breath with another blow and Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had won the battle as a consequence of his death (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.95***).

Amber Khan Panni [عنبر خان پنّی] and Umer Khan Panni [عمر خان پنّی], both had participated in said battle. We have not been able to trace out the information however about the fate of Amber Khan Panni [عنبر خان پنّی] i.e. whether he had survived the battle or he was also killed. There was no reference even otherwise with regard to him in the context of any other historical event after said battle. The very act of participating in the battle and playing a key role as a leader in troop formation was definite proof of his personal abilities.

NAWAB ALI KHAN PANNI, POPULARLY KNOWN AS, BHADAR KHAN AND RUNMUST KHAN KALLAN

[نواب علی خان پنّی المخاطب بہادر خان رنمست خان کلاں]

Till Moherram 1117 Hegira (April 1705)

Employment of Alamgir [عالمگیر کی ملازمت میں]**:**

Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] was one of the leading Generals of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. He was a brave soldier and a seasoned General. He had earned a big name by rendering the military services for Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] in many a bloody battle.

Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] was awarded the military title of Khan Bahader [بہادر خان] and Runmust Khan Kallan [رنمست خان کلاں]. He was promoted to the rank of Punj Hazari [پنج ہزاری]. He was awarded a Khilat [خلعت] several times as a token of honor and grace. He had enjoyed a very peculiar position among his contemporaries because of his performance in the conquest of Golconda [گولکنڈا] which was during the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. He was a real brother of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] and Amber Khan Panni [عنبر خان پنّی].

Sweeping defeat of the Merhattas [مرہٹوں کی شکستِ فاش]:

There was no one else in the history with the distinct title as Runmust Khan Kallan [رنمست خان کلاں]. Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] was initially promoted to the rank of Hazar and Punjsad [ہزاروپنج صد] in the seventh year by the cabinet staff of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] and then he had gradually progressed to the rank of Hazar and Punjsad [ہزاروپنج صد]. There was his nephew Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] and he had taken him also to the Durbar of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. ***(Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2, Page No.64, 65).*** When, Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had sent the expedition to Bijapur [بیجاپور] then Sevagee [سیوا جی] had come out for his support because the Wazir of the area namely Masood Khan [مسعود خان] had sought his help. When Dalair Khan [دلیر خان] had made the entry in the area on behalf of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] for collecting the revenue then, Sevagee [سیوا جی] had planned to attack him in order to rescue the locals of Bijapur [بیجاپور], who were supposed to provide the revenue. Dalair Khan [دلیر خان] had surrounded them during said campaign. Sevagee [سیوا جی] had taken a huge lashker in this regard in 1090 Hegira (1679) and he had entered Khandase [خاندیس]. Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] had also made advancement on the other hand with a lashker of eight to nine thousand soldiers. They had already baffled each other in the past with their respective capabilities and thus they were very much acquainted with the capabilities of each other. They were ready to face each other once again and resultantly there was a bloody battle which had not yielded the results however in

accordance with the aspirations of Runmust Khan Kallan [رنمست خان کلاں] and resultantly he had to face defeat (***Zaka*** [ذکاء] ***Volume No.8 Page No.329***).

Objurgating Sevagee [سیوا جی کی سر کوبی]:

Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] had moved against the Merhattas in 1679. Sevagee [سیوا جی] had initiated the advancement on 4th November to safeguard the local people of Bijapur [بیجاپور] against the Mughal raids. The Mughal army had waged an attack however in the vicinity of Bijapur [بیجاپور] in the middle of said month. They had destroyed him and then they had captured his about two thousand horses along-with many soldiers. Sevagee [سیوا جی] was able to escape to Pattagherr [پتا گڑھ] subsequent to the defeat where he had sought help from Paishwa [پیشوا]. When, he was moving towards Surratt [سورت] however Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] had attacked him at that time. He had killed his about two thousand soldiers and he was able to capture his about four hundred horses. Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had also expressed his formal royal pleasure for Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] on said successful attempt (***Serkar*** [سرکار] ***Volume No.4 Page No.227***).

Promotion with rewards [انعام واکرام سے سرفرازی]:

Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] was bestowed upon a Khilat [خلعت] at the royal palace on 26th of Ramadan-ul-Mubarak 1093 Hegira (1681). Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had received the bestowal of title graciously as Ameer Asp-o-Feel [امیر اسپ و فیل] (Ameer of horses and elephants) along-with a Khilat [خلعت] in the following month of Shawal [شوال]. He was given the title of Khan Bahader [بہادر خان] thereafter and was promoted to the rank of Punjhazari [پنج ہزاری] (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالمگیری] ***Page No.157***).

Conquest of Kokan and Kalyan [کوکن اور کلیان کی تسخیر]:

When Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had moved against the Merhattas once again in 1094 Hegira (1682), he had not expected any cooperation from Bijapur [بیجاپور]. He had summoned his General to the center i.e. Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] in the month of May of the same year. He had also summoned Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معز الدین] in the month of September to

protect Ahmed Nager [احمد نگر] with the help of their respective troops. He had sent the great Prince to Bijapur [بیجاپور] thereafter in order to mount the pressure. Then Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] was promoted as commander of an independent army exactly at said point of time. He was directed to move into Kokan [کوکن] to capture it. The army of Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] was able to capture Kokan [کوکن] successfully. Then, Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] was also able to capture the city of Kalyan [کلیان] near Bombay after sometime. He had received the additional aid in the process from the center to maintain the command and control of the area (***Serkar*** [سرکار] ***Volume No.4 Page No.227***).

Participation in the military action against Bijapur [بیجا پور کے خلاف فوجی اقدام میں شرکت]:

Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had sent his son Shah Alam [شاہ عالم شاہ] to an expedition in Bijapur [بیجاپور] in 1095 Hegira (1682) where he had established his camp in the outskirts of the area. The commander of said army was Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی]. Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had summoned back Shah Alam [شاہ عالم] however due to an adverse change in the circumstances. Shah Alam [شاہ عالم] had summoned a review meeting of the war council pursuant thereto to examine the practical implications of the royal orders. Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] had highlighted the underlying wisdom of the royal orders for him during said meeting and he had insisted for their compliance. The expedition was called off then with the direction to take a detour. The circumstances were favorable in the following year thereafter and the expedition was dispatched afresh. Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had participated in the same *in propria persona* and Bijapur [بیجاپور] was conquered. Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] had participated in the second expedition as well (***Serkar*** [سرکار] ***Volume No.4 Page No.227***).

Conquest of Shahpur [شاہ پور کی تسخیر]:

The Prince Shah Alam [شاہ عالم] had moved out of Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] in 1095 Hegira (1683) and Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] and Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had joined him when he was on the move towards Kernatak [کرناٹک] via Bijapur [بیجاپور]. The merger had strengthened his position and the fort of Shahpur [شاہپور] was conquered resultantly without much ado which was located in the middle of a plain area (***Serkar*** [سرکار] ***Volume No.4 Page No.227***).

Appearance in the Durbar [دربار میں باریابی]:

Khanjahan [خانجہان] was directed by the Durbar [دربار] to establish a camp in Gulshanabad [گلشن آباد] in 1096 Hegira (1684). The objective was to keep a check against the Merhattas. Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] was the commander of his army. He was moved from Bahader Gherr [بہادر گڑھ] to Gulshanabad [گلشن آباد] in compliance with said direction. He had moved to Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] after stationing his army to mark the appearance in the Durbar [دربار] and to seek further directions. Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] had accompanied him even at that time. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had graced him then by awarding the title of "Bahader Khan" [بہادر خان]. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had directed Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] thereafter to take an expedition to Kokan [کوکن] against Merhattas (***Jonathan Page No.59***). Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] had entered Kokan [کوکن] through "Mahoja" (مہوجہ). Since, the Merhattas had executed the attack very successfully near Gulshanabad [گلشن آباد] therefore Khanjahan [خانجہان] and Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] had also made the advancement in said direction (***Jonathan Page No.60***). *The detail of the subsequent events was untraceable.*

Second participation in the Golconda and Bijapur conquest [گولکنڈا اور بیجاپور کی تسخیر میں دوبارہ شرکت]:

Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] had also participated even in the expedition of 1098 Hegira (1686) when Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had recaptured Bijapur [بیجاپور]. When Golconda [گولکنڈا] was besieged thereafter then Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] was summoned formerly according to some historians, to participate in the siege maneuvers. The factual position was that the fort of Golconda [گولکنڈا] was conquered due to his active intervention. Had Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] not participated in the siege maneuvers then the name of Golconda [گولکنڈا] fort would have never been included probably in the list of conquests of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. The siege of Golconda [گولکنڈا] fort had lasted for about eight months and ten days. The people from both sides were wounded and killed regularly during said period. The Sardars and others under the ruler of Golconda [گولکنڈا] namely, Abul-Hassan Tana Shah [ابوالحسن تانا شاہ] were convinced gradually to join hands with Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] yet Abdullah Khan Panni Afghan [عبداللہ خان پنّی افغان] was able to apply the siege very tactfully. Then

the Sardars of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had decided to win over Abdullah Khan Panni Afghan [عبداللہ خان پنّی افغان] ultimately through Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] who had the same tribal origin. He had persuaded him to throw open the rear door at night for the invaders. The defense of said door was under his supervision which was known as "Kherki" [کھڑکی]. The royal army had made the ingress into the fort on 24th Zeqad [ذیقعد] 1098 Hegira (21st September 1687) according to the planning and the fort was occupied by them. The Prince Muazam Shah [شہزادہ معظم شاہ] had entered the fort from the same door and had spreaded over a sheet on the floor so as to sit on. Abul-Hassan Tana Shah [ابوالحسن تانا شاہ] had showed up at that time and the Mala-e-merwaread [مالائے مروارید] was taken off from around his neck and was put around the neck of Prince Muazam Shah [شہزادہ معظم شاہ]. Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had treated Abul-Hassan Tana Shah [ابوالحسن تانا شاہ] with great magnanimity. He had sent his family members to Dolatabad [دولت آباد] with honor and respect and he had fixed their monthly stipend as well (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.361, 362 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.63, Durbar Asif-I*** [دربار آصف اول] ***Page No.482, Turktazeyan Hindh*** [ترکتایان ہند] ***Kakh Som*** [کاخ سوم] ***Page 432***). *The in detail account will be given later under the caption of Abdullah Khan Panni Bijapur.*

Setback to the General of Alamgeer during the conquest of the Nalarak fort [قلعہ نلارک کی تسخیر میں عامگیری جنرل کی ناکامی]:

We will discuss later that Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی], the elder brother of Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی], was Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] of Bijapur [بیجاپور]. He was given Nalarak [نلارک] as a Jagir where Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] had appointed his son Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] as a Qaladar [قلعہ دار]. The sultanate had devolved upon an underage boy after the death of the ruler of Bijapur [بیجاپور] and then a great tussle had surfaced amongst the *Noblesse* to attain the reign of power which had jeopardized in fact, the very existence of the sultanate. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had made use of the opportunity in said critical situation and he had sent Jahani Khan Bahader Zafer Jung Kokaltash [جہانی خان ظفر جنگ کوکتاش] with a huge lashker to conquer the Nalarak [نلارک] fort. He was among the Haft Hazari [ہفت ہزاری] officer. The Nalarak [نلارک] fort was among the very strong forts of Bijapur [بیجاپور] and was very conspicuous among the monuments of the Adil Shahi [عادل شاہی] sultans. The two younger brothers of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] namely Ibraheem Khan and Suleiman

Khan were also in said fort. *The detail account shall be given later, in the context of Khizer Khan Panni* [خضّر خان پنّی]. Jahani Khan Bahader Zafer Jung Kokaltash [جہانی خان ظفر جنگ کوکتاش] had reached Nalarak [نلارک] all equipped with the necessary arsenals to take control of the Nalarak [نلارک] fort from Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی], despite being so young, was not only able to defend the Nalarak [نلارک] fort rather he had inflicted an open defeat upon Jahani Khan Bahader Zafer Jung Kokaltash [جہانی خان ظفر جنگ کوکتاش]. He had killed the son of Kokaltash [کوکتاش] namely Mohammed Mohsin [محمد محسن] and then he had forced his lashker to go back empty handed. The author of Maserlaumera [ماثرالامراء] namely Shahnawaz Khan [شاہنواز خان] had mentioned under the caption of "Jahani Khan Bahader Zafer Jung Kokaltash" [جہانی خان ظفر جنگ کوکتاش] at Volume No.1, Page No.802 in the manner, as below:

" درسال بیستم 1088ھ نلارک {کہ از معظم قلاع ولدیت بیجاپوراست} بصرف اسباب قلعہ گری و جنگ وپیکار از دست داؤد خان پنّی [کہ طفل چہار سالہ بود] انتزاع نمودہ بتصرف اولیائے دولت در آوردودرجنگ مورچال ایں قلعہ محمد محسن نام پرش بکارآمد"

Translation:

The Nalarak fort (*which was one of the great forts of Bijapur*) was snatched from Daoud Khan Panni (*who was just a four year old child*) with the help of the fort capturing equipment among other arsenals. The same was included in the Alamgiri Sultanate in the twentieth year of 1088 Hegira. The son of Kokaltash namely Mohammed Mohsin was killed during the course of the siege.

The age of Daoud Khan was not four years at that time and there were two contradictions in said statement. There seems to be some kind of typographical mistake with regard to his age. The actual word seems to be Chahar Dah [چہار دہ] i.e. fourteen years or Bast-o-Chahar [بست و چہار] i.e. twenty four years. The statement was incorrect even in the chronological order of history. Kokaltash had taken over the Nalarak fort from Daoud Khan [داؤد خان پنّی] according to said statement and said incident was recorded among the first few achievements of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] according to the events as mentioned below. The aforementioned statement seems to be self-contradictory because the achievement of such a historical significance was

unlikely to be made by someone who was at such a tender age. Mohammed Bin Qasim had also attacked Hindustan at the age of seventeen years and he was quite successful in said venture.

Nawab Ali Khan had snatched the fort from his nephews [نواب علی خان نے بھتیجوں سے قلعہ ہتھیا لیا]:

The aristocracy of the state had started using other means to influence Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] when the abovementioned venture of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had yielded no results and they had succeeded even in the same. *This will be discussed later in the context of Khizer Khan Panni and Daoud Khan Panni*. Abdul Kareem Khan Meyarna [عبدالکریم خان میاڑنہ] was a guardian *in loco parentis* of the juvenile ruler of Bijapur, in those days. He had brotherly relations with Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] and was a Pathan from a Panni tribe. Since the tussle to acquire power was in progress among different factions of Bijapur and the state of affairs was in a total disarray therefore the well-wishers of Abdul Kareem Khan Meyarna [عبدالکریم خان میاڑنہ] had advised him to improve his relationship with Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] in order to consolidate his control. Jahani Khan Bahader Zafer Jung Kokaltash [جہانی خان ظفر جنگ کوکتاش] on the other hand, had sent his brother namely Ikhlas Khan [اخلاص خان] to Nalarak [نلارک] to initiate the negotiations with Abdul Kareem Khan Meyarna [عبدالکریم خان میاڑنہ]. He was supposed to use his influence on Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] to make him step down from his rule over Nalarak [نلارک]. Then they had also decided after all those moves to use the good offices of the brother of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] and uncle of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] namely Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] popularly known as Runmust Khan Kallan [المعروف بہ رنمست خان کلاں]. He was holding a big post at that time in the Alamgiri army. He was able to convince his nephews and thus they were able to have vacated the Nalarak [نلارک] fort. They were awarded then big Jagirs among other rewards in return whereas said entire arrangement was concluded through Allah-ud-Din Bakhsi [علاؤالدین بخشی]. Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had awarded the rank of Char Hazari [چار ہزاری] to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] along-with the title as "Khan" [خان]. He had also granted the area of Baider [بیدر] or Zaferabad [ظفرآباد] to him as a Jagir. The same place was also known as "Taherni" [تحرنی] or "Takhie" [تخی] and said Jagir had remained with one of the descendants of said family namely Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی] of Hyderabad Deccan till the division of Hindustan. The contents of his letter, which was addressed

to us (*Writer*), had revealed that he had also received the compensation in cash from the government of Hindustan just like the other Rajas and Maharajas to surrender said Jagir.

Frustration of the Pathans [پٹھانوں کی ناراضی]:

The issue of Nalarak [نلارک] was concluded successfully but the Pathan soldiers, besides the general public, were unhappy with the decision of Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی]. They were very perturbed and had also developed some kind of grudge against their high rank officer which they were able to vent out after sometime.

The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had sent a squad under the command of Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] after sorting out the issue of Nalarak [نلارک] to conquer fort "Mulke" which was about ten miles away from "Gulberka" [گلبرکہ]. The Pathan soldiers had not cooperated with the royal army willingly during said venture and said behavior had instigated and encouraged their opponent Deccani nation. They had to put-up an impenetrable defense resultantly during said battle which had lasted for about two months. The royal lashker had failed to achieve the desired results and the commander of the lashker was obviously Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی]. He had controlled the right flank of command whereas the left side command was assigned to Abdul Kareem Khan Meyarna Panni [عبدالکریم خان میاڑنہ پنّی]. The Pathan soldiers and the lower rank staff had started raising the questions openly as to why the Nalarak [نلارک] fort was taken away from three young Pathans and was handed over to the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] by the two high rank Pathans despite the fact that General Kokaltash of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was squarely defeated. They had killed his son Mohsin as well. Then why Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] had unjustly deprived his nephews from the Jagir? Thus said state of affairs had brought a negative impact on the expedition and had considerably slowed down but the behavior of the soldiers was molded thereafter with a great difficulty and the "Mulke fort" was captured. Abdul Kareem Khan Meyarna Panni [عبدالکریم پنّی خان میاڑنہ] had died in the meantime.

Death during the siege of Warkaneker [ورینیکر کے محاصرے میں ہلاکت]:

The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had sent Nawab Roh-Ullah Khan [روح اللہ خان] and Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] to besiege Warkaneker [ورینیکر] in Moherram [محرم] 1117 Hegira (April 1705). The royal Lashker had besieged it with great agility in compliance with the royal orders and they had commenced the battle thereafter. (*Detail of the same will be given later in the context of another General*). We feel that it will be sufficient to mention that both sides had bombarded each other with heavy artillery attacks and had tried their level best to take lead over each other in their respective display of skill and gallantry. Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] had also demonstrated his skill and dexterity at his level according to some historians. He had fought more aggressively in the battlefield than his soldiers and then a cannonball was shot from the direction of the Burj [برج] of the fort when the battle was rolling to its climax. This had fallen on Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] like a boulder and a son of the Panni nation and the leading General of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had died right in the middle of the battlefield after writing a brilliant chapter in the history of Hindustan ***(Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2, Page No. 65, Manucci*** [منوسی] ***Volume No.4, page No.115)***.

UMER KHAN PANNI POPULARLY KNOWN AS, RUNMUST KHAN SON OF ALI KHAN

[عمر خان پنّی المخاطب بہ رنمست خان پسر علی خان]:

Umer Khan Panni [عمر خان پنّی] son of Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] had also rendered great services for the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. He had also contributed tremendously for the expansion of his huge sultanate just like the other members of his family. He was instrumental in maintaining peace with courage and competence and thus he was able to perpetuate the family traditions. He was also awarded the military title of Runmust Khan [رنمست خان] like his father along-with a Jagir in recognition of his aforementioned services ***(Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2, Page No. 65)***.

Participation in the Balapur venture [بالاپور کے معرکے میں شرکت]:

We have already given the descriptive account with regard to the uncle of Umer Khan Panni [عمر خان پنّی] namely Amber Khan Panni [عنبر خان پنّی]. We have also mentioned, in the same context,

that a power struggle was in progress among the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک], Syed brothers [سید برادران], Qutab-ul-Mulk Hasan Ali Wazir [قطب الملک حسن علی خان وزیر] and Ameer-ul-Umara Hussain Ali Khan [امیرالامراء حسین علی خان]. He was the same Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] who was sent to sort out the King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ] but Qutab-ul-Mulk Hasan Ali Wazir [قطب الملک حسن علی خان وزیر] had approached him in his house well before the initiation of any action. He had brought him out on the back of an elephant and had proclaimed him as their third and elder brother. He was in a desperate need of some collaborators at that time because he had his plans to depose King Farukh Sair Badshah [فرخ سیر بادشاہ]. Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] was the only notable Sardar in those days for Syed brothers [سید برادران] and his cooperation was very essential for them. The time for such dependency was over however under the changed political circumstances because Mohammed Shah [محمد شاہ] was holding the reins of power in Delhi [دہلی] and Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] was struggling hard like Syed brothers [سید برادران] for his autonomous rule. Syed brothers [سید برادران] were denying him success and thus both sides were pitched against each other all polarized. The bickering was likely to result into some kind of open and bloody situation but Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] was able to defeat the lashker of nephew of his opponents namely Dilawer Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان]. He was sent all equipped to fight against him.

When the Syed brothers [سید برادران] were informed about the death of Dilawer Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان] then Ameer-ul-Umara Hussain Ali Khan [امیرالامراء حسین علی خان] had prepared his troops to initiate a war which was just out of sudden enragement. There were some Nobles who had advised him however to depute his nephew namely Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] for said venture. Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] had moved out therefore to fight against the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] with the lashker of thirty thousand soldiers (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.91***). *We have already given some details above in this regard, under the caption of Amber Khan Panni* [عنبر خان پنّی]. The lashkers from both sides were pitched against each other on the 6th of Shawal [شوال] by casting aside the initial events. They were just three miles away from Balapur [بلاپور]. The army formation of the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] in this regard was in the manner, as below:

> Mohammed Gheyas Khan [محمد غیاث خان] was the Sardar of the frontline troop formation and the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had placed his uncle Ewaz Khan [عوض خان] on the right-hand side. The two Sardars i.e. Mehat Khan [محت خان] and Aziz Khan [عزیز خان]

along-with their respective troops were placed on the left-hand side. The main lashker was under Mohtashim Khan Yaltamish [محتشم خان یلتمش]. Mutawasil Khan [متوسل خان] and Qadir Dad Khan [قادر داد خان] were guarding the left and right-hand sides. Rustam Baig Khan Azam Shahi [رستم بیگ خان اعظم شاہی] was deputed for some rearguard action and Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] was stationed on the elephant back in the middle of the entire formation and there were some Merhattas who were placed ubiquitously for general surveillance.

Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] had juxtaposed his troops against said formation in the manner, as below:

Ghalib Khan Sair Rustam Khan Deccani [غالب خان سیر رستم خان دکنی] was placed along-with his army on the right-hand side and Mirza Ali Khan [مرزاعلی خان] and his soldiers were with him. Ameen Khan Deccani [امین خان دکنی] Syed Sheikh Nizam [سید شیخ نظام], Turktaz Khan Torani [ترکتاز خان تورانی] and Fidvi Khan Dewan Deccan [فدوی خان دیوان دکن] were placed on the left-hand side with Shanker Mahler [شنکر ملہار] along-with a number of Merhattas. Umer Khan Panni [عمر خان پنی] was commander of one flank whereas Mahtor Khan Khwaishgi [مہتور خان خویشگی], Amber Khan Panni [عنبر خان پنی], Daoud Khan Panni [داود خان پنی], Gheyas-ud-Din Khan [غیاث الدین خان], Ameer Khan [امیر خان] and others were placed in the frontline. Then there was a formation of the diehard soldiers of Deccan and Barhea along-with twelve thousand stout elephants from Kernatak [کرناٹک]. Those elephants were totally clad in iron and there was also an artillery formation in their support (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.93***).

MIND BOGGLING SCENES OF THE BLOODY BATTLE

[خونریزلڑائی کادلگداز منظر]

The lashker of Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] had thirty thousand soldiers yet the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had superiority over him because of his battery of cannons. He had turned the barrels of those cannons towards the enemy on the 5th of Shawal [شوال] and had also camouflaged them. Those tactics were adopted under the instructions of the Roman cannon battle experts according to the historians. The skirmishes were triggered intermittently from both sides and then all of a sudden the cannons had started blazing on the 6th of Shawal [شوال] 1132 Hegira. The Nizam-ul-

Mulk [نظام الملک] had started moving forward step by step along-with his army. The cannonballs, which had landed on the army of the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک], had not caused much damage initially but when the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had opened the shooting of the cannonballs, then one of the first cannonballs had landed in the couch (Hoda [حوضہ]) of Latif Khan Powar [لطیف خان پوار] in such a manner that it had toppled the couch over and Latif Khan Powar [لطیف خان پوار] had fallen down. The said assault had rattled the lashker of Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان]. The frontline Sardars had swarmed the frontline troops of the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] in sheer panic along-with five to six thousand troops in the wake of said dreadful situation. The Sardar of Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] namely, Sardar Mohammed Gheyas Khan [محمد غیاث خان] who had already lost an eye, had received an arrow in the meantime into his other eye and he had also lost it. The confidence of his troops was totally shattered as a result. Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] had placed someone else on his elephant during said situation and had approached the enemy very swiftly. The other Sardars from his side had also launched the attack on the Sardars of the opponent side. There were some Sardars of the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] who had secured the advantageous stead of Sardar Mohammed Gheyas Khan [محمد غیاث خان] swiftly while riding their elephants. Then Mutawasil Khan [متوسل خان] from the right-hand side and Qadir Dad Khan [قادر داد خان] from the left-hand side had switched their positions. Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] had put up a resolute resistance against Ewaz Khan [عوض خان]. Then the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had brought his troops close exactly at that point of time amidst the fierce battle. The Sardar of Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] i.e. Mahtor Khan Khwaishgi [مہتور خان خویشگی] had succumbed to the wounds in the meantime and he had died (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.93, 94***).

Switching over by Umer Khan Panni [عمر خان پنّی سے جا ملا]:

Umer Khan Panni [عمر خان پنّی] was apparently not only with Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] rather he was an important commander to hold a very key position as a Sardar from the left-hand side. He was playing the double game. The reason given for said double game was that he was victimized by Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] prior to said engagement according to various books of history (***Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.171***). Since both Syed brothers [سید برادران] were enjoying the influential status therefore Umer Khan Panni [عمر خان پنّی] was unable to do much against them in the past. Then whatever he was able to do, was to settle the previous account possibly in the manner that he had joined the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] along-with his lashker

in the battlefield at a very critical juncture (***Hadeqa Maqala*** [حدیقہ مقالہ] ***Doam*** [دوم] ***Page No.103***). The brother of Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] namely Ameer Khan [امیر خان] was also with him in said desertion ***(Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.3, Page No.841 Volume No.2, 57, Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.173).***

Defeat and death of Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان کی شکست و ہلاکت]:

The post encounter scene had revealed that most of the Sardars of Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] were killed when the cloud of smoke had drifted away from the field after a fierce battle. The said situation had enraged him so much that he had ventured out overenthusiastically to fight even single handedly which had triggered the clash afresh with arrow shooting and sword crossing. Then some arrows were also shot from the opposite side. The level of ferocity was such that some Sardars had pushed their elephants on their own for grappling with the enemy physically. They were one to one against each other with the daggers and thus many brave and gallant soldiers were made to lick the dust. There was one wounded soldier who had killed three opponent Sardars on their elephants. The hand of Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] was also rendered useless with a sword blow of Ikhtesas Khan [اختصاص خان] and then Mir Hafeez Ullah [میر حفیظ اللہ] was ultimately able to kill Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] which had made his companions escape from the battlefield in haste. Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had won the battle and he had ordered to attend the wounded and wound the dressing of the injured and maimed soldiers. He had directed to send the corpse of Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] to Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] for a proper burial after putting it in a coffin (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.95***). The Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had distributed the rewards thereafter among the Sardars who had supported him. Umer Khan Panni [عمر خان پنّی] was also among those Sardars. He had joined Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] thereafter (***Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.173)***. The said battle had reduced the influence of the Syed brothers [سید برادران] whereas it had consolidated the position of the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] in Deccan.

Conquest of Baghlana [تسخیر بگلانہ]:

Anbogee Serdaish Makh [انبوجی سردیش مکھ] had started making the moves against the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] after the aforementioned battle. He had sided with the Merhattas and had

collaborated simultaneously with the Mughal Sardars which was with the intention to get protection against the highhandedness of the Merhattas. He had practically sided with the Merhattas even to the extent that he had participated in some of the battles as well. Khanday Rao Dhaparrya [کھنڈے راو ڈھپاڑیا] was a Merhatta Sardar and he was his ally initially but he had become his opponent with the passage of time. Anbogee Serdaish Makh [انبوجی سردیش مکھ] had therefore approached the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] with a small group through an employee namely Mohammed Gheyas Khan [محمد غیاث خان]. He had complained against the behavior of Khanday Rao Dhaparrya [کھنڈے راو ڈھپاڑیا] and had informed him about the small fort which he had built in Baghlana [بگلانہ] and had accommodated in the same, some of his relatives. He had gradually gained strength, as a result of said move. He used to loot the caravans which used to move back and forth in between Seurat [سورت] and Ahmadabad [احمدآباد]. He had also ravaged the adjoining areas. He had proposed to get some military assistance from the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] in order to objurgate Khanday Rao Dhaparrya [کھنڈے راو ڈھپاڑیا]. The Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had accepted said proposal and he had sent Umer Khan Panni [عمر خان پنّی] to Baghlana [بگلانہ] in the company of Anbogee Serdaish Makh [انبوجی سردیش مکھ] along-with one thousand cavalrymen. When Khanday Rao Dhaparrya [کھنڈے راو ڈھپاڑیا] had learnt about the arrival of Umer Khan Panni [عمر خان پنّی], he escaped immediately in order to avert any encounter. Umer Khan Panni [عمر خان پنّی] had ransacked the fort after reaching Baghlana [بگلانہ] and then he arrested all the relatives of Khanday Rao Dhaparrya [کھنڈے راو ڈھپاڑیا]. The Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had expressed his gratitude for Umer Khan Panni [عمر خان پنّی] on said occasion and in recognition of his services he had awarded him a high rank along-with a Jagir (***Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.112***).

Stay in Runmustpura [رنمست پورہ میں سکونت]:

There was no further information available about Umer Khan Panni [عمر خان پنّی] but according to the famous book of Wazir Shahnawaz Khan [وزیرشاہنواز خان] only this much had come to the surface that he used to live at a place near Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] which was also known as Runmustpura [رنمست پورہ] and some of his sons had also opted to live there for some time after his death. There was no son of Umer Khan Panni [عمر خان پنّی] at Runmustpura [رنمست پورہ] when the book Maserlaumera [ماثرالامراء] was in the process of compilation ***(Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2, Page No.65).*** The place "Runmustpura" [رنمست پورہ] was established by him. We

may also point out that the book Maserlaumera [ماثرالامراء] was concluded in 1176 Hegira (1757) and a portion was written by Wazir Shahnawaz Khan [وزیرشاہنواز خان] and his son had concluded the compilation.

FOUNDER OF THE STATE OF KERNOL

[ریاست کرنول کا موسس]

NAWAB KHIZER KHAN PANNI MADAR-UL-MAHAM, SULTANATE OF BIJAPUR

[نواب خضّر خان پنّی مدار المہام سلطنت بیجا پور]

We have already given above a descriptive account with regard to the state of Kernol which was the native cradle of the Panni Pathans, for about two hundred years whereas, their descendants were considered until lately, as Nawabs and great nobles in the former state of Deccan, in India. The Nawabs of Kernol had to confront the local and the alien rulers from time to time as against their independent and autonomous sultanate in the south of Hindh. They had shed their blood like water to achieve their objectives but had unfortunately failed to achieve those objectives in the real sense. The family of the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had managed to succeed on the contrary in realizing their objectives. The way the Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had destroyed the sultanate of Sultan Tipu Shaheed [سلطان ٹیپو شہید] in collaboration with the British intruders had impeded as matter of fact the realization of the dreams of the Panni Nawabs at Kernol. The British intruders had arrested even the last Nawab namely Ghulam Rasool Khan Panni [غلام رسول خان پنّی] very deceitfully and said incident was at a very critical juncture in history. They were able to seize his state as well. The pioneer of said family of the Panni nation was Nawab Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] whereas his descendants had left a very deep and an inexpugnable impact in various chapters of history by virtue of their gallantry and bravery and they had protected and promoted in the process, the grace and the grandeur of the Mughal Empire. The history had not acknowledged their contribution in the true sense despite their incessant toil and struggle.

Early life [ابتدائی زندگی]:

Nawab Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] was the son of Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی]. We have been able to trace out only this much with regard to his early life that he was from the Mahdvi

[مہدوی] Panni Pathan tribe which was based in the southwest of Aghrah [آگرہ] (India). The people of said sect and tribe were also based in Sindh [سندھ] and Deccan [دکن] (***Razamnama Shershahi*** [رزمنامہ شیر شاہی] ***Page No.264, 267***). Adil Khan Panni [عادل خان پنّی] had opted to join the employment in one of the five states of Bijapur [بیجاپور] after the downfall of the Bahni [بہنی] sultanate. He was their agnate. He was gradually able to acquire the status of Sardar just because of his ability and his sphere of influence (***Pictorial Hyderabad Deccan*** [حیدرآباد دکن] ***Volume No.2, Page No.23***). Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] was initially in the business of horse trading (***Mohammedi*** [محمدی] ***Page No.215***). He had the access to the Durbar of Shahjhan [شاہجہان] just because of said business. He was able to establish friendly relations with the *Noblesse* and with the ruling elite in the Durbar. The Pathan community was enjoying as a matter of fact some very elated status in those days in the Subcontinent. They were based transversely from Ghazni [غزنی], Kandhar [قندھار], Herat [ہرات], Balkh [بلخ] etc. to Sibi [سبّی], Shikarpur [شکارپور], Rajputana [راجپوتانہ] and Deccan [دکن]. They were also placed ubiquitously up to Chitagong [چٹاگانگ] in the east. They had assumed the reigning authority from the center of Sibi into remote areas of Sindh [سندھ]. Then they had also enjoyed the status as the autonomous kings like rulers in Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] during the reign of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری].

Accompaniment of prince Alamgir [شہزادہ عالمگیر کی معیت میں]:

Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] was able to enhance his influence and had gradually improved his relationship and thus he was able to acquire the rank of Jamadar [جمعدار] in the army of the Emperor Shahjhan [شہشاہ شاہجہان]. Then with the passage of time he had become Sardar of a few thousand horsemen. The history, with regard to his climax, had remained however untraceable but only this much reference was sufficient that the Emperor Shahjhan [شہشاہ شاہجہان] was enthroned on 2nd Jamadi-ul-Awal [جمادی الاول] 1037 Hegira (1627) and Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] was very close to the king in both formal and informal manner, which was just because of his equestrian skills. When the Emperor Shahjhan [شہشاہ شاہجہان] had toured Deccan [دکن] a second time and in said context, the Mahdvi Sardar, who was referred in various books of history frequently, was actually Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی]. Hafiz Mahmood Sherani [حافظ محمد شیرانی] had expressed his views while referring to the campaign of the Zachery Movement [ذکری تحریک] that, "there was a Mahdvi Sardar [مہدوی سردار] who had accompanied the Prince

Aurangzeb [شہزادہ اورنگ زیب] along-with his entire group" and said reference was about Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی]. There were number of the Zachery [ذکری] Pathans who were in the employment of Sultan Tipu Shaheed [سلطان ٹیپو شہید]. There were some historians who had quoted the figure of the troops of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] as about three thousand to four thousand. There was a general practice in those days that whenever any Governor or ruler used to move to some other area, a contingent of his reliable troops used to accompany him as well. The troop contingent of such type used to be trained to defend the ruler even at the cost of their lives which had proved the fact that Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] was associated very closely with the royal prince as a confidant just by virtue of his influential status. The Prince Alamgir [شہزادہ عالمگیر] had enhanced the pressure on the ruling elites of Golconda [گولکنڈہ] and Bijapur [بیجاپور] on his visit to Deccan [دکن]. Those Nawabs of Kernol were from the Pathan family according to Saheefa Sultan Tipu [صحیفہ سلطان ٹیپو]. The pioneer of said family was Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] and said Pathan was an extraordinary commander in the Alamgiri [عالمگیری] army (***Saheefa Sultan Tipu*** [صحیفہ سلطان ٹیپو] ***Volume No.2 Page No.289***).

We have already explained that Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] was from Beyana [بیانہ] near Aghrah [آگرہ] (India). We feel that it will be more appropriate to explain the historical importance of said town or city which will help understand the personality of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] in a better manner.

Beyana, birthplace of the Nawab [نواب کا مولد بیانہ]:

Beyana [بیانہ] is although a small town at present yet the same had very strong association with the Muslim history in the Subcontinent. Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل] had expressed his views in this regard in the manner, as below:

> "Beyana [بیانہ] used to be a big city at some point of time. There were many houses in said city along-with a big stone fort with many basements. The people of the area till date had the collection of ancient *objects trouve* i.e. weapons of war and copper pots. The city used to have a tall minaret in the center. The mangoes of the area are very delicious and some fruits weigh even more than one Sair [سیر] (About one Kg). Beyana [بیانہ] has a special well and the people mix the brown sugar in its water and coagulate it

into tablets [قرص]. These are known as "Kanorah" [کندورہ]. The Neel [نیل] (Blue Color) and the Henna [حِنا] of the area is also very popular. The land of said area is a burial place of several well known Muslims"

The Report (1882-83) Volume No.20 by Major General Kanthgham had revealed the facts in the manner, as below:

"I had landed in Beyana [بیانہ] to meet the low and high of the area. They all were familiar with the name Abu Baker Kandahari [ابوبکر قندھاری] very well and said person was buried in an ordinary graveyard in the west. (*We may point out that, Kandahari* [قندھاری] *is the confirmed offshoot of the Panni tribe. The other attribution of the same was the province of Kandhar* [قندھار] *in Afghanistan, Writer*). The grave had quadrangle wall and there were two plaques of stone affixed side by side, and were decorated with the engraved floral outlining amidst verses of the Quran, engraved in the middle. Those plaques were very old and it was also quite possible that they were brought over from some other place. The people had no clear knowledge about Abu Baker Kandahari [ابوبکر قندھاری]. The following verse was used however, which was also a phrocial proverb:

گیارہ سو بہتر بھاگ وچ ربیع دار
بجا منڈگرہ توریا ابوبکر قندھار

The translation was that Baja Mundghera [بجا منڈگرہ] was conquered by Abu Baker Kandahari [ابوبکر قندھاری] on Sunday 1173 Simt [سمت] 3, Phagan [پھاگن].

Abu Baker Kandahari [ابوبکر قندھاری] had accompanied perhaps Muez-ud-Din Mohammed Bin Sam [معزالدین محمد بن سام] and Qutab-ud-Din Aibak [قطب الدین ایبک] when they had conquered Beyana [بیانہ] in 493 Hegira. The fort of Wajya Mundghera [وجیا منڈگرہ] was in the southwest of Beyana [بیانہ] and was generally attributed to Raja Wajaye Mala [وجائے مالا]. He was Raja of the Jadoon [جدون] nation (*Jadoon* [جدون] *is an offshoot of the Panni nation and its people are based in large numbers in the Hazara province and in Baluchistan and some other hilly areas*). The Raja was a ruler in 1043 (Simt [سمت] 1100) and said fact was revealed by an epigraph [کتبہ]. *Idée reçue* said Raja was killed while fighting against Masood Sallar [مسعود سلار] (*Sallar* [سلار] *is also*

one of the offshoots of Panni tribe). The fort and the city had thus come under the Muslim occupation and were taken over by the Rajpoot people thereafter, but Abu Baker Kandahari [ابوبکر قندھاری] was very soon able to conquer it.

Ibn-e-Btoota [ابنِ بطوطہ] had also stayed in Beyana [بیانہ] in the month of Safer [صفر] 743 Hegira (1342) during the reign of Sultan Mohammed Tughlaq [سلطان محمد تغلق]. He had expressed his views in the manner, as below;

> "Beyana [بیانہ] was a big and a beautiful city. The Bazaars were also very beautiful whereas the Jamia Mosque [جامع مسجد] was also unique in nature. The walls and roofs were made of stones".

Then while referring to the atrocities of the ruler of the area, he had expressed his views in the manner as below:

> "I had met Imam Eiz-ud-Din Zuberi [امام عزالدین زبیری] at the house of Malik Eiz-ud-Din in Gowalyar [گوالیار]. He was a descendant of Hazarat Zubair Bin Alaloom [حضرت زبیر بن العلوم] (*Companion of Prophet* [صحابیٔ رسول ﷺ]) and was popularly known as Azam Malik [ملک عزالدین المشہور بہ اعظم ملک]".

The tombstones of the Beyana [بیانہ] graveyard were intact and Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] had maintained his army in the same area which had included the Panso Top chi [پانسو توپچی] as well.

Islam Khan Sur [اسلام خان سور] had given Beyana [بیانہ] to his elder brother Adil Khan Sur [عادل خان سور]. There were a number of historical relics and monuments in Beyana [بیانہ] which were a proof of the past glory of the Muslims. The epigraph, which was written in the Arabic language at the entrance of the "Oakhi" [اوکھی] mosque which was converted into a stable, was also among the proofs. The height of the Mazna [ماذنہ] (*Pulpit for Azan*) was about fourteen yards and was intact till date. The Mazna [ماذنہ] was raised with stones and was roundish in shape. There were a number of water reservoirs [باؤلیاں] and other traces of graves as well. The tombstones which were written in the Persian and Arabic languages had divulged apparently the vivacious signs of civility in the Beyana [بیانہ] area which was also the birthplace of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان

پنّی]. The aforementioned history had revealed that it was not an unpopular place rather it was a known historical center of the Muslims.

Meeting between two people from the same school of thought [دوہم مکتبوں کی ملاقات]

We have already explained that Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] was sent to Deccan [دکن] as a standby army commander of Prince Alamgir [شہزادہ عالمگیر]. There was a historian who had expressed his views in this regard in the manner, as below:

> "When Shahjhan [شاہجہان] had sent the Prince Aurangzeb [شہزادہ اورنگ زیب] to Deccan [دکن] in 1066 Hegira (1565) with an expedition and when he had reached Ahmed Nager [احمدنگر] then Bahlol Khan Meyarna Panni [بہلول خان میاڑنہ پنّی] (Abdul Kareem [عبدالکریم]) Bijapur [بیجاپوری] had given him a reception. He was in the employment of Shahjhan [شاہجہان] at that time. Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] was a commander of two thousand soldiers in those days. He had also accompanied the cavalcade of the Prince. The historians had expressed their views with regard to said incident in the manner that, both friends were able to embrace each other after remaining apart for years. The ancestors of both of them were from the same nation whereas their respective tribes used to live in the neighborhood of each other. They were from the same school of thought. *Meyarna* [میاڑنہ] *is an offshoot of the Panni* [پنّی] *nation* (***Page No. 642***). The Prince Alamgir [شہزادہ عالمگیر] had landed as a Viceroy in Deccan and most of the Sardars of Bijapur had joined hands with him to safeguard their vested interests according to the Saheefa Sultan Tipu [صحیفہ سلطان ٹیپو]. Shahnawaz [شاہنواز] of Bahlol Khan [بہلول خان] had also followed the same suit and had marked his presence in the Durbar of Prince Alamgir [شہزادہ عالمگیر] with gifts and in return he was awarded the certificate of Bankapur [بنکاپور]. When Bahlol Khan [بہلول خان] had shifted his center from Bankapur [بنکاپور] to Sano Delhi [سانو دہلی] and had named said place as "Shahnawaz" [شاہنواز]. Bahlol Khan [بہلول خان] had come up with the idea to raise a large army for the protection of his area against the impact of Bijapur [بیجاپور] which had happened after his presentation of gifts to the Prince Alamgir [شہزادہ عالمگیر]. He had worked very hard thereafter to achieve his objectives (***Volume No.2 Page No.279***).

Jagirs of Nalarak and Kernol [نلورک اورکرنول کی جاگیریں]:

Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] and Abdul Kareem [عبدالکریم] Bahlol Khan Meyarna Panni [بہلول خان میاڑنہ پنّی] had become foster brothers. The Prince Alamgir [شہزادہ عالمگیر] on the other hand was also in need of some strong representatives to execute his expansion plans and that was the reason, the Prince Alamgir [شہزادہ عالمگیر] had awarded a Jagir to Bahlol Khan [بہلول خان] without any hesitation despite the fact, he was an officer of subordinate rank in the Bijapur sultanate. The Qaladar [قلعدار] of Bijapur [بیجاپور] was Yusuf Khan [یوسف خان] at that time whereas Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی], Abdul Kareem [عبدالکریم] and Bahlol Khan Meyarna Panni [بہلول خان میاڑنہ پنّی] had snatched the state of Kernol [کرنول] from him coercively. The same was awarded formally, as Altamgha ownership Jagir [آل تمغہ ملکیتی جاگیر] to Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی]. Then, they had also decided that Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] had to make available only three thousand cavalrymen and seven thousand infantry soldiers for the support and protection of the Mughals. The annual income of his Jagir was Rupees thirty four lacs in those days, which used to be generated as state revenue. Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] had also participated in the siege of Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] thereafter and Alamgir [عالمگیر] had supervised the same (***Nishan Hayder*** [نشانِ حیدری] ***Page No.689***). Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] was honored with a royal Khilat [خلعتِ شاہی] on his visit to the royal palace, according to Maser-l-Alamgiri [ماثرعالمگیری] (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثرعالمگیری] ***Page No.157***). The same event had perhaps taken place subsequent to achieve success in the siege. Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] was also awarded the Jagir of Nalarak [نلورک] by the ruler of Bijapur [بیجاپور] other than the Jagir of Kernol [کرنول] (***Pictorial Hyderabad Deccan*** [حیدرآباد دکن]). The bestowal of Kernol [کرنول] as a Jagir to Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] was in fact an addition of a golden chapter in the history of Hindustan. The juvenile son of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] namely Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was the Qaladar [قلعدار] at Nalarak [نلورک] in those days. He was just fourteen years old at that time. Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] was indebted to the good offices of Bahlol Khan Meyarna Panni [بہلول خان میاڑنہ پنّی] (Abdul Kareem [عبدالکریم]) the ruler of Bankapur [بنکاپور] for the bestowal of the Jagir of Kernol [کرنول] (***Saheefa Sultan Tipu*** [صحیفہ سلطان ٹیپو] ***Page No.279***).

Madar-ul-Maham of Bijapur [بیجاپور کا مدارالمہام]:

The Emperor Alamgir [عالمگیر] was enthroned at the age of forty one in 1069 Hegira (1659). The ruler of Bijapur [بیجاپور] namely Sultan Ali Adil Shah [سلطان علی عادل شاہ] had died during his reign whereas his son namely Shahzada Skinder [شہزادہ سکنرر] was enthroned on 13th Shaban [شعبان] 1083 Hegira (1672). He was just five years old at that time. Khawas Khan Habshi [خواص خان حبشی] was among the nobles in the Durbar and he was appointed as his tutor in accordance with the decision of the royal elite and thus he was indirectly able to assume complete powers of the sultanate. Then, much time had not elapsed when he had also developed his own interests. He had planned to detain the Prince in the fort and was desirous to be declared as the autonomous ruler. The said situation was very alarming for Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] and Bahlol Khan Meyarna Panni [بہلول خان میاڑنہ پنّی] (Abdul Kareem [عبدالکریم]) the ruler of Bankapur [بنکاپور] (***Basateen*** [بساتین] ***Page No.439***). Abdul Kareem [عبدالکریم], who was also known as Bahlol Khan Meyarna Panni [بہلول خان میاڑنہ پنّی] and Khan Bahader [خان بہادر] at that time, was an army commander in Bijapur [بیجاپور]. He was also the Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] ***(Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.3, Page No.860, Hadeqa Maqala*** [حدیقہ مقالہ] ***Doam*** [دوم] ***Page No.204)***. The gulf of differences had kept widening between Khawas Khan Habshi [خواص خان حبشی] and Bahlol Khan Meyarna Panni [بہلول خان میاڑنہ پنّی] and so much so the situation had converted into a movement to safeguard the parochial interests of the Pathans and the Deccani nation. The situation had taken the turn in 1085 Hegira (1674) and had become an explicit tussle for power which had further aggravated by a person namely, Donanat Pandat [دونانت پنڈت] who was a confidant of Khawas Khan Habshi [خواص خان حبشی]. Donanat Pandat [دونانت پنڈت] had played a safe game in fact in the manner that whosoever was likely to be in a position to overpower the other, he was supposed to join hands with him for the sake of his vested interests. He had alarmed Khawas Khan Habshi [خواص خان حبشی] with regard to growing the strength of the Pathans. Then, they had planned to overwhelm them collectively. The Pathans on the other hand had also planned aggressively. Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] and Bahlol Khan Meyarna Panni [بہلول خان میاڑنہ پنّی] had decided to arrest Khawas Khan Habshi [خواص خان حبشی] after removing him from the post of premiership. They had apparently promoted their relationship with him in order to achieve said objective. They had sent a message of friendship in this regard for Zafer Jung Bahader [ظفر جنگ بہادر] who was a commander of Alamgir [عالمگیر]. Then, there was also a meeting in the same context and was arranged at Brapur [براپور] (***Basateen*** [بساتین] ***Page No.439, Jonathan Page No.37***).

Arrest of Khawas Khan Habshi [خواص خان حبشی کی گرفتاری]:

Bahlol Khan Meyarna Panni [بہلول خان میاڑنہ پنّی] had arranged a grand get-together in the honor of Khawas Khan Habshi [خواص خان حبشی] on Thursday 3rd Ramadan [رمضان] 1086 Hegira (1675) and as soon as he was there he was arrested with the help of his army and had made his entry in the fort of Bijapur [بیجاپور] on 4th Ramadan [رمضان] and then he had taken over the administration and had announced many reforms for the Afghans in order to strengthen his position. Since the people of the Deccani nation were supporters of Khawas Khan Habshi [خواص خان حبشی] therefore he had sent the elite of the area into exile one by one and then had delegated all the administrative powers to Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی]. He had committed a huge army under his command thereafter and then sent him for a tour of the other parts of the country with the objective to ensure peace and order and introduce other administrative reforms. The said act had ignited the sentiment of revolt among the people of the Deccani nation. The leading people of the Deccani nation had also set afloat the planning of revolt under the leadership of Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج]. He was among the nobles in the Deccan [دکن] area (***Basateen*** [بساتین] ***Page No.446-47***).

Stratagem of Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج کی سازش]:

Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] had left Bijapur [بیجاپور] with the intention to introduce reforms in many cities as well as, in the forts with a particular objective to sort out the Merhattas. He had planned his first visit for the fort of Shah Derak [قلعہ شاہ درک]. The fort was well fortified according to his assessment therefore he had decided to subject it under the control of his reliable officer. Then he had sacked the irresponsible and the careless officers in order to see the fulfillment of his objective. He had moved to Balgana [بلگانہ] in this regard after accommodating his family members in the fort. When he was in the middle of Sankola [سانکولہ] and Kherarey [کھیرری] then Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] along-with his some companions had ventured out under the pretext to greet Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی]. He had already devised a revolt plan to unite the likeminded Pathans of the Deccani nation. He was waiting for the opportune moment to take over the control of government affairs after the removal of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] from the scene. Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] had started

waiting for the right time in order to execute said strategy whereas most of his companions had the same mindset (***Basateen*** [بساتین] ***Page No.44-48***).

Nawab had bathed in blood and dust [نواب خاک و خون میں تڑپ گیا]:

They had started developing friendly relations with Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] in order to pursue the aforementioned stratagem. When he was able to realize that Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] and the other Pathans were united with him, he had arranged a big get-together in their honor to show his solidarity. Since Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] was an opportunist and when he moved out to attend the get-together he had taken with him one hundred well trained and well equipped members in his entourage. The underlying objective was actually to murder Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی]. The said get-together was a counter strategy to murder Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] according to a historian. The party was organized on 4th Zeqad [ذیقعد] 1086 Hegira (12th January 1676). When Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] had reached the site and Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] had moved forward to greet his guest and had extended both his hands towards Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] for a handshake then Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] had grabbed the opportunity and had gripped both his hands very swiftly in his one hand and stabbed a dagger in his stomach with his other hand and pulled out his intestines. Then, his one hundred companions had suddenly pulled out their swords and they started massacring the unarmed Pathan guests at the get-together site and they murdered about one hundred Pathans at the spot. Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] was bathed in blood and dust during said carnage and pursuant to the sudden attack some of his Pathan companions had dispersed in panic. But there were some others who had decided to stand up for a counter attack. They had killed some of the companions of Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج]. Then, one of the relatives of Bahlol Khan Meyarna Panni [بہلول خان میاڑنہ پنّی] namely Abdul Aziz Khan [عبدالمجید خان] had urgently sent a camel rider to inform Bahlol Khan Meyarna Panni [بہلول خان میاڑنہ پنّی] about the murder of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی]. Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] had left for Adhoni [ادھونی] however with his companions after successfully achieving his objective (***Basateen*** [بساتین] ***Page No.448, Maserlaumera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2, Page No.64, Jonathan Page No.39***).

Murder of Khawas Khan [خواص خان کا قتل]:

When Bahlol Khan Meyarna Panni [بہلول خان میاڑنہ پنّی] had learnt about said unfortunate incident, he moved out of his Durbar with tears in his eyes according to the historians and retired into his Herm [حرم] thereafter in sheer grief and sorrow. The historians had also expressed the views that the murder of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] was a colossal damage to him and he had developed the apprehension simultaneously that Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] was likely to sort him out also after the murder of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی]. He had made extraordinary arrangements therefore for his own protection and for the protection of his relatives under said apprehension. He had banned the entry of unconcerned people along-with the Pathans in his Durbar. Then the second apprehension which had overpowered him was that if the companions of Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] were able to take away Khawas Khan Habshi [خواص خان حبشی] from his captivity, they were also likely to aggravate the situation and were likely to make his rule more vulnerable. He had sent a messenger with the orders for Hawaldar [حوالدار] at Bankapur [بنکاپور], who was managing the captivity of Khawas Khan Habshi [خواص خان حبشی], to murder him without any delay. The Hawaldar [حوالدار] had ensured compliance of the orders forthwith and after the murder of Khawas Khan Habshi [خواص خان حبشی] his dead body was buried in Bijapur [بیجاپور], under the shadow of the Qaba [قبہ] of his father on Wednesday 20th Zeqad [ذیقعد] 1086 Hegira (18th January 1676) (***Basateen*** [بساتین] ***Page No.448-49)***.

Daoud Khan Panni was out for Qissas [داؤد خان پنّی قصصاص کے لیے نکل آیا]:

Khawas Khan Habshi [خواص خان حبشی] was also immediately killed after the murder of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] yet the son of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] namely Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had approached Alamgir [عالمگیر] on 28th Zeqad [ذیقعد] 1086 Hegira (1676) with the request of Qissas [قصصاص]. Then he had campaigned against Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] very aggressively in the beginning of Zilhaj [ذالحجہ] for the payment of Qissas [قصصاص]. Bahlol Khan Meyarna Panni [بہلول خان میاڑنہ پنّی] had also moved out of the city on 8th Zeqad [ذالحج] 1086 Hegira (1676) in order to take Qissas [قصصاص] from Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج]. He had declared the war against the Deccani nation and had wreaked havoc against them thereafter (***Basateen*** [بساتین] ***Page No.449***). Thus he was able to quench the thirst of his revenge to some extent but despite that he had failed to find the substitute of Khizer Khan

Panni [خضّر خان پنّی]. The entire administrative control of Bahlol Khan Meyarna Panni [بہلول خان میاڑنہ پنّی] had depended on the intelligence and ability of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی]. He was his confidant and collaborator (***Basateen*** [بساتین] ***Page No.445***). Since Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی], son of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی], had also demanded Qissas [قصصاص], and when Alamgir [عالمگیر] was informed about the situation by the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan [وزیر جنگ ذوالفقار خان], he had given personal assurance to intervene in the matter and had also persuaded him to refrain from any direct confrontation (***Nishan-e-Hiaderi*** [نشانِ حیدری] ***Page No.291***).

We hereby conclude this chapter, which was about the contribution of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] in the history of Hindh. We will explain however, in the context of the achievements of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] as to how the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan [وزیر جنگ ذوالفقار خان] was able to prevail on Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and was able to stop him from waging any direct war with regard to the issue of Qissas [قصصاص].

PANNI PATHAN

Chapter-IX

The forgotten but, glorious chapter of history in Hindh

The epitome of gallantry, a genius General,

VICE WAZIR JUNG, NAWAB DAOUD KHAN PANNI

[نا ئب وزیرِ جنگ نواب داؤد خان پنّی]

Known popularly as Aetbar Khan [المقلب بہ اعتبار خان**]**

ساقی قدحے کہ وقتِ گلزار گزشت مُطرب غزلے کو وقتِ گل، زار گزشت
اے ہمنفس از بہرِ دِل زار بگُو افسانۂ آں شبے کہ بایار گزشت

Time for serene garden was over friend like a spring song was its trend
O' friend, heart's sake, let's comprehend the night, with friend ye did spend.

Vice Wazir Jung of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر کا نا ئب وزیرِ جنگ]:

The study of history which had pertained to the achievements of different conquerors and rulers of different periods had revealed that, the gallantry and bravery of the Vice Wazir-e-Jung [نا ئب وزیرِ جنگ] of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] namely, Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] known popularly as Aetbar Khan **[**المقلب بہ اعتبار خان**]** had left behind a very significant impact in the history of the Subcontinent and nature had gifted him with bravery and courage for the battlefield. He had amazing administrative abilities even otherwise which were substantiated abundantly further with political wisdom. He was a carefree fencer, adventurer General and a bold and courageous soldier. The same shall be a befitting compliment if we call him a man gifted with a mercurial talent for the battlefield. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was familiar abundantly with the mercurial adroitness of his personality as well as with other vivacious administrative capabilities. He used to give him therefore an extraordinary respect. There were references in the history books according to which the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] and the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had banked

upon Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] on various occasions for using his extraordinary skillfulness and talents (***Tuzk Mahboobia*** [تزک محبوبیہ] ***Page No.301, Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.534***). The said loyal warrior and a staunch lover of warfare had also swept away many a battlefield in a very successful manner for the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر]. He had also solved many unsolvable enigmas with the sword of justice and with his acumen as a warrior. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] used to enjoy the reputation as a beacon of success for any expedition. He had remained at war throughout his life and he was always marching progressively. He had expanded the reigning boundaries for the rulers of his time. Thus he was able to preserve always their majesty and glory. He was summoned especially for reinvigorating some sluggish and quiescent expeditions when the desired results were unachievable apparently in the same. He had lost only one battle during the period from fourteen to sixty years of his life. The same had also brought an end to the battle of his life. Those who had studied the great conquests of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] with great interest they were also familiar with the fact that the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] was indebted to Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] for the success of almost every achievement. He had acquired the rank of Vice Wazir-e-Jung [نا ئب وزیرِ جنگ] of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] just by virtue of rendering those selfless but masterly services.

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was eldest son of Khizer Khan Panni Shahjahani [خضّر خان پنّی شاہجہانی] who was Nawab of Kernol and who had joined also the employment under the ruler of Bijapur [بیجاپور]. He was a well known horse trader ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2, Page No.63, Volume No.3, Page No.860, Mirat Mohammedi*** [مرات محمدی] ***Page No.216 and Masher-ul-Kiram*** [ماثر الکرام] ***Fasal-II Page No.194).*** Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was appointed as a Qaladar [قلعہ دار] for Nalarak [نلورک] by the ruler of Bijapur [بیجاپور] despite his very young age. The same was a Jagir of his father which was awarded to him by virtue of his natural talents and bravery. He was associated with the Alamgiri Durbar [عالمگیری دربار] three or four years subsequent thereto. Then his two brothers namely Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابرھیم خان پنّی] and Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] and his uncle Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] who was known popularly as Runmust Khan Kallan [المعروف بہ رنمست خان کلاں] and Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] were also able to have access to the Durbar [دربار] just through his good offices. Runmust Khan Kallan [رنمست خان کلاں] was granted the rank of fifteen hundred soldiers. They all three of them had

proved their worth by recording their names in the history just by virtue of their military acumen ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2, Page No.64)***. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had always fought in his life while watching the interest of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. Then he had also rendered all the possible assistance for the protection of his family members and for safeguarding his honor and prestige after the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. Where he was all out for watching the interest of the descendants of Alamgir [عالمگیر] he was also never unmindful of the fact regarding the interests of his own people. He had lived for said family. He was engaged in a battle near Burhanpur [برہانپور] where he was killed ultimately on 8th of Ramadan-ul-Mubarak [رمضان المبارک] 1127 Hegira (1714) right in the battlefield while protecting the reigning power of one of the rulers of said family i.e. King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ]. The death of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was just due to the inadequate planning of Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ] ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2, Page No.66)***. The same was the first and the last defeat of his life. Darashikoh [داراشکوہ] had written perhaps for said loyalist in the manner as below:

ہر خم وپیچے کہ شُد ازتابِ زلفِ یار شُد
دام شُد ، زنجیر شُد ، تسبیح شُد زُنار شُد
All rings of intrigue, all rounds of prayer
All are curls because of my friend’s curly hair

A General by birth [ایک پیدائشی جنرل]:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was a General as a matter of fact by birth and he was a real genius. He was born to fight and he had all the natural qualities only to conduct the warfare. He used to treat the battlefield as a playing center. He used to sway the enemy like an eagle and he used to devastate the enemy like a thunderbolt. The very confident physical presence of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] in the battlefield used to be an assurance and guarantee for success. He used to gauge the situation in the battlefield very quickly and with great precision. He used to take executable steps very swiftly and decisively and nature had bestowed upon him many qualities of an administrator. The author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] had referred to the greatness of young Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]

under the caption of "Khan Jahan Bahader Zafer Jung Kokaltash" [خان جہان ظفر جنگ کوکتاش] in the manner, as below:

> "He (*Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni* [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی]) Khan Jahan" [جہان خان] had snatched the Qala Nalarak [قلعہ نلورک] in twentieth year i.e.1088 Hegira by using the tactics successfully which were essential for conquering the forts. The same was one of the greatest forts of Walayat of Bijapur [بیجاپور]. He had taken the same from Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] on his strength of waging the war. Then he had included the fort in the Empire of Alamgir [عالمگیر]. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی], at that time was just four years old" ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1, Page No.806)***.

The very use of Persian word Chahar [چہار] (Four) must have been Chahar Dah [چہار دہ] i.e. fourteen years or Bast-o-Chahar [بست و چہار] i.e. twenty four years. The same was a glaring typographical mistake. Since the word child [طفل] was used with the word Chahar Dah [چہار دہ] therefore his actual age was most likely to be Chahar Dah [چہار دہ] because at the age of Bast-o-Chahar [بست و چہار] one is supposed to be a fully grown up man and a grown up man cannot be called a "Child" [طفل]. There was no doubt that Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was fourteen years old at the time of his Qaladari [قلعہ داری] for Nalarak [نلورک] because one of the experts of the oriental studies, namely Beveriges, had expressed his views very clearly that Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had joined the employment of Alamgir [عالمگیر] at the age of eighteen (***Page No.459***). There was also no doubt that a person who was appointed at a very important post of Qaladari [قلعہ داری] at tender age of fourteen, he was supposed to have the qualities of a born General and resultantly he must have been a natural genius. The father of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی], namely Khizer Khan Panni Shahjahani [خضّر خان پنّی شاہجہانی], Nawab of Kernol, was murdered in 1086 Hegira. The author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] had expressed his views with regard to the same in the manner as below:

> "Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was in Nalarak [نلورک] fort in those days. Khan Jahan [جہان خان] (*Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni* [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی]) was assigned the duty to persuade him to handover the fort to Alamgir [عالمگیر]. He had accepted the royal employment therefore during the eighteenth year of Alamgiri [عالمگیری] era. He was

appointed at the rank of Chahar Hazari [چہار ہزاری]. He was awarded the title as "Khan" [خان]" (***Volume No.2 Page No.24***).

We may draw the inference while perusing the aforementioned citation that Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] who was Qaladar [قلعہ دار] of Nalarak [نلورک] fort at the age of fourteen, he was persuaded by his uncle, namely Ali Khan Bahader Panni [علی خان بہادر پنّی]. Then just four years later i.e. when he was eighteen years old, he had joined the royal employment. There were all the possibilities seemingly for one to be a military genius at such age because there were also other historical references in this regard. The son of Altamash [التمش] and brother of Sultana Razia [سلطانہ رضیہ], namely Nasir-ud-Din [ناصرالدین] was a well known political manipulator at his early age. He had become the Wali of Bherrich [بھڑائچ] at the age of sixteen years. He had established his administrative authority with great ability. Then there were number of expeditions which were carried out under his command in the vicinity of hilly areas (***Mazhabi Rujhanat*** [مذھبی رجحانات] ***Page No.150***). Muhammad Bin Qasim [محمد بن قاسم] had waged an attack against Hindustan at the age of seventeen years as well.

Unfettered authority and personality [اختیارات کی وسعت اور شخصیت]:

The author of Maser Alamgiri [ماثر عالگیری] had written while referring to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in the manner, as below:

"The brave and gallant soldier, Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی], was a military man. He was appointed as Governor for his area by the King. Then his brother besides him, namely Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابرھیم خان پنّی] and number of other followers had also become the supporters of Alamgir [عالمگیر]" (***Page No.643***).

The English translator of Syed Al-Mutakhereen [سیدالمتاخرین], namely Berger, had given the introduction of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in the manner as below:

"Since Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was a significant character of our history therefore it was essential to give the descriptive account of his achievements" (***Volume No.1 Page No.21***).

Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was appointed after the death of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] as a Viceroy for six provinces of Deccan in 1118 Hegira. The Wazir-e-Jung, Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] was transferred to the center Delhi [دہلی]. The historian *ibidem* with regard to said change had expressed his views in the manner as below:

> "The new Viceroy had approached the Durbar after settling the military and economic affairs of his administration. He had appointed an Afghan, namely Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] as his second-in-command. The Afghan i.e. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was very popular in those areas just because of his affluence, physical prowess and his personal gallantry. He was so popular that there was no other Nawab in Deccan to match him in his popularity. He was an administrator of all the political and revenue affairs. He had absolute authority to deploy the military means against anyone at any time" (***Volume No.4 Page 364***).

The same situation was described in the book, Syed Al-Mutakhereen [سیدالمتاخرین] in the manner as below:

درآں ایام بندوبستِ صوبجات دکن....."

ذوالفقار خان بہادر داؤد راکہ افغانے ازقوم پنّی وازمشاہیرامرائے دکن بود ،درشجاعت و شہامت شریکِ خود نداشت"

بہ نیابت صوبجات دکن دادہ" **(*Page No.310*).**

We may point out the income of six provinces in those days along-with the forts in the manner, as below:

Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد]: Rupees 123, 760, 42/- per annum. There were 144 Forts.

Bijapur [بیجاپور]: Rupees 785, 085, 40/- per annum. There were 120 Forts.

Hyderabad [حیدرآباد]: Rupees 648, 764, 483/- per annum. There were 54 Forts.

Brar [برار]: Rupees 115, 235, 08/- per annum. There were 19 Forts including the forts of Khandase [خاندیس].

Khandase [خاندیس]: Rupees 574, 981, 9/- per annum.

Baider [بیدر] or **Zaferabad** [ظفرآباد]: Rupees 749, 187, 4/- per annum. There were 5 Forts.

When Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was replaced from the Governorship of Gujrat during the reign of King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ], the author of Mirrat Ahmedi [مرات احمدی], was at Ahmadabad [احمدآباد] at that time along- with his father. He was at an official post at that time. He had expressed his views in the manner as below:

> "The King had assigned the Subaydari [صوبہ داری] of Ahmadabad [احمدآباد] to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in those days just due to some peculiar reasons. He was at the rank of Haft Hazari [ہفت ہزاری] personals and Haft Hazar [ہفت ہزار] cavalrymen. There was no precondition attached with said assignment" (***Page No.301***).

We may explain the way of working during the Mughal era with regard to the "Preconditions". The rank holder of Sush Hazari [شش ہزاری] lords and Khans used to get Rupees thirty lacs per annum as their expenditure. The Haft Hazari [ہفت ہزاری] rank holder used to get Rupees thirty five lacs per annum. The same was a compulsory expenditure for maintaining the companies of Do Aspa [دواسپہ] along-with Sah Aspa [سہ اسپہ] soldiers etc. The aforementioned both rank holders were allowed to maintain more grace and grandeur as compared with the lords of lower ranks. The act of maintaining the grandeur was considered as a prerequisite. The number of lords who had attained such high ranks was just five or six only in the entire sultanate. They were considered as reputable lords and their processions used to be given the coveted receptions as well. The King used to determine the stipend for the Princes. He used to award the Jagirs to them from time to time as a reward. The Prime Minister used to be the highest rank among the lords. Then the second position was that of Subaydar Kabul [صوبہ دار کابل] whereas, the Subaydar Deccan [صوبہ دار دکن] used to be at the third position (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.3 Page No.51, 52***). Thus the stated position of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was not difficult to be determined in the light of aforementioned order of hierarchy. The meaning of title "Runmust Khan" [رنمست خان] was "Brave person in the battlefield" whereas "Bahader" [بہادر] means "Brave" (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.3 Page No.44***).

We have examined a Ruqa [رقعہ] (letter) among the Ruqat-e-Alamgiri [رقعاتِ عالمگیری] of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر]. The same was addressed to Asad Khan [اسد خان]. He was the brother-in-law of the Prime Minister and Shah. The Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت], who was son of Asad Khan [اسد خان] Wazir, had sent a request as per said Ruqa [رقعہ] (letter) through his father to the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] for the promotion of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. The approval of the same was deferred however till the capture of fort Chekhchie [قلعہ چخچئ]. We may point out that the fort Chekhchie [قلعہ چخچئ] was besieged in 1105 Hegira (1693). The supervision of the same was assigned to Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت]. Kam Bux [کام بخش] and the Prime Minister Asad Khan [اسد خان] had visited the site *in propria persona* in order to provide the aid and assistance. They had failed to conquer the fort Chekhchie [قلعہ چخچئ] despite the siege. The attritional tactics had stretched over many years by that time. The fort was conquered however on the third or fourth day after the arrival of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in the battlefield. The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had expressed his views through the aforementioned Ruqa [رقعہ] while addressing the Prime Minister Asad Khan [اسد خان] in the manner, as below:

> "I have examined the letter which the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] had written to you. He had written about Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and he had referred to his own services. He should be informed to wait till the capture of fort and then some of the requests may well be accepted. The acceptance of request was not possible at this moment. The order may be passed onto Terbeyat Khan [تربیت خان] for preparing the right recipe. He may well be supplied the essentials for conquering the fort Chekhchie [قلعہ چخچئ]. The Qaladars [قلعہ دار] on the other hand may also be informed about providing JaZail [جزائل] (Guns) Ram Jungi [رام جنگی] (Cannons) and other ammunition to the lashker of the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت]. The will of providence seems to be there. He is Almighty and powerful and it is He who disposes what man proposes" (***Page No.62***).

The view of the Emperor Alamgir [شہناہ عالمگیر کی نظر میں]:

Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had enjoyed a unique status in the game of politics as well as in the administrative affairs whereas his opinion used to carry a lot of weight for the Emperor, lords

and Wazirs with regard to launching the expeditions and in the context of conquests. He was a strategist of his time in the matters of warfare. The Emperor used to get the consultation directly from Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] because he had complete faith in his wisdom as well as in his general acumen. The same was the reason that he had assigned the Subaydari [صوبہ داری] of Ahmadabad [احمدآباد] to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] without imposing any "Preconditions" and due to the same reasons he was given the title of Aetbar Khan [اعتبار خان] as well. He was the only one who was awarded the title of Aetbar Khan [اعتبار خان], *hapax legomenon*, in the entire history of the Subcontinent. The analysis of history had revealed that Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان], who was son of the Prime Minister and who was cousin of the Emperor had held the rank of Wazir-e-Jung [وزیرجنگ]. The royal decrees used to be issued with his name in the order of ranks but Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was his Wazir-e-Jung [وزیرِجنگ] and he used to obtain his expert opinion directly for each and every important expedition. When the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had conquered the entire Deccan area then he had also decided to conquer Kernatak [کرناٹک] area from the southern side. He had ordered the Wazir-e-Jung, Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت], to consult Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in this regard. He had expressed his views in the manner as below:

> "My "Bayrabu Derung Nusrat Jung" [میرے بے ریو درنگ نصرت جنگ] the conquest of Deccan was an essential job and the same was achieved after a great effort. Whatever was spent in the past or is likely to be spent in future in this regard, the same depends on the treasury of Hindustan. There was a huge sum which was paid to the soldiers as their salary and the same was being paid continuously. There was a general perception that there were many treasures which were buried in Kernatak [کرناٹک] whereas the Jagirdar [جاگیردار] of Bijapur [بیجاپور] was an ordinary person. The treasures were in his possession supposedly whereas his country was not very strong. Masood Mutfi [مسعود متّوفی] had disclosed that his annual income was about seventy to eighty lac Hons (*Currency of Deccan*). Why the same was in his possession? Please get the details of treasures and consult also Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in this regard. Why the same was ignored and why there was such negligence? (***Ruqat-e-Alamgiri*** [رقعاتِ عالمگیری] ***Page No.72***).

The state of Bijapur [بیجاپور] was conquered in compliance with the orders of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] and in collaboration with the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat

[وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] as well as Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. The same was assigned to the latter subsequently. We can evaluate the stature of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] very easily in the light of those administrative accommodations as well as from the angle of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] and on the basis of his contribution in the Alamgiri [عالمگیری] conquests.

Last arrow in the quiver of Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر کے ترکش کا آخری تیر]:

Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had enjoyed the elevated status since the period of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] as well as during the Kingship of Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ]. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had fought for the honor and prestige of the King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ] against Hussain Ali Khan [حسین علی خان]. He was killed on 8th Ramadan-ul-Mubarak 1127 Hegira (1714) right in the battlefield near Burhanpur [برہانپور] while fighting bravely. The same was due to the inadequate planning of King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ]. When the King had learnt about his death his face had turned pale with grief and sorrow. He had expressed his grief instantly and he had shared his thoughts with the elder brother of Hussain Ali Khan [حسین علی خان] namely Syed Abdullah Khan [سید عبداللہ خان]. He was also the Prime Minister of the King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ]. He had said *idée reçue* that a very brave, highly respected and a renowned Sardar was killed without any reason (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.755 Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.82 83***).

Epitome of discipline and restraint [نظم و ضبط کی صلاحیتوں کا مجموعہ]:

Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was a military genius. He was the epitome of discipline and restraint. He was a known disciplinarian for granting the concessions to anyone out of turn. The very high and mighty also used to be rendered overwhelmed in his physical presence and due to manliness in his personality let alone the soldiers of his lashker. Mir Shamsheer Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابرہیم خان پنّی] and Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] who were his real brothers and who were the leading brave and gallant officers in their own right and capacity even they had never questioned his judgment in the family affairs. The author of Mirrat Ahmedi [مرات احمدی] was in Ahmadabad [احمدآباد] because of his father, who was at an official post during the Nizamat of honorable Khan (***Mirrat Ahmedi*** [مرات احمدی] ***Volume No.2 Preface Page No.1***). He had

expressed his views just thirty seven years after his death in 1161 Hegira with regard to assigning of Ahmadabad [احمدآباد] to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] instead of Deccan. The same were in the manner as below:

> "Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was a military man. He used to exercise control over his army and no soldier had the courage even to pluck anything from the field or he was supposed to take even a bundle of grass during the war without the permission of the field owner" (***Page No.412 Mirrat Mohammedi*** [مرات محمدی] ***Page No.251***).

Magician in the conquests [کشور کُشائی کا جادو گر]:

He was a symbol of success in the context of conquests. When the siege of Warkaneker [واکینیکر] had prolonged in 1116 Hegira (1704) and the royal army was in doldrums, despite the protracted siege, the Emperor had landed *in propria persona* in the battlefield for evaluating the likely results of the attritional war tactics. Then he had realized at that time the importance of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. The author of Tuzk Mahboobia [تزک محبو بیہ] had expressed his views with regard to the family of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in the manner as below:

> "Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was a lord with grandeur and affluence. He was from the family of an important personality of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] era. He was also there during the period of his descendants. He was a close and dear friend of son of Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] namely Nawab Asad Khan [اسد خان]. He was the Prime Minister of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر]".

We have already explained in the preceding paragraphs that he was the same Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] whom the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] had sent the handwritten missive. He had sought the assistance through the same during the siege of Chekchie fort [قلعہ چخچئ]. He had used the words in this regard as [اے کس بیکساں، داؤد خان، ذود خودرابرساں] (*Oh the helper of helpless Daod Khan Panni* [داؤد خان پنّی] *reach there*) and Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had approached the battlefield very swiftly on receiving said epistle. Then the fort was conquered with his efforts. The Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] and Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had celebrated the victory. The victory was

attributed to Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] under the direction of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر]. They had organized then two grand parties at the eve of fort victory with grand celebrations. There was one party which was arranged for the members exclusively whereas the other one was arranged together with the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] (***Page No.301 Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزارآصفیہ] ***Page No.135***).

When the situation had entered into a prolonged stalemate at Warkaneker [واکینیکر] front according to Khafi Khan [خافی خان] and the King had come to know that the lashkers of the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] and Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] were about to reach the battlefront, then he had sent a missive which was addressed to both of them. The same was in the manner as below:

> "When he had learnt that some Sardars of Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] and Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] were approaching the battlefield along-with troops then the order was sent to them for moving swiftly (***Volume No.2 Page No.534 537***).

The renowned Hindu historian namely Sir Jadoonath Serkar [سرجادوناتھ سرکار] had paid the tributes to Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in manner as below:

> "There was a complete administrative tranquility in the Kingdom of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] yet, the battles were in progress in the border areas. The adventurer Sardars were making all out efforts to expand the limits of his Kingdom. Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was also among those Sardars. He was a brave Governor. He had conquered "Palamau" in wake of said strategy (***Page No.9***).

Proverbial tales of bravery [ضرب المثل بہادری کے قصے]:

Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was eulogized for his bravery for a very long time even after his death. He used to be discussed everywhere. The tales of his achievements had become part of folklores and conventional rhetorics. The people used to discuss his invigorating adventures during their casual talks at leisure times. They used to discuss his massive raids aggressive

attacks and other heart throbbing stories in the battlefield. Thus he had become a subject with a proverbial status of an extraordinary character. The author of "Qamoos-ul-Mashaheer" [قاموس المشا ہیر] had expressed his views in the manner as below:

> "Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was a Pathan Sardar. He was known for his bravery during his reign. He had acquired the everlasting status in Deccan in short stories and in the conventional rhetorics. He had served the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] for a very long time" (***Volume No.1 Page No.235***).
>
> We may point out that said book was published in 1924.

Shamas-ul-Ulema Molvi Zaka Ullah [شمس العماء مولوی ذکا اللہ] had written about Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] under the caption as Tareekh Hindh [تاریخ ہند] in his popular book in the manner as below:

> "The Afghan was the most popular person in the entire Deccan area. He was also in close communication with Merhatta Sardars. He was the only person in Deccan whose tales and stories were popular continuously" (***Volume No.10 Page No.119***).

The European historian namely Anepal Enfesan had expressed his views in his English book in the manner as below:

> "The tension was in progress since long between the King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ] and Ameer-ul-Umara Hussain Ali Khan [حسین علی خان]. The King had made him although the Viceroy of Deccan after his marriage yet the tension and polarization had not subdued completely. He had decided to wage the war therefore against Hussain Ali Khan [حسین علی خان] with the intension to decimate him. There was no one else who was trustworthy enough for him in this regard except Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. He was very popular in every nook and corner of the country in those days. The same was due to his extraordinary bravery. He used to be the amusing topic of discussion during the tranquil nights and his achievements used to provide the entertainment with

suspense. There were some proverbs which were attributed to him. The use of the same was very much voguish conventionally (***Page No.668 669***).

The resonance of the extraordinary stories of bravery of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had arisen from Deccan. The same had reached the extreme north of Baluchistan as well and had also assumed the proverbial form in said area. The proverbial expression "بنی تو بنی نہیں تو داؤد خان پنّی" (*All may go well otherwise Daod Khan Panni*) was preserved in the Gazetteers of Sibi and Zob for all times to come (***Page No.62 76***). The said expression was popular during the reign of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] and even thereafter the same was very popular especially in the Deccan area (***Volume No.4 Page No.625***). The descriptive meaning of the same was that "If you cannot resolve any issue then Daod Khan Panni was there in any case to do the needful". The said expression was used as a cliché seemingly in those days. The same was still in use in certain areas in common parlance. We (*writer*) have also heard said expression from some of the migrant families of Hoshyarpur (*Eastern Punjab*) as well as from some Pathans of Hazara area during the course of our research on the subject.

گویند ذکرخیرش، درخیل عشق بازاں
ہرجاکہ نام حافظ در انجمن برآید

When band of lovers talked about his good
Name of Hafiz was all over with the good

Successful strategy regarding the Merhattas [مرہٹوں کے خلاف کامیاب حکمت عملی]:

Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was a deep thinker besides being a man of field. He was familiar with the art of making use of the strength of Merhattas because he had devised a successful strategy for receiving the tribute money from them. When he was ruler of Deccan he was able to manage them in an adroit manner. He had convinced their Sardar namely Sahoo [ساھو] to receive one fourth of the revenue only. Thus he was able to calm them down and was able to bring peace thus, in the entire area of Deccan. There were some conditions that were attached with one fourth of the revenue which were suitable for the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر]. The one fourth of the revenue was to be collected by his staff, in other words. The second condition was that the

Merhattas were disbanded from collecting the revenue rather they were supposed to get the same from him directly. They were not supposed to demand anything over and above their due share. They were obliged to lead a peaceful life and were bound to desist from creating any row in order to prove their friendly attitude. They were also bound to desist from trespassing into the Jagir of anyone. The same was the way Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had implemented the strategy of his predecessor namely Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان]. He was able to develop the general understanding successfully by reposing the confidence in the Merhatta community. They had started living thus, hand and glove with the then ruling elite. The state of affairs had taken the turn in such a manner that all the allegations of Hindus against the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] were put to rest at that time. Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had established as a matter of fact the authoritarian rule against them but he had never exercised his authority contrary to the dictates of his times (***Tareekh Deccan*** [تاریخ دکن] ***Ahad Halia*** [عہد حالیہ] ***Page No.11 Anfinsen Page No.661 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No.135***). The said strategy of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had put an end to the general dichotomy, but the Merhattas had taken unnecessary advantage in the wake of those administrative measures. They used to criticize the strategy of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. The majority of the historians had endorsed the strategy of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] on the ground that he had followed the all embracing policy of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] and the policy of his predecessor Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] which was also on the same line (***Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No.135)***. What works for maintaining the peace and order is the right policy according to our opinion. The British rulers had also given the financial aid to the tribal people of the northwest for maintaining the peace and order as a part of their strategy. Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] also used to give money, on one hand to the Merhattas and he used to poke their chest with the sword point simultaneously. They were under his complete administrative control resultantly.

The General of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] Molvi Muhammad Idrees [مولوی محمد ادریس] had expressed his views in support of said policy in Tareekh Merhattas [تاریخ مرہٹہ]. The same was reviewed by the famous historian Mollana Akber Shah Khan Najeebabadi [مولانا اکبرشاہ خان نجیب آبادی] in the manner as below:

> "Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was the ruler of Deccan for a long time. He had maintained the peace and order in the area. He had cooperated well with Sahoo [ساھو] and

other Merhattas. He was a very prolific influence against Merhattas in other words. They had never dared to disobey him resultantly. He had also proved to be loyal to them by keeping them stationed in their respective areas. The Merhatta states had also proved altogether to be under his subordination with loyalty from time to time. Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had also maintained their rights in the Pergnats [پرگنات] which were annexed by him. The same were the part of Serdaish Mukhi [سردیس مکھی] Lumberdari. Thus the customary practice of the Merhattas was curbed automatically which was to be on the rampage and vandalization. The official revenue used to be generated from the land owners and the same used to be deposited in the official treasury and about four to five percent used to be given to the Lumberdars [نمبردار] and land lords as their apportionment for helping in the collection of revenue. The said Lumberdari was called "Serdaish Mukh" [سردیس مکھ]. Since times immemorial the "Serdaish Mukh" [سردیس مکھ] was prevalent in each village and in Deccan as well. Since the Merhattas used to be on the rampage and they used to disturb the cultivators by vandalizing the villages therefore Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] had assigned the royal Perganats [پرگنات] which were likely to be their target. He had apportioned nine percent of the recovery as their share. The said step had converted the disturbances into peace and progress throughout in the country. The Merhattas had become willing to cooperate by populating the villages and by promoting the agriculture. The officers who used to be appointed by Merhatta states for the recovery and collection of revenue from royal Perganats [پرگنات], their personal expenditure which they used to incur for the performance of said job, the same was far less than nine percent of apportioned share of collection. Thus the Merhattas had also acquired a chance to make inroads into official circles by virtue of being in control of revenue collection from those royal perganats [پرگنات]".

The aforementioned descriptive account had also disclosed the underlying reality that the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] was not against the Merhattas. He was rather against the miscreants only. He had granted the Jagirs and the authority, as a matter of fact, even to the rival Pathan Sardars. The history had proved that the Mughal and Pathan relations were muddled with rivalry since long. The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had wiped out as a ruler the disloyal Muslim miscreant Sardars even otherwise.

Epitome of self-reliance [خوداعتمادی کا پیکر]:

The way Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had become a role model in terms of bravery and gallantry and was also an exceptional person in a similar manner, in terms of selflessness and self-reliance. The biggest expeditions and the most complex situations had never unnerved him. He had appeared always to be the least troubled person by the devastation of the artillery attacks and other collateral damages. He used to take the plunge into the battlefield without any precautionary measures. He used to fulfill the requirements of circumstances only. There were various historical accounts about the Generals like Cortèges of Hannibal, Napoleon of France, Hitler of Germany, Mussolini of Italy Rohmail (*Desert Fox*) and Montgomery etc and none of them had entered the battlefield physically perhaps with confidence and bravery and without even taking any necessary precautionary measures. Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was one General however who had always welcomed any "do and die" situation in the literal sense. He had participated in many battles in accordance with the then prevalent way of warfare. He used to fight side by side with his soldiers practically. He had never attired himself in any armor and helmet. He used to demonstrate his authority always as a commander of warfare in his simple and regular dress (***Volume No.2 Page No.753***). There was never such precedent in the history with regard to the state of confidence and style and exceptional way of looking at the death with disdain. The historians had given very descriptive and elaborate accounts of his many qualities. He was a practical example of a stanza from the poem of Allama Iqbal [علامہ اقبال] which is as below:

خود آگاہی نے سکھلادی ہے جس کو تن فراموشی
حرام آئی ہے اس مرد مجاہد پر زرہ پوشی

When self-awareness becomes a tutor
For such Mujahid is forbidden armor

The historian Khafi Khan [خافی خان] had described the aforementioned qualities of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] while depicting the fight scenes of battlefield in the manner as below;

"Mir Musheraff [میرمشرف] was a famous brave and hefty young man. He was clad from head to toe with iron weaponry right in the middle of battlefield. He was perched like Mount Alberz [کوہ البرز] in the couch (Amadi [عمادی]) of an elephant. He had opted to emerge right in front of the elephant of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] when he was fixing his arrow in the bow. Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was without any armor in the battlefield as matter of routine. Then he had shouted, O'*mezzo forte* why are you hiding your face like girls. Remove the veil so that I may be able to see your face (***Volume No.2 Page No.753***).

Centripetal force of Shah Reliability and dependency [شاہ کا مرکز اعتبارواعتماد]:

Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had maintained an unflinching resolve in respect of protecting the vested interests of the descendants of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر]. He had many such occasions, during his lifetime, when he was in a position to exploit his power and authority to establish his own independent and autonomous state easily. He had never exploited such opportunities rather he had always opted to be true to the cause to achieve the well defined goals. He was loyal to the Empire with an unflinching resolve. The death of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had brought about internal rivalries amongst his descendants in a most despicable and unfortunate manner. Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had always opted to remain aloof amidst those rivalries except the rivalry with Kam Bux [کام بخش]. The same was based on some personal grudge. Syed brothers [سید برادران] had assumed the role of "Kings without Crown" ostensibly. Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-I [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] had severed his relationship with the center and he had declared the state of Asfia [مملکتِ آصفیہ] as an independent and autonomous state. The symbol of smug confidence and reliability, the pillar of authority and friend of the Merhattas, the most influential person in Deccan and a most popular and uncompromising person in masses generally, namely Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی], had never succumbed to any temptations. He had opted to live rather with honor and he had also honored very conscientiously the confidence and the authority which was reposed in him, till his death.

LIFE ACHIEVEMENTS BRIEFLY

[مختصر کوائف حیات]

First military action in life [زندگی کا پہلا فوجی اقدام]:

The first military action of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] which was recorded in the history, the same was against Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] of Deccan [دکن]. The same was not converted however into the practical warfare. We have already discussed said subject in the context of father of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] namely Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] whom Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] had murdered very deceptively on 2nd Zeqad [ذیقعد] 1086 Hegira (1676). Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was the Qaladar [قلعہ دار] at Nalarak [نلورک] in those days which were under the Bijapur [بیجاپور] sultanate. The same was awarded to Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] as a Jagir. When Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was informed about the murder of his father then he had opted to move out, all enraged from some other Jagir at Kernol [کرنول] or Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] in order to get the Qissas [قصصاص]. The said Jagir was awarded formally as Altamgha ownership Jagir [آل تمغہ ملکیتی جاگیر] (*Ownership Grant*) to Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی]. The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] was busy battling out some attritional siege in those days along-with some Deccani soldiers. The act of moving out in fury by Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had made him uneasy due to the fact that any practical action of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] against Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] was likely to create the sentiments of sympathy for Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] in the hearts of those Deccani soldiers. Then the same was also likely to unsettle the lashker and resultantly the soldiers were likely to change their loyalties as well. (***Saheefa Sultan Tipu*** [صحیفہ سلطان ٹیپو] ***Volume No.2 Page No.291***).

Interference by the vice Wazir Jung Zulfiqar Khan of the Emperor Alamgir [کی مداخلت شہنشاہ عالمگیر کے نا ئب وزیرِ جنگ ذوالفقار خان]:

The Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] was son of the prime minister of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] namely Asif-ud-Dola [آصف الدولہ] Asad Khan [اسد خان]. He was cousin of Shah. The mother of the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] namely Mehr-un-Nisa Bagum, was the daughter of Yameen-ud-Dola [یمین الدولہ] and sister of Arjamund Banoo Mumtaz Mahal [ارجمند بانو ممتاز محل] of "Taj Mahal". The Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] was an acclaimed foster brother of deceased Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی]. He was also affected equally due to the

murder of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی]. He had also great respect for Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] but he was never desirous to see any disturbance in the lashker due to any likely advancement of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] for seeking the Qissas [قصصاص]. The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had sent the message therefore through the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] to Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] for leaving the matter of Qissas [قصصاص] of his father for the King. He had also given him the assurance of settling the matter through his personal intervention at the conclusion of his expedition. He had given full assurance of justice to Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] therefore Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had sent back his lashker to Kernol [کرنول] after receiving those assurances. Then Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had made the appearance before the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] sometime thereafter along-with the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت]. The proceedings of said case were not even concluded as yet when Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] was murdered by one of his servants. Thus the issue of Qissas [قصصاص] was settled by nature automatically (***Saheefa Sultan Tipu*** [صحیفہ سلطان ٹیپو] ***Volume No.2 Page No.290 291***). There may well be many inferences which can be drawn from said incident. The first one was the relationship of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] with the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت]. The same had proved the fact that he had very close ties with royal family as well. Then the second reason was that Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was a young child at that time yet, his military action of taking the Qissas [قصصاص] from Sardar Sheikh Minhaj [سردار شیخ منہاج] was likely to give tactical jolts to the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر]. The same had made him realize the likely outcome with regard to the internal disturbance in his lashker. The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] was also compelled to anticipate the far reaching implications and consequences of the same. He would have sidelined those apprehensions in any other case probably and he would have used his authority for resolving the matter by giving warnings instead of taking a serious notice but, he had given due consideration to the advancement of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in real pragmatic terms.

Defeat to a General of Alamgeer [عالمگیر کے جرنیل کی شکست]:

We have already explained that the area of Nalarak [نلورک] was granted to Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] by the ruler of Bijapur [بیجاپور] as Altamgha Jagir [آل تمغہ ملکیتی جاگیر] (*Ownership Grant*). The fort of the same was among the remnants of Adilshahi [عادل شاہی] rulers and was one

of the most famous forts of Bijapur [بیجاپور] (***Waqeat Mumliqat Bijapur*** [واقعات مملکت بیجاپور] ***Part-III Page No.586 and Pictorial***). The said fort had seven entrances and seven Burjs [برج]. The Apli Burj [اپلی برج] was the tallest among the same and was also a vantage point covering the view of miles.

The sultanate of Bijapur [بیجاپور] had devolved upon a juvenile heir after the death of its Hakim. The *Noblesse* and the elite had developed many *inter se* differences. The same had pushed the sultanate into deep crisis. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had made use of the opportunity and he had sent Jahani Khan Bahader Zafer Jung Kokaltash [جہانی خان ظفر جنگ کوکتاش] with a huge lashker for conquering the Nalarak [نلارک] fort. Jahani Khan Bahader Zafer Jung Kokaltash [جہانی خان ظفر جنگ کوکتاش] was among the Haft Hazari [ہفت ہزاری] officers. The said fort was among the very strong forts of Bijapur [بیجاپور]. Since that fort was constructed by Raja Null [راجہ نل] therefore, the same was named as "Nalarak" [نلارک]. Jahani Khan Bahader Zafer Jung Kokaltash [جہانی خان ظفر جنگ کوکتاش] had approached Nalarak [نلارک] area all equipped with necessary arsenals so as to take the control of Nalarak [نلارک] fort from Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had not only defended Nalarak [نلارک] fort despite being so young rather, he was able to give them an open defeat. He had killed son of Kokaltash [کوکتاش] namely Mohammed Mohsin [محمد محسن] during said battle. The same was a proof of the fact that there were many other wounded and killed soldiers before the death of Mohammed Mohsin [محمد محسن]. The lashker had to retreat empty handed pursuant to said defeat. The author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] namely Shahnawaz Khan [شاہنواز خان] had mentioned under the caption of "Jahani Khan Bahader Zafer Jung Kokaltash" [جہانی خان ظفر جنگ کوکتاش] that Nalarak fort was snatched from Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] with the help of fort capturing equipment (catapult) and other arsenals in the twentieth year of 1088 Hegira. Then the same was included in the Alamgiri Sultanate whereas son of Kokaltash namely Mohammed Mohsin was killed during the encounter (***Volume No.1 Page No.802***).

Abdul Kareem Khan Meyarna Panni [عبدالکریم خان میاڑنہ پنّی] was the guardian of juvenile ruler of Bijapur. We have already explained in the context of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] that both of them had very friendly relations. The stability of the country was put at stake due to the brothers of lord, namely Khawas Khan Habshi [خواص خان حبشی] and by the Pathans of Bijapur [بیجاپور] and particularly due to power struggle between them and local Munsabdar Pathans. The

well-wishers of Abdul Kareem Khan Meyarna [عبدالکریم خان میاڑنہ] had advised him therefore to improve the relations with the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] in order to consolidate his control. The relationship was already on a very good footing. Jahani Khan Bahader Zafer Jung Kokaltash [جہانی خان ظفر جنگ کوکتاش] on the other hand had also sent his brother namely Ikhlas Khan [اخلاص خان] to Nalarak [نلارک] for initiating the negotiations with Abdul Kareem Khan Meyarna [عبدالکریم خان میاڑنہ] after being defeated by Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. The objective of the same was to pressurize Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] by using his influence and make him step down from the rule of Nalarak [نلارک]. Then they had decided to use the good offices of the uncle of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in order to enhance the pressure. Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] popularly known as Runmust Khan Kallan [المعروف بہ رنمست خان کلاں] was a very popular General at that time in the Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] era. He was able to prevail upon his nephews successfully. Then they had vacated the Nalarak [نلارک] fort ultimately. They were awarded *succêss de scandale* big Jagirs in return among other rewards. The investiture ceremony for the same was concluded by Allah-ud-Din Bakhsi [علاؤالدین بخشی] formally ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.180 Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.64)***.

Pathans were unhappy with Ali Khan [پٹھان علی خان سے ناراض تھے]:

The Nalarak [نلارک] fort was vacated but, the Pathan soldiers were unhappy with regard to the mode of eviction which Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] had adopted. They were also perturbed with regard to the fact that Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] had taken the custody of Nalarak [نلارک] fort by exercising his undue influence on his underage nephews. The nephews were also denied the Jagir in the town in said process. The said way of handling the issue of Nalarak [نلارک] fort had also infuriated the whole town. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had sent a squad under the command of Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] sometime thereafter to the fort of "Mulke" which was about ten miles from "Gulberka" [گلبرکہ]. The Pathan soldiers had cooperated with the royal army during said venture but, unwillingly. The same fact had encouraged their opponent Deccani nation for putting up an impenetrable defense. The battle had continued although for fort of "Mulke" for about two months yet, the royal lashker had failed to achieve the desired results. The commander of said venture was Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی]. He

was deputed for the command of right-hand side. The left-hand side command was assigned however to Abdul Kareem Khan Meyarna Panni [عبدالکریم خان میاڑنہ پنّی]. The Pathan soldiers and lower rank staff had the grievances that Nalarak [نلارک] fort was taken away from three young Pathans and the same was handed over to Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] by two high rank Pathans despite the fact that they had defeated General Kokaltash of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. They had also killed his son namely Mohsin during said encounter. Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] was able to deprive his nephews the Jagir successfully and thus, he was guilty of injustice. The said attitude had brought a negative impact on the expedition and the same had slowed down the pace of success considerably, though their attitude was softened with a great difficulty. The "Mulke Fort" was captured ultimately. Abdul Kareem Khan Meyarna Panni [عبدالکریم خان میاڑنہ پنّی] had died his natural death however in the meantime.

Appearance in the Durbar [دربار میں باریابی]:

Runmust Khan Panni [رنمست خان پنّی] brother of Khizer Khan Panni [خضّر خان پنّی] and Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] along-with Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابرھیم خان پنّی] and Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had made appearance in the royal Durbar in the month of Ramadan-ul-Mubarak 1093 Hegira (1681). They were awarded a Khilat [خلعت] along-with royal title (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالمگیری] ***Page No.157***).

Further rewards [مکررانعام واکرام**]**:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had received the title as "Ameer Asp-o-Feel" [امیر اسپ و فیل] duly (*Ameer of horses and elephants*) along-with a Robe (Khilat [خلعت]) in the following month of Shawal [شوال]. He was awarded as title of Khan Bahader [بہادر خان] subsequently. Then he was promoted to the rank of Punjhazari [پنج ہزاری] officer (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالمگیری] ***Page No.157***).

Governorship of Bijapur [بیجاپور کی گورنری]:

The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had raided Bijapur [بیجاپور] in 1095 Hegira (1682) and he had to face many problems. The respected Khan [خان] had also participated in the same. He had performed very actively and the raid had turned out to be a success. When the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was in need of further support, the respected Khan [خان] had sold his personal Jagir in Kernol in order to provide the requisite supply to the raiding army. The said supply had reached the battlefront on 18th of Rajab [رجب] 1096 whereas Shah Alam [شاہ عالم] son of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had also joined the attritional siege of fort on 22nd along-with his equipment. The said siege was lifted in the month of Moherram [محرم] 1097 Hegira (November 1685). Thus the Bijapur [بیجاپور] area was conquered and the respected Khan [خان] was appointed as its first Governor [صوبہ دار]. He had enjoyed the privilege of holding said rank and post for three years continuously.

Expedition against Talangana and rewards [تلنگانہ کے خلاف مہم اور انعام]:

The ruler of Golconda [گولکنڈا] namely Abul-Hassan Tana Shah [ابوالحسن تانا شاہ] had sought refuge in Talangana [تلنگانہ] in the twenty nine year i.e. 1096 Hegira (1686) during the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. The fort of Talangana [تلنگانہ] was raided and the same was conquered. When the victory was celebrated in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] after the conquest of Talangana [تلنگانہ] then according to a historian, the Prince Kam Bux [کام بخش] had awarded the titles and rewards to Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابرھیم خان پنّی] and Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] along-with respected Khan [خان]. The latter was awarded the rank of Do Hazari [دوہزاری اصل] (*Actual*) and See Sud Swar [سی صد سوار] officer (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالمگیری] ***Page No.158***).

More rewards [مذید انعام واکرام**]**:

The respected Khan [خان] was promoted and he was awarded *succêss d'estime* the royal employment along-with a Khilat [خلعت] during the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] era in the thirty first year i.e. 1097 Hegira (1686) in the month of Ramadan-ul-Mubarak [رمضان المبارک]. Then he was decorated with the title of *hapax legomenon* Aetbar Khan [اعتبار خان] (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالمگیری] ***Page No.197***).

Governorship of Kernatak Paeenghat [کرناٹک پائیں گھاٹ کی گوورنری]:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was appointed as a Fojdar [فوجدار] for the southern part of the country i.e. Paeenghat [پائیں گھاٹ] of Kernatak [کرناٹک] in the month of Zeqad [ذیقعد] 1097 Hegira (1686). The capital of the same was Sera [سرا]. Then he had appointed Mohammed Saeed [محمد سعید] popularly known as Saadat Ullah Khan [سعادت اللہ خان] as his subordinate. He had started concentrating thereafter on other areas which were under his control (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالمگیری] ***Page No.642 Tareekh Janoobi Hind*** [تاریخ جنوبی ہند] ***Page No.629***).

Attack on Madraas and conquest of Raheri [مدراس پر حملہ اور راہیری کی تسخیر]:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had attacked Madraas [مدراس] in 1099 Hegira (1687). The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had attacked Madraas in 1687 and his General Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had besieged the same from the side of Saint Thom according to Imperial Gazetteer of India (***Volume No.21 Page No.369***). He was able to conquer Raheri [راہیری] area for the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] in 1100 A.C.

Capture of Sera [سرا پر قبضہ**]**:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had captured the Sera [سرا] town of Bijapur [بیجاپور] in 1102 Hegira. The same was in the center of Bijapur [بیجاپور] whereas its capture was long overdue (***Taj*** [تاج] ***Page No.59 Tareekh Janoobi Hind*** [تاریخ جنوبی ہند] ***Page No.406***).

Leadership of province Bijapur [بیجاپور]:

The entire province of Bijapur [بیجاپور], besides the province of Kernatak [کرناٹک], was committed under Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] in the thirty fifth year, during the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر], i.e. in 1104 Hegira.

Rewards [انعام واکرام**]**:

The entire area in the south of Bijapur [بیجاپور] had become a part of Alamgiri sultanate within two years, with the efforts of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] and Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان]. The two Khans were rewarded lavishly pursuant to said achievement on 2nd Shawal [شوال] 1105 Hegira (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالگیری]).

Governorship of Hyderabad and Kernatak [حیدرآباد اور کرناٹک کی گوورنری]:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was appointed as a Governor for the entire area of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] and Kernatak [کرناٹک] in 1110 Hegira.

Raid against fort Chanchaie [قلعہ چنچئی کے خلاف فوج کشی]:

The expedition of Chanchaie [چنچئی] fort was also among the historical and mettle testing expeditions during the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. The same had also involved many tricky situations for the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. The war of attrition had lasted for about seven years during the siege. The Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] and the Prime Minister Asad Khan [اسد خان] and the Prince Kam Bux [کام بخش] had participated in said expedition. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had also set-up his camp *in propria persona* in the vicinity just a few miles away from said fort. The will of providence had involved Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] once again, to resolve even said enigmatic situation which had emerged during the siege (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.537 Turk Tazan-e-Hindh*** [ترک تازان ہند] ***Part No.3 Page No.282***). The area of Chanchaie [چنچئی] was also called Gunjaie [گنجئی] and Janjaie [جنجئی]. The fort of the same was located on the mountains in Madraas [مدراس]. The said fort was better than all the forts of the provincial areas of Kernatak [کرناٹک] because of its height as well as the storage capacity for dumping the ammunition and ration. Chanchaie [چنچئی] as a matter of fact was not only one fort rather there were seven other rocky fortalices which were raised like a formation of an iron wall around main fort which were made at the hilltop. Then there were number of fortalices (Gharries [گھڑیاں]) and all of them were called collectively as “Fort Chanchaie” [چنچئی] (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالمگیری] ***Page No.279***). The main fort was located in the middle of seven forts and said cluster of forts was actually an open deception. The main fort in terms of its strength grandeur and glorious embankments and

different Burjs [برج] had acquired the touristic importance for all times to come (***Tareekh Bijapur Serka***r [تاریخ بیجاپور سرکار] ***Page No.70 and 71 Volume No.1 Page No.260***). There were huge mountains on one of its side. The upper moat of the same was fortified properly and it was called as "Raj Keda" [راج کیدہ]. The access to the same was through a removable wooden plank therefore, to capture it was not an easy exercise. The ruler of the fort namely Raja Ram [راجہ رام] was quite self-reliant in terms of military resources. He had a proper chain of regular supply line. He had good relations with Merhatta Sardars of the surrounding areas. They were always ready to fight with tooth and nail for him. The reason for the same was that Raja Ram [راجہ رام] was son of Merhatta Sardar Sewage [سیواجی].

Aid from Asad Khan Wazir and Kam Bux [اسد خان وزیر اور کام بخش کی کمک]:

The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had assigned the task of conquering said fort initially to the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] in 1102 Hegira (1690). He had failed to embark upon said venture however till 1105 Hegira (1693). Then he was obliged to besiege the fort as per orders along-with necessary equipment and arsenals. He had taken more time unnecessarily in concluding the conquest (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالمگیری] ***Page No.247 Dastan Turk Tazan-e-Hindh*** [داستان ترک تازان ہند] ***Part No.3 Page No.253***). The siege was about to yield the desired results when the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was encamped at Kalkala [کل کالا] *in propria persona* about sixty miles away from the fort but Raja Ram [راجہ رام] had intervened regularly for impeding the continuity of the siege one way or the other. He had tried his level best to spoil the natural attritional impact of the siege. The Merhattas had surrounded Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] squarely at some point of time and he was compelled to retreat about one mile as a consequence of the same and which had also disrupted his supply line. When the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was able to learn about the same, he had sent a message to Asad Khan [اسد خان], the father of the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] and he had expressed his displeasure through the same, in the manner that "you have to participate in the expedition for the sake of love and affection of your son and you have to assist him practically". He had also ordered his beloved son namely Kam Bux [کام بخش] to show his solidarity with a sense of purpose (***Serkar*** [سرکار] ***Page No.74 Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالمگیری] ***Page No.247***). Asad Khan [اسد خان] and Kam Bux [کام بخش] along-with their respective

lashker had joined the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] in 1107-8 Hegira (1695-6) after making the necessary arrangements and pursuant to receiving the royal orders (***Serkar*** [سرکار] ***Page No.75***).

Anxiety of Alamgir [عالمگیر کو تشویش]:

The siege was prolonged unnecessarily up to 1110 Hegira just because of internal rifts and rivalries. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had summoned Asad Khan [اسد خان] and he had bestowed upon him many rewards. Then he had opted to go to Bijapur [بیجاپور] for fasting in the month of Ramadan-ul-Mubarak [رمضان المبارک]. The forts and Gharries [گھڑیاں] which were placed irregularly, the same were conquered however in the meantime (***Jonathan Page No.89***). The complexities of the battle and delay in the conquest notwithstanding the same had become the cause of concern for the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. The same fact was established from a letter which was addressed to Asad Khan [اسد خان]. He had expressed his views in the same, in the manner as below:

> "The application of Qasim Khan [قاسم خان] which Kam Bux [کام بخش] had sent to me for taking the responsibility with regard to the capture of "Chanchaie Fort" [چنچئی] was forwarded to you. The reality needed to be investigated otherwise it was just an attempt of belittling Kam Bux [کام بخش]. The people tend to go to any limit for meeting their vested interests" (***Ruqat-e-Alamgiri*** [رقعاتِ عالمگیری] ***Page No.52***).

Deplorable plans of some royal Generals [بعض شاہی جرنیلوں کے افسوسناک ارادے]:

The historians have criticized openly Asad Khan [اسد خان] and his son, namely the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] as well as Prince Kam Bux [کام بخش] for their acts of ill-will. Asad Khan [اسد خان] was cognizant of the fact that the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was unwell due to his old age. The news of his ill-health was also very much in circulation. (*The incident in question had pertained to the period of 1118 Hegira and (obit) the Emperor Alamgir* [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] *had died in 1118 Hegira at the age of ninety one*). The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was desirous to see the remote areas of his empire under his control as well. The Prince Kam Bux [کام بخش] was desirous

to be the sole heir in waiting for the throne after the death of his father. He had all the plans to deny the rights to his brothers. The grievance which he had against Asad Khan [اسد خان] and the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] was that they were sent to the battlefront to represent the Emperor yet they were reluctant to execute his plans and not only that they had tried even to sideline him. The father and son were of the view on the other hand that they were subjected to the authority of a Prince who was monitoring their moves incessantly. They had considered the same as interference in their well earned administrative authority. There was also a common perception with regard to Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] that he was likely to be sent to the north by the Emperor into the areas of Kandahar [قندھار] and Balkh [باخ] after concluding the expedition expeditiously therefore he was using the delaying tactics (***Jonathan Page No.89***). Sir Jadoonath Serkar had also given the reference in "Madraas Diary" on somewhat similar causes and effects with regard to the conquest of said fort. The written scripts of the English merchants and the collection of verbal accounts of officers had also brought forth similar reasons (***Serkar Page No.100 Foot Note***). We may not accept all the events, the way the same were presented even at that time. Then one of the statements of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had also endorsed the fact, the general opinion of the public was that the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] as well as some other Sardars had adopted, go slow tactics intentionally against Raja Ram [راجہ رام] and against other Merhatta Sardars ***(Turk Tazan-e-Hindh*** [ترک تازان ہند] ***Part No.3 Page No.281***).

The Emperor was aware of their intentions [شہنشاہ نیتوں سے آگاہ تھا]:

When "Chanchaie fort" [چنچئی] was conquered with the efforts of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] and Raja was allowed to go scot fee (*Detail of the same will follow later)* and the Emperor was informed about the same then, the Emperor had expressed his opinion without any hesitation in the manner as below:

> "The "Chanchaie fort" [چنچئی] was captured by the grace of Almighty whereas the God-forsaken Rana [رانا] was able to escape unhurt just because of some old champions who had turned away their faces intentionally. That was how they had managed to avail some

more time for concluding their business" (***Ruqat-e-Alamgiri*** [رقعاتِ عالمگیری] ***Page No.53 Durbar Asif Gulzar-I Gul Hasham*** [دربار آصف گلزاراول گل ہشم] ***Page No.484***).

According to author of Turk Tazan-e-Hindh [صاحب ترکتازان ہند کی رائے]:

The compiler of Turk Tazan-e-Hindh [صاحب ترکتازان ہند کی رائے] had expressed his views with regard to the aforementioned events in the manner as below:

"Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] who was one of the Sardars of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] if had not launched the artillery attack out of sheer contempt against the non-Muslims, then there was no doubt that not even a drop of blood was likely to be shed as long as the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] was at the front of the "Chanchaie fort" [چنچئی]. The information of such trivial nature was gathered from left and right and then the same was murmured into the ears of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] infrequently. He was against Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] out of desperation as a result of the same. The friends of Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت], who were in the Durbar at that time, had also informed Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] that if the Emperor was denied the implementation of fresh royal orders and the outcome of the expedition was also deferred under the pretext of Merhatta rampage and if "Chanchaie Fort" [چنچئی] was not captured swiftly then, all those failures were unlikely to help him escape the wrath of the Emperor" ***(Turk Tazan-e-Hindh*** [ترک تازان ہند] ***Part No.3 Page No.281 283***).

The said incident had pertained to the period of 1109 Hegira (1697).

Views of Historian Gerbil:

"The Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] was desirous to establish his autonomous rule in Kernatak [کرناٹک] at an appropriate time. He was indecisive therefore with regard to the siege of "Chanchaie fort" [چنچئی]. The Emperor

Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had conquered in the meantime, the areas of Sittara [ستارہ] Panala [پنالہ] Shall Gherr [شل گڑھ] Seen Gherr [سین گڑھ] Praeda [پرئیدہ] Rajgherr [راج گڑھ] Poona [پونا] and Wakanda Kara [وکند کارہ]. The Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] was busy marshaling the siege of the "Chanchaie Fort" [چنچئی] only during said period (***History of the Deccan Page No.321***).

Royal orders to approach the battlefront quickly [محاذ پر جلدی پہنچنے کا شاہی حکم]:

Raja Ram [راجہ رام] *idée reçue* had sent his sons to discuss the terms of truce and to bring the money from the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] in 1108 Hegira (1696). Those terms of truce were passed on to the Emperor and he had rejected the same out rightly. Then he had issued the orders to Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] for expediting the efforts of capturing the fort. The order in question was sent afresh in the month of Jamadi-ul-Awal [جمادی الاول] 1109 Hegira (November 1687). The Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] was constrained to reorganize the preparations as a result of the same. We have already mentioned above that the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was familiar with the intensions of his leading Sardars (***Turk Tazan-e-Hindh*** [ترک تازان ہند] ***Part No.3 Page No.281***). The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was convinced to the extent that the possibility of compliance of his orders was not there hence he had directed Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] ultimately, through a royal order to reach the battlefront forthwith. Then Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was able to capture the "Chanchaie fort" [چنچئی] thereafter within four days in pursuance of said order.

Rumors of the arrest of Wazir-e-Jung [وزیر جنگ کی گرفتاری کی افواہیں]:

When Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had reached the battlefront at Chanchaie [چنچئی] in pursuance of royal order then he had opted to inspect the battlefront on the horseback without wasting any time or without even whipping the dust off his shoes according to a historian. He had shared his initial field study immediately with Kishorsingh Had [کشورسنگھ ہادا] along-with Dileep Rao Bandella [دالپت راؤ بندیلا] and others. They had also endorsed his approach because he had pointed out the flaws in the strategy of Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت]. The said view-sharing exercise had sent the innovatory vibes in the

lashker which was encamped in the area of miles. The same had also converted the situation into rumors that Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was likely to arrest soon the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] and he was also likely to bring him all enchained before the Emperor (***Serkar*** [سرکار] ***Page No.102***). There was a general perception that the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] *mea culpa* was left with no other option but to strategize afresh after taking an enthusiastic and pragmatic reconnaissance tour of the battlefront. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had set up his center then in the south in accordance with his new tactics. The same was in the town of Chakali Warag [چکالی ورگ] which was about one mile away from Chanchaie [چنچئی]. They had neither the artillery unit nor they had the necessary arrangement for laying the siege according to the historians. He had maneuvered to encircle the area of Chanchaie [چنچئی] just on the strength of his proper planning and he had opted to dig up the trenches in front of the Reyan fort [قلعہ چندریان] (***Serkar*** [سرکار] ***Page No.106 107***).

Conquest of fort Chanderyan Krishna Geri and Chattan Gherr [قلعہ چندریان، کرشنا گیری اور چتن گڑھ کی تسخیر]:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had launched another attack and he was able to capture Reyan Fort [قلعہ چندریان]. Thus he had made the advancement towards Chanchaie [چنچئی] town after digging up trenches and after reaching the area of Reyan Fort [قلعہ چندریان]. The town was also under his control within no time. He was able to pass through the town effortlessly and then he had landed in the periphery of the main Chanchaie [چنچئی] fort. The Krishna Geri [کرشنا گیری] fort was also at a stone throwing distance from the same point. The locals had opted to vacate the area generally on the clamorous arrival of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. The herd and cattle and horses and other household effects were made available to the General Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. Then he was able to reach Chattan Gherr [چتن گڑھ] and he was desperate really for capturing the main Chanchaie [چنچئی] fort. When he was able to circumambulate the fort on foot several times in order to find any secret access into the fort then the reality had dawned on him that there was a proper secret passage from the jungle side and the same was a secret access into the fort. He had launched an immediate attack on the fort thereafter through said passage. The defenders of the fort in the wake of said attack had opted to shift to the safest place *enceinte* well within the fort. The same was called “Kalikot”

[کالی کوٹ] which was at a very high pedestal. The lashker of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was able to capture their five elephants besides killing many defenders in the fort. Those who were able to escape, they had sought refuge in a building which was known as "Raj Gherr" [راج گڑھ] (***Jonathan Page No.97 Serkar*** [سرکار] ***Page No. 107 108 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2).***

Conquest of Chanchaie [چنچئی مسخر ہو گیا]:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had cracked down upon "Kalikot" [کالی کوٹ] like a thunder bolt by using his entire mettle and might. Then he was able to capture the same with a lightening flash. He had discovered in the process that the family of Raja Rama [راجاراما] had moved further up at a place which was known as "Gharry" [گڑھی]. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had crossed the moat which was around said "Gharry" [گڑھی] with the help of a ladder and then he was able to reach inside. He had used the ladder because the defenders of the fort had removed the wooden plank. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had come to know after entering the "Gharry" [گڑھی] that there were three wives four sons and two daughters of Raja Rama [راجاراما] along-with number of other people. They were hiding inside the fort helplessly. He had taken them into his custody and then he had committed them all into safe custody honorably. There was one wife of Raja Rama [راجاراما] who had jumped from the "Gharry" [گڑھی] out of sheer panic. She had banged her head onto a rock and then she had fallen down onto a tree where her dead body was left hanging for several days. When the family members were enquired about Raja Rama [راجاراما] they had revealed that he had already managed his escape clandestinely through a secret opening. The abovementioned letter from the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was in the context of said clandestine escape (***Jonathan Page No.97).*** The Chanchaie [چنچئی] fort was conquered on 14th of Moherram [محرم] 1110 Hegira (1668). The same was included in the Empire of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] after the siege of ten long years. The success in the victory of Chanchaie [چنچئی] fort was a result of an honest and brave effort of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] (***Jonathan Page No.97 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.537 Gerbil Page No.320 Turk Tazan-e-Hindh*** [ترک تازان ہند] ***Part No.3 Page No.282)***.

Sahib Maddar Chanchaie Fort [صاحب مدار قلعہ چنچئی]:

The function was arranged after a few days for celebrating the victory and an address to pay tribute of victory was made in the honor of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] under the instructions of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. The arrangements were made for two functions with eatables. There was one function which was in the honor of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] whereas the other function was in the honor of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] directly. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had changed the name of Chanchaie [چنچئی] to Nusrat Gherr [نصرت گڑھ] on said auspicious occasion. Then he had committed said newly conquered area under the administrative control of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was awarded the title as "Sahib Maddar Chanchaie Fort" [صاحب مدار قلعہ چنچئی] on the said occasion (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.534)***. The author Gulzar Asfia [گلزارِآصفیہ] had expressed his views in this regard in the manner as below:

"وحب الحکم حضرت خلد مکان فتح نامہ بنام داؤد خان بہادرخواندہ اشتہار دادند"

Translation:

> The sermon of victory was recited in the name of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] as per orders of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. A declaration was also made public with regard to the same.

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] and the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] and Dileep Rao Bandella [دالپت راؤ بندیلا] were awarded each a Khilat [خلعت] with certificates of appreciation along-with jewels ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.310 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.537 538).*** The author of Maser Alamgiri [ماثر عالگیری] had expressed his views further that Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was also awarded a horse along-with a sword and his brother namely Bahader Khan Panni [بہادر خان پنّی] was awarded an additional one hundred horses with drum beating [نقارہ] privilege (***Page No.366***).

Bijapur and Kernatak were committed under Khan [بیجاپور اور کرناٹک خان کی تحویل میں]:

The state of Bijapur and Kernatak **[**بیجاپور اور کرناٹک**]** was handed over to Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] instead of Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] in 1111 Hegira in fortieth year of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] era ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.65).***

Conquest of Perli and Bhosan Gherr fort and rewards [پرلی اور قلعہ بھوسان گڑھ کی تسخیر اور انعام]:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had opted to move with the lashker towards Perli [پرلی] fort after the conquest of Chanchaie [چنچئی] in 1111 Hegira in the fortieth year of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] era. He had set up his tents in front of the gate of the fort after travelling for about three days. The royal lashker had landed into a deep crisis due to torrential rains. The dearth of ration grains and grass had bamboozled the whole lashker. The river along-side of which the lashker was encamped had also started overflowing. The same had further aggravated the situation. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was also involved in the expedition because said fort was more important than Sittara [ستارہ] fort. The besieged enemy was evicted notwithstanding the same from the fort and the Alamgiri [عالمگیری] flag was hoisted on the same on 3rd of Moherram [محرم] 1112 Hegira. The said fort was also under Bijapur [بیجاپور**]** and Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was awarded due rewards after the victory celebrations (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالگیری] ***Page No.31***3).

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had opted to march on towards Bhosan Gherr [بھوسان گڑھ] on 19th of Safer [صفر] 1112 Hegira after the conquest of Perli [پرلی] fort. He was able encamp on a plain which was in the vicinity. The torrential rains had followed them even in said area and it had exposed them to a hazardous situation. The riverbed was dry prior to the rain and the soldiers of the lashker had set up their tents on the same. Then the rainwater had claimed its course and a flash flood had also multiplied the miseries of royal lashker. The Merhatta Sardar namely Dahta Jaoda [دہتہ جاودہ] was objurgated despite all the odds and the Alamgiri [عالمگیری] lashker was able to hoist the flag of victory on Bhosan Gherr [بھوسان گڑھ] fort after conquering the same. When the royal Durbar was arranged on the following morning to celebrate the victory, Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] and the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat

[وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] and Dileep Rao Bandella [دالپت راؤ بندیلا] were there to make their appearance before the Emperor to offer their respects. He had honored them each in return with a Khilat [خلعت] as well as certificates of appreciation along-with jewels (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالگیری] ***Page No.395 Nafees Academy Karachi***).

Subaydari of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن کی صوبہ داری]:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was granted the governorship of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] province under the supervision of Prince Kam Bux [کام بخش] in 1118 Hegira in the forty eighth year of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] era, and was formally posted there ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.65 and Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالگیری] ***Page No.310)***. He was vested with the authority to enjoy the absolute and autonomous control over the entire large area in the south. The capital of the same was "Arkaat" [ارکاٹ] at that time. He was able to make a number of achievements from said place. He was a Viceroy of several provinces. There was no check on his financial and military authority. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had served in said area with grace and grandeur for about five years even after the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.5 Page No.59***).

Arrest of a traitor [غدار کی گرفتاری]:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was able to reach "Arkaat" [ارکاٹ] in 1113 Hegira (1701) in the month of January after rendering number of glorious performances. He was Governor of several provinces in the southern part. He had set up his camp at the foot of a local grand fort. The same place was a centre of access for interior Madraas [مدراس] which was about 34 miles away from the same point (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.137 138***). He had received a message there, from the Durbar, to arrest a traitor Sardar, namely Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] immediately. The said traitor was Sardar of three hundred Rasala [رسالہ] in the army of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. He had several elephants. He was also privy to some Merhatta ploy. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had simply summoned him and then arrested him at the spot. He had put shackles around his feet after the arrest and then had detained him in "Arkaat" [ارکاٹ] fort. Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] had a clandestine liaison

with Merhatta Sardars and with other traitors of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] era. The said view was correct perhaps because the Merhattas had made the incessant efforts subsequently for his release from the detention. Then Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] was able to dodge the guards of the fort ultimately and he was able to escape and joined the Merhatta army. The Merhattas had provided him, in fact, an iron cutting file through a milkman while he was in the captivity. He was able to rub thin hooks of shackles with the help of file, gradually and was able to escape after breaking the same (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.5 Page No.77 78***). Then one day when the Governor of the fort Wilore [ویلور] was asleep he was able to capture the fort in connivance with the commander of said fort Wilore [ویلور] and with the help of some Merhattas (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.5 Page No.5 92***).

Connections with the Dutch, French and British [ولندیزی، فرانسیسی اور انگریز اقوام سے رابطہ**]**:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had to interact with the European people during his five years stay in southern Hindh. The same had resulted in a number of interesting achievements and most of them were a worthy lesson from history. When we compare the stern, but open brave and plain way of working, which normally was a pride of a soldier as against the shrewd and cunning mentality of European people, we reach the definite conclusion that there was a mark difference always between the working styles of both sides. Then “east is east and west is west” according to an English poet namely Rudyard Kipling and the amalgamation of east with west had always an impossible adventurism. The same was true at that time and the same was correct at the time of independence of Pakistan and even today. The European politics has always pivoted around the rigmarole of shrewdness and not on the dedication of a straightforward soldier. The Muslims on the other hand, take pride in the frankness, openness and in the display of bravery.

The Dutch, French and British people were present in the Subcontinent in those days for trade purposes. They were competitors against each other. They were all out to take the lead against each other while they were exploiting the resources in the Subcontinent. They had the latent designs in said process of even colonizing the whole area. They had made very lucrative and tempting offers to Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] in the backdrop of aforementioned competition. They were also not hesitant even to rely on other lowly tactics in

this regard. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had accepted some of their offers yet he had rejected most of the offers out rightly. The ones he had rejected were the offers which were made by the French people. He had also returned their tribute money and had communicated to their representatives, his inability to accept the same. He had directed Monsieur Martin for writing to the Governor of Pondicherry for the appointment of some more knowledgeable person in order to settle some important matters (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.230 Volume No.5 Page No.81***). Monsieur Martin the Governor of Pondicherry had sent a Hindu namely Anomund (Hunumand) [انومند] along-with expensive gifts on receiving said information. When Anomund (Hunumand) [انومند] was able to reach the camp of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] however he was not granted the permission to meet Nawab. He was told threateningly rather to inform the French people to return the Dutch ship "Phoenix" along-with valuable goods which they had pirated after hijacking the ship. He was threatened further to make them ready to face the attack as well as destruction of Pondicherry fort. The French people were thus compelled to involve some intermediaries pursuant to said threat and thus they were able to settle the difference with Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] subsequently (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.230***).

Rejected Gifts of the English General of Madraas [انگریز گورنر مدراس کے تحفے مسترد]:

The Veteran Italian namely Dr. Manucci Nicolas was present in southern Hindh in those days and was there since long. He had also served as a special Tubib [طبیب] for the ruling Mughal elite and used to give extraordinary respect to Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. *Idée reçue* he used to address him as his uncle even as a mark of respect (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.117***). The British intruders had tried to make use of their relationship with him. They had convinced Dr. Manucci to approach Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] and to take the appointment to show solidarity on behalf of their East India Company. They had directed a Brahman clerk namely Ramapat [راماپت] in this regard to accompany him along-with some valuable gifts. Ramapat [راماپت] *éminence grise* was their reliable person because he had already served the company as an employee. Those gifts consisted of two cannons, a number of roles of cloth of different colors including the reddish orange (Arghwani [ارغوانی]) as well as roles of Chinese and European cloth, beautiful mirrors of different sizes, crystal crockery of different artwork, some valuable weapons i.e. guns pistols and swords etc. other than a sum of Rupees five

thousand which was supposed to be offered in cash. Then there were three written articles from Governor Mr. Pitt which were dated 14th January 1701 and two of them were addressed to Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] whereas third one was addressed to one of the members of his Dewan namely Mir Saeed Khan [میر سعید خان] (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.838***). *Those articles are also available in Daily Madraas at page No.360 to 365*. Dr. Manucci Nicolas had opted to see Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] on his arrival at Delhi [دہلی]. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had accommodated him very well. Then Dr. Manucci Nicolas was able to prevail on Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] by using his charm and charisma. He was able to convince him to create some room in his heart for the British intruders while he had presented the gifts (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.138-139***). Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was convinced somehow or the other to change his mind but, he had expressed his displeasure notwithstanding the same with regard to the activity of East India Company (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.141***).

Displeasure of Khan [خان کا اظہار غیظ و غضب]:

The displeasure of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was based on the fact that the British intruders were living in the country of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] which was a lucrative place for trade but they were involved in some disruptive activities as well. The British intruders had cast aside the fact perhaps that the Governor of Kernatak was a Viceroy and besides that, neither they had made their Government accountable for its acts nor had they made available their accounts for any audit since the conquest of Golconda in 1686 (1098 Hegira). They had generated the income besides that, from other sources as well. The same used to be a substantial amount annually. The duty of the Viceroy was to watch the interest of the Emperor besides watching his own interest. Then the British intruders were under the impression that they were absolved from their entire debt liability after making the payment of (Pata [پتا]) of Rupees four thousand eight hundred only. The same was their mistake in fact, because they were denying the Emperor thus his due portion of income. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had snubbed Ramapat [راماپت] *éminence grise* who had accompanied Dr. Manucci Nicolas in the backdrop of aforementioned state of affairs. He was disinclined to accept all the gifts. He had directed him to take the same back to the Governor with the message that Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was desirous to see him soon in Madraas to settle all

the previous accounts. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had not allowed Dr. Manucci Nicolas to go back to Madraas and he had made him stay with him because he was required for the treatment of some patients (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.142***). He had sent back Ramapat [راماپت] formally on 3rd February 1701.

Order for immediate attack against Madraas and cancelation [مدراس پر فوری حملے کا حکم اور تنسیخ]:

Ramapat [راماپت] was sent back to his tent after receiving the snubs from Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had summoned forthwith his Uzbek Captain namely Mir Moeen [میر معین]. He had instructed him to reach Madraas quickly along-with two hundred cavalrymen and two thousand infantrymen to put an embargo on the import and export in the area. Then he had given him the assurance that he was supposed to follow him personally in order to ensure the compliance of his orders. Since the night had fallen when the order was issued therefore, their good luck had rescued the British intruders because Captain Mir Moeen [میر معین] was not in a position to leave instantly. Dr. Manucci Nicolas was able to change however the mindset of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] during the post dinner conversation. He had implored him probably to refrain from sending Captain Mir Moeen [میر معین] to Madraas and even to follow him personally. He had also highlighted probably the international implications as a result of disruption in the import and export activities and the same were also likely to invite complications for his person, as well as for his post (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.143***). When the British intruders had landed in the area, same was like a desert according to Dr. Manucci Nicolas. They had developed the area and the beneficiary of said development was also the Emperor. The import and export from Madraas city were generating alone more than (Pata [پتا]) Rupees one hundred thousand per annum as revenue. The same used to be deposited in the treasury and in case the British intruders were compelled to vacate the area, the same was likely to result in the loss of revenue. Then there were many craftsmen and artisans according to him who had a comfortable living because of the British intruders and their annual income was more than (Pata [پتا]) Rupees one million. The said amount was considered as a trade volume which was always in circulation in the country. The British people were exporting out the cotton cloth in exchange only. The exit of the British people was also likely to make other nations, follow the suit and was also likely to render the

entire industrial activity to end up in smoke. Then they were also likely to seize the commercial ships in high seas as a retaliatory measure. The analysis of Dr. Manucci Nicolas had mesmerized the General Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] and he was left with no other option but to withdraw his orders with regard to the expedition of Captain Mir Moeen [میر معین] to Madraas (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.144 146***). The aforementioned *non sequitur* was the most critical juncture in the history of Hindustan.

End of the dispute between Hindus and Christians [عیسائیوں اور ہندوؤں کے نزاع کا اختتام]:

The Jesuit sect of Christianity was preaching in Pondicherry since a long time and there were several local Hindus who converted to Christianity. The local Hindus had turned against the members of the Jesuit Christians at the instigation of Raja of Malabar [مالابار] in 1701. They had demolished their Churches and had looted their houses. The Bishop of the local Church namely Bishop Martin had sent the complaint in this regard to Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] through Dr. Manucci Nicolas. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had issued stern warnings to Raja Tanjor [راجہ تنجور] in the light of said complaint and he had warned his representative who used to be in the Durbar of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] that in case the quick remedial measures were not provided to redress the grievances of Christians then, Raja Tanjor [راجہ تنجور] was supposed to be decapitated. The said warning was strong enough to bring about quick normalcy and order ***(Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.115 118***). The Bishop had submitted an unacceptable request thereafter. The same was turned down however after demanding an explanation from Raja Tanjor [راجہ تنجور]. *The detail of the same will follow later*.

Offers to Khan [خان کے حضور پیشکشیں]:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had arrived at Tanjod [تنجود] *in propria persona* to collect the tribute money about four months after the aforementioned incident. When Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was returning to Kadlor [کدلور] after receiving the tribute money, the British Governor Mr. FraZair had dispatched some Mansabdars [منصبدار] as delegates to extend his good wishes. Mr. FraZair had also sent besides that, an elephant along-with European cloth as well as some money in cash as a gift ***(Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page***

No.149). When Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was able to reach Pondicherry the Dutch Governor had also sent some delegates *empressment* to give him the honor as a gesture of goodwill along-with some gifts. Then the Douche residents of the area had also presented some gifts to him (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.150***). Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was able to reach Saint Thom on 12th of July 1701. The Governor of Saint Thom had also sent a delegation along-with some gifts on 3rd July. The same was consisted of Mr. Dewan second-in-council Mr. Alice and Mr. Lambert (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.150***). Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] being a high profile General had showed his resentment however, on the presentation of those trivial gifts and rejected them. He had showed his displeasure even to the extent that how the Governor of the area was supposed to send such trivial gifts to the top General of the Mughal Empire and that too through a most undesirable person like a Brahman, Ramapat [راماپت]. He had given them however, some embroidered rolls of cloth along-with other valuables *objet d'art* as a gesture of grace for making them understand his rank and post. He was desirous to get perhaps the recognition as a measure of reciprocity. The delegates had tried to defend their position somehow or the other by explaining the nature of their gifts but, Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had refused to entertain any justification. The delegates had found the way out then, by adding some more gifts and had supplemented the ones they had already offered. Thus they had tried to recognize duly the elevated position of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. They had beseeched him thereafter to accept the same (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.151***).

Grand reception [شاندار استقبال**]**:

The British Governor had showed his inability through his letter dated 8th July 1701 with regard to his personal presence at Saint Thom for the reception of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. The same was an excuse which was based more on an apprehension because he was under the impression of being arrested by Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had informed the British Governor on 9th July that if he was unable to receive him then, he should be prepared to be sorted out after his arrival in Madraas. The Governor had sent Dr. Manucci Nicolas to represent him in Saint Thom. The British Counselor who was detailed in the fort along-with his army was also present as his representative. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was given a grand reception before

his advancement towards Madraas, where he was given a tumultuous welcome. The armed guards were lined up on both sides of the fort and some of them were posted *en attendant* on the walls of the fort. When Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had travelled past them they had presented him *feu de joie* the guard of honor. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had alighted then from the horse along-with his soldiers and the Governor Mr. Pitt had walked up to him to embrace him and walked with him into Madraas fort. They had accommodated Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] in a very well decorated room amidst other ceremonial activities (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.152***). He was presented the salutations thereafter with twenty one cannon shots (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.153***). Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was invited to inspect the weapon museum where he was presented two lances. The said ceremony was followed by lavish refreshments. Then Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had opted to go back after taking a little rest. The departure of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] from Mr. Pitt was also a scene of very interesting display of military routines. The objective of the same was to honor Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. Mr. Pitt had arranged a proper supplication ceremony in this regard for his safe return and Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had also showed his solidarity in return. He had given a solemn assurance to the British people to have a fearless stay during his tenure in office. The cunningness of Mr. Pitt had overwhelmed the simplicity of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] "سادگی اپنی دیکھ اوروں کی عیاری بھی دیکھ" The Governor Mr. Pitt had adopted the alert position till the time Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had ascended onto his horse properly. Mr. Pitt was desirous to hold even the reins of the horse of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] according to Dr. Manucci Nicolas but the latter had stopped him from doing the same. Then he was presented twenty one cannon shots as a farewell salutation. There were several gunmen *empressment* up to Saint Thom who were posted there to guard the procession of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.154***).

Khan had turned against the British intruders [خان انگریزوں کے خلاف ہو گیا]:

Dr. Manucci Nicolas had learnt through a reliable source at the end of January 1702 that, Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] along-with his Dewan [دیوان] and lashker had left "Arkaat" [ارکاٹ] and he was making the advancement towards Madraas. There was an imminent threat that

he was likely to cause damage to the city (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.155***). The advancement of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was pursuant to the letter Dated.17.11.1701 which he had received from Asad Khan Wazir [اسد خان وزیر]. The trade relations with the European nations were supposed to be severed according to the same which was due to some high sea piracy, in violation of their written agreement. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was directed further to get a sum of seven lac Pagodas from them as a measure of compensation along-with cost of loss which they had sustained due to piracy. He had instructed Governor Pitt on receiving said letter to reach Saint Thom urgently. Governor Pitt had showed his disinclination with regard to the compliance of his instructions. He had extended the excuse that neither he had a competent person who was conversant with the language of Muslims nor was he himself competent enough to do the needful. He had only one person namely, Khawaja Ahmed [خواجہ احمد] through whom all what was required to be performed was likely to be carried into effect. He was under the apprehension that he was likely to be compelled to sign any documentation with regard to the piracy. Then there was another apprehension that the responsibility was likely to be shifted to the British intruders as a consequence of the same. There was also the possibility of his arrest and the British intruders were likely to lose Madraas as a consequence thereof. He was reluctant to face him in the wake of those foreseeable scenarios. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had written to Mr. Pitt that Khawaja Ahmed [خواجہ احمد] was not the right person to handle the job. The said letter had further confirmed all his other apprehensions. He had taken all the precautionary measures to protect Madraas fort and he had inspected all the arrangements to protect it in this regard. The situation had worsened even to the extent that the mock alarms were also turned on to evaluate the alertness in the security arrangements in case of sudden attack. They had carried out the rehearsal in other words (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.156-158***).

Capture of some villages and military raid against Madraas [بعض دیہات پر قبضہ اور مدراس پر فوج کشی]:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] on receiving the news about the aforementioned security arrangements and rehearsals had seized one night about seven carts of very fine quality cloth of East India Company. The same were passing by Saint Thom area. He had moved out his cavalry and infantrymen and was able to capture three villages of Madraas on the following

morning i.e. Agmore Persaywakam and Trapelicane. The said area actually consisted of seven villages. The village which was captured firstly was located in the west and the same was just two miles away from Madraas city. He had also cut off food supply to the surrounding areas. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had left "Arkaat" [ارکاٹ] on 2nd January 1702 and had reached Madraas. The French people of Pondicherry had also woken up in the meantime assess the situation. The factual position was that the French pirates had caused a major loss to the Muslim merchants of Seurat [صورت] during the preceding year. They had shutdown their trade centers in a reactionary mode. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was there to ensure the return of plundered goods to their actual owners. He had sent a letter to the Dutch people of Nagapatum [نگا پٹم] as well as to the "Deon" people of Nakobad [نکوباد]. The said letter had revealed those facts. He had sought their help in the event of any fight against the British army and naval ships. The British intruders on the other hand were also trying to justify their stance. Dr. Manucci Nicolas amidst said correspondence had mesmerized Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] once again with his gift of gab. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had relaxed the tough sanctions resultantly without lifting the siege at Madraas. He had also released four British people who were apprehended from Kadlor [کڈلور]. He had gifted them expensive Shawls [شال] as a gesture of good will (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.158-161***).

Trepidation and French Governor [فرانسیسی گورنر بھی خوفزدہ ہو گیا]:

The measures, which Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had taken, also scared the French Governor Monsieur Martin who had sent some delegates along-with some gifts to Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. Then a merchant namely Monsieur Desper had arrived at Saint Thom on 15th March 1702 as a representative of royal company to deliver some gifts. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had given him a horse on his return which was worth Rupees one thousand at that time along-with a pair of clothes for Governor Martin. He had gifted one pair of clothes to said merchant as well. He had also given him a letter of goodwill in order to restore the confidence of Monsieur Martin (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No. 161***).

Meeting of Khan with the Dutch delegation [ولندیزی وفد خان کے حضور میں]:

The aforementioned measures of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had transmitted mixed signals to the European nations as well. The same had created the general perception to avoid the displeasure of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. Dr. Manucci Nicolas had also traveled to Saint Thom to meet Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] and Dutch Governor of Nagapatum [نگا پٹم] with the same perception. He had also sent his special envoys under the leadership of Mosher Dawn Warburg along-with ten Anglo-Indians, three armed guards to carry many gifts safely for Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. Daoud Khan [داؤد خان] had welcomed them and he had accommodated them with hospitality. Then he had relaxed the tough sanctions including the siege at Madraas fort. The daily commodities were allowed to be transported back and forth. The English Governor Mr. Pitts had also started showing his normal behavior as a result of the same but the Dutch, French and English people on the other hand, were scared of Daoud Khan [داؤد خان]. They had tried desperately to be in the good books of Daoud Khan [داؤد خان] in order to disprove that they were not in league with each other as his opposition. Daoud Khan [داؤد خان] had bid farewell to the Dutch delegates on 3rd April 1702 but quite indifferently (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No. 26163 166).*** He had turned down their request for the grant of more villages. The siege of Madraas was relaxed but the same was not removed. Daoud Khan [داؤد خان] had made it clear to Mr. Pitt categorically that the terms of siege were supposed to be honored till the formal withdrawal of royal order by the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر].

Request of Rani Terchanapali [رانی ترچنا پلی کی استدعا]:

There used to be a Rani by the name of Rani Terchanapali [رانی ترچنا پلی] in the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] era and used to pay revenue [باجگزار]. She had sent an application to Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] on 30th April through which she had requested him to help her out by visiting the area in person and by examining the intensity of tussle which she was handling against Raja Adyar Paleem [راجہ ادیار پالیم]. The said Raja was also a revenue payer [باجگزار] in the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] era. The application was written in a very polite and humble manner as per different historical versions. The Raja had occupied actually some cities of Rani Terchanapali [رانی ترچنا پلی] by force. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had sent some soldiers to help out said Rani but he had

avoided the personal visit due to some reasons (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No. 167 168).***

Peace pact with the British Governor [انگریز گورنرکے ساتھ صلح نامہ]:

The period of about two months had elapsed since Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had besieged Madraas fort. He had bombed the city however in 1687 at the time when the siege was laid at Saint Thom (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.16 Page No.369***). The British Governor was quite upset due to the siege. He had made some offers in this regard and he had signed the pact with Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. The formal agreement was signed on 17th May 1702 and Daoud Khan [داؤد خان] had lifted the siege thereafter. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had left behind his representative to complete the formalities. The representative of Mr. Pitt had followed him to Moza Triply Kafi [موضع ترپلی کافی] which was in between the area of Saint Thom and Madraas. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was able to reach "Big Mount" along-with his lashker by that time. The representative of Governor had backed out even from his offers pursuant to said swift march which he had undertaken at the time of signing the pact (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No. 168169)***. The aforementioned events were a proof of cunning moves of Europeans. Had Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] used his foresight rightly at the outset and had taken the appropriate measures against the foreigners at the request of Rani Terchanapali [رانی ترچنا پلی] to establish his political writ in the south, the same would have given a new dimension definitely to the history of the Subcontinent.

Conquest of Khailna and fort Kalyore [کھیلنا اورقلعہ ویلور کی تسخیر]:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had received the orders on 1st day of July 1702 to conquer Kalyore [قلعہ ویلور]. He had conquered the fort once again on 14th August (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.5 Page No. 98 105).*** Kalyore [قلعہ ویلور] was among the strongest forts. The walls of the same were built in steps. There was about fifty feet wide moat around the fort and the same was also very deep. There were amazingly some natural fountains in said moat and the moat used to remain filled always with water. There used to be many crocodiles in the moat (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No. 243)***. The conquest of the fort had eliminated the connection of Merhattas from Kernatak. There was not a single fort thereafter which was not

under their control (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No. 179)***. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had also conquered the entire area of Khailna [کھیلنا]. He had sent a write up to the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] after capturing the fort Kalyore [قلعہ ویلور] along-with golden keys of the fort. The said write up was in the manner as below:

"The pleasure and happiness which I had derived by adding another shining diamond in the majesty of the Emperor, the same cannot be put in words. The said achievement was not an addition in the already accomplished status of the Emperor yet it was a moment of pride for me to have fulfilled the intent in letter and spirit of royal order. I was able to bring a very strong fort under the royal domain. I hope said achievement will also bring a sense of joy to the Royal Highness. You will accept the golden keys of fort Kalyore [قلعہ ویلور] with the sentiment with which I had sent the same"

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had prayed for the health and happiness of his royal highness at the end of write up and for his long rule (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No. 179 180)***.

Amazing wish [ایک عجیب منت**]**:

When Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had decided to conquer fort Kalyore [قلعہ ویلور] he had promised prior to the conquest to arrest all the dacoits and bandits of the area and he had made a declaration to throw them in the moat of the fort for the consumption of crocodiles. Then after the conquest of the fort he had not only fulfilled his promise but he had made the arrangements to witness personally the scenes of crocodiles attacking the dacoits and bandits in the moat (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No. 244)***. Dr. Manucci Nicolas had mentioned that he had seen Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] himself throwing alive the goats and mutton into the moat for those crocodiles just for fun sake.

Demand for the return of the villages from the Company [کمپنی سے دیہات کی واپسی کا مطالبہ]:

Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was in the city of Kerpa [کڑپا] in the month of February 1703 which was about 120 Ferlangs from Madraas. He had sent a verbal message to the

Governor of East India Company that he was desirous to capture three villages which his predecessor commander-in-chief namely the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] had granted to the Anerpabal Company of England. He had proposed the peaceful return of the same in order to avert any war. The Governor had maintained a complete silence in this regard. Then Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had sent a letter to the French Governor of Pondicherry namely Fezenkais Martin and he had inculcated the same intention and had also disclosed his intentions to annex the adjoining areas of Pondicherry (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No. 240)***. Those messages were not followed up however with due diligence. Had Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] taken back those areas, the same would have brought a very amiable and lasting impact in the Subcontinent.

Control on Adni and Golconda etc. [عدنی اور گولکنڈہ پراختیارات]:

The Governorship of Adni [عدنی] (Bijapur Kernatak [بیجاپور کرناٹک]) was also assigned to Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] in August 1704 (1116 Hegira). The Merhattas had attacked him just about ninety miles away from his destiny when he was on his way to take charge as a Governor. He had just a few soldiers with him at that time. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had stationed his troops near a fort which was known as Dhram Madam [دھرم مادام]. He was able to defend his position there very bravely. He had made the attackers flee from the area. The control of Golconda was also handed over to Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] thereafter. He was assigned different tasks besides that which he was able to complete without much difficulty (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No. 363)***. *We may ignore the detail description of the same here in order to avoid unnecessary details.* Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was also assigned the control of Deccan during forty fifth year of Alamgiri era. The aforementioned achievements by an individual of Panni nation were a most unforgettable chapter in the history of Hindustan. The same was not given however the due recognition in our history.

Important role in conquering Warkaneker [تسخیر واکینکر میں نمایاں کردار]:

The great efforts of said renowned General had not come to an end rather there was a more important role in the offing for him. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]

had besieged Warkaneker [واکینکر] and the conquest of the same was considered as inconclusive for a very long period due to some reasons. Then he had decided to lay the siege ultimately in forty ninth year of his reign i.e. in 1116 Hegira 1702 in order to obtain the desired results. He had ordered his leading lords and officers to prepare a final assault. The royal lashker had landed in front of the fort on 24th of Shawal [شوال] after necessary preparations and after covering the journey of three months and few days. Then they had started making necessary arrangements by digging the trenches immediately to strengthen the siege. The leading Sardars were all enthused even to lay their lives in this regard. The importance of said expedition was assessable from the angle that the Prime Minister Asad Khan [اسد خان] and the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had participated in the same *in propria persona* and they had setup their camps at a distance of quarter a mile from the fort (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالگیری] ***Page No.361 Syed Al-Mutakhereen*** [سیدالمتاخرین] (*Persian)* ***Volume No.1 Page No.360 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.527)***. The Merhattas had sought the collaboration of Sadaat [سادات] (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.528***). The other Merhatta Sardars namely Taha Jadoo [تہہ جادو] and Hindu Rao [ہندوراؤ] had also come to their aid in thousands on 23rd Zeqad [ذیقعد]. The two sides had fought fiercely. The guns were at ablaze day and night, while showering the gunpowder. The two sides had remained engaged actively and they had the time neither to attend the dead nor to avert death. The guns smoke had blackened the sky and both sides had sustained heavy casualties. The enemy had showered the stones and cannon balls which had rendered many a combatant wounded and maimed. Then there was a gunshot which had rendered useless totally one arm of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-I [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول]. The same was not a battle rather it was a catastrophe let loose against human beings (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.528 533***). We may avoid the descriptive account of the battle. Khafi Khan [خافی خان] had summed up the battle scene nicely through following stanza:

زبس کشتہ افتاء در کوہ دشت
جہاں گفت بس بس کہ از حد گزشت

Translation:

Rule of death was in the desert and mountain!
It was a limit, world had cried abstain, refrain!

(***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.536***).

The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was desperate to get the maximum as well as all kinds of help because the situation was very critical for the royal lashker despite their best efforts. The news about the arrival of lashkers of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] and the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] had transformed the battle front. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had sent a handwritten missive according to the author of Tuzk Mahboobia [تزک محبوبیہ] through which he had reiterated his demand to ensure salvation. He had used the words as [اے کس بیکساں، داؤد خان، ذود خودرابرساں] (*Oh helper of disadvantaged Daoud Khan, be there quickly*) (***Page No.301***). Khafi Khan [خافی خان] had expressed his views in this regard in the manner as below:

> "No sooner the news about the arrival of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] and the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] along-with their lashkers was circulated, the royal order was issued for them to move quickly" (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.534***).

He had expressed his views further that:

> "The word was circulated very quickly apropos the arrival of Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] the Madaar [مدار] for the fort Chanchaie [چنچئی] Jamshaid Khan Bijapur [بیجاپور] and Mir Shamshair Bahader Khan Panni [میر شمشیر بہادر خان پنّی] of the same district Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابرھیم خان پنّی] the younger brother of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]) and Mohammed Yusuf [محمد یوسف] the Qaladar [قلعہ دار] of Mohammed Nagar Kernol [محمد نگر کرنول] were supposed to reach with necessary equipment to take-over the fort" (***Volume No.3 Page No.534***).

The author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] had highlighted the significant role of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in the manner as below:

> "The forty nine years old king had moved towards fort Warkaneker swiftly. He (Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]) had come all the way from Chanchaie [چنچئی]

and played a very significant role in the conquest of said fort. He had demonstrated amazing courage (***Volume No.2 Page No.65***).

The author of Gulzar Asfia [گلزارِآصفیہ] had expressed his views that Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] had sent a written missive in his own handwriting for Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. He had beseeched him through the same to reach the site quickly (***Page No.220***).

The royal lashker was very much distressed and depressed at that time. There were some soldiers in their tents who had formed the opinion that despite all the equipment and arsenal and despite the tremendous influence of the King, how the abominable and detestable enemy was able to forestall the King from taking over the fort. When the aforementioned Sardars along-with royal lashker were able to reach at the battle front, their arrival had infused a new life in the royal lashker and their ambition was rejuvenated. The valiant soldiers and Hameed-ud-Din Qalaich Khan [حمیدالدین قلیچ خان] Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and Jamshaid Khan [جمشید خان] were ready to vie the enemy. The other brave Sardars were invigorated enough to add the new impetus to their struggle. The fierce battle had continued resultantly for about four to five days to achieve victory ***(Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.534***). We avoid hereby any further details intentionally.

Entry in the Fort [قلعے میں داخلہ]:

The royal lashker was able to seize the water supply sources (*Boulian*) [باؤلیاں] of enemy during the course of their efforts. Thus they were able to create a checkmate against the enemy (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالگیری] ***Page No.355 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.8 Page No. 458***). The rate of reduction in the shelling from the fort was a proof of the fact that the enemy was about to run out of breath. Then Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and his brothers (Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابرھیم خان پنّی] and Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] *Writer*) had fought very bravely on 14th Moherram [محرم] according to Maser Alamgiri [ماثر عالگیری]. Hameed-ud-Din Khan [حمیدالدین خان] and Terbeyat Khan [تربیت خان] on the other hand were able to launch a massive attack as well and were able to overwhelm the enemy. The enemy was taken aback by their maneuvers and they had started looking for escape routes. They had set their houses on fire in the same stint while they were making efforts for their escape. When Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and Mansoor

Khan [منصور خان] managed to gain entry into the fort, they found out that most of the houses were totally vacant. The same had revealed the fact that the enemy had managed their escape from the backdoors. There were some wounded and maimed people however, who had failed to escape. They were left there, groaning with pain. The fort Warkaneker was conquered thus and the entire milieu was transformed into the joy of victory and celebrations (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالگیری] ***Page No.366 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.537 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.8 Page No. 459***). The Alamgiri flag was hoisted at the fort in April 1705.

The Emperor along-with his elite had bestowed rewards *succêss de scandale* on the following day upon Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and his brother Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابرھیم خان پنّی] popularly known as Runmust Bahader Khan Panni [المعروف بہ بہادر خان پنّی]. The former was awarded a horse and a sword. The latter was awarded an additional one hundred cavalrymen and Naqara Blund Awaza [نقارہ بلند آوازہ] (Trumpet) along-with a Khilat [خلعت] which was studded with diamonds as well as an elephant and a horse [فیل واسپ] ***(Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالگیری] ***Page No.366***).

The Warkaneker fort was conquered in April 1705 but Merhattas were able to recapture the fort Wilore [ویلور] in the month of March. The said fort was considered to be a key fort in those days for both the provinces of Kernatak [کرناٹک]. The Merhattas had appointed the traitor Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] as Governor of the fort after helping him escape from the captivity of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. He had about fifteen thousand soldiers at his disposal along-with other war equipment as well as eatables which were in abundance for defending the fort. The Merhattas had also recaptured the Sera city [سرا شہر] besides that which was located in district Nandi Warg [نندی ورگ] of Maysoor [میسور] area. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had received the message from the Durbar to ensure the control and protection of those areas with the objective to seize the same to release the Durbar from the enemy influence. He was also informed besides that about his promotion and was further instructed that the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had promoted him to the rank of Sush Hazari [شش ہزاری] while relaxing the rules of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.5 Page No.92***). There were some historians who had mentioned his rank as Haft Hazari [ہفت ہزاری]. There were four knights errant Gorz Berdars [گرزبردار]) who had brought the decree for Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in the month of Safer [صفر] 1118

Hegira 1706. Then he had blown the bugle to march towards Wilore [ویلور] in July 1706 in compliance with said decree (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.256 257***). He was able to capture said fort after a brief battle in the month of Jamadi-ul-Awal 11th August 1706 (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.1 Page No.394***).

Procession of Shah Peego for support [شاہ پیگو کی شفارش کا جلوس]:

Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had received two Viceroys in the month of Safer [صفر] 1118 Hegira 1706. They were representatives of Shah Peego [شاہ پیگو] and were desirous to have access through him to the Durbar of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. The general get up of those two Viceroys was *déshabillé* unusual. The name of one of them was Keyaon [کیاؤن] whereas the other one was Nakangun Oak [کانکانگن اوک]. They were accompanied by an officer namely Heyam Peeo [حیام پیو]. He was also known as Keyan Boo [کیان بو]. He had two big red garnets [لعل], two fat cinnamon colored stones [یاقوت] and a sizeable chunk of Amber [عنبر] stone with him. He was desirous to present the same to the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] along-with a written request. The spokesperson of delegates was a Muslim namely Khizer Quli [خضر قلی]. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had provided them the requisite assistance because they were totally penniless. He had informed the Durbar about their arrival and their purpose of visit. He was informed in return that they were allowed *en grande tenue* to make their appearance in accordance with the royal protocols of the Durbar. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had made their caricatures and then he had sent the same to the Durbar. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had already purchased in those days, about one hundred elephants for the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] in compliance with the royal orders. The said purchase was made well before the appearance of those delegates in the royal Durbar. When the delegation of Shah Peego [شاہ پیگو] had moved out for the Durbar of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had also moved out those one hundred elephants with them in the company of six soldiers. The procession was set apace with pomp and show on Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1118 Hegira (June 1706). The same had projected a very fascinating impression for the foreign diplomats as well as for the ambassadors from other countries (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.5 Page No.399 100 112***).

Delegation of company and self-awareness of the General [کمپنی کاوفد اور جرنیل کی خود شناسی]:

Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had reached at Saint Thom city in November and then he had an immediate meeting with lord Bishop. The lord Bishop had arranged the parade with a musical band in his honor, the following morning. Then he was taken inside the Church. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had dished out on his return, Rupees three hundred and fifty among the family members of the Bishop and among his workers (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.394 395***). The Governor of Madraas had sent his representative to meet Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] when he was in Saint Thom. The same was the gesture of amity and solidarity (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.129***). We may point out that Dr. Manucci Nicolas was playing a very significant role for the European nations at that time. The names of those representatives were Mr. Dayton Port Secretary Mr. Cotingus and they both were from a good family background. They were good looking young men whereas others were Mr. Anepal from East India Company and Dr. Buckley (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.395***). The former two had reached the site on Iranian horses. The other two were carried there in Palkies [پالکیاں] (couches). The procession was headed by one hundred local lance bearers who were followed by two flag bearers. Then they were followed by sixty two English soldiers who were pacing their march steadily under the command of a Sergeant. When the procession had reached Saint Thom, Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was relaxing at that time in his casual dress *en pantoufles* in his gorgeous tent which was set-up on the beachside. The tent was furnished with very expensive carpets. He had allowed the English delegates to move into the tent without any formalities and protocols. The said visit had taken place on 3rd November 1706. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had given a nice hug to each member of the delegation and they were made to sit by his side. The same was a gesture of extreme politeness and courtesy. The meeting had lasted for about one and half hour and Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had gifted a ring to every member of the delegation at their departure. He had placed a diamond at the palm of Mr. Ragwort for Governor Mr. Pitts. The worth of the same was Rupees five hundred at that time. Mr. Pitts had thanked him on receiving the gift and he had promised to arrange a grand welcome in Madraas for Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.395***). Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had changed his route on his return however, with regard to his entry into the city. He had established his camp in a garden instead at a short distance from Madraas. He was awarded the guard of honor by the city administration with cannon shots. Then the Governor Mr. Pitt had sent the old delegates just as a gesture of goodwill to meet Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. The

son-in-law of Mr. Denial Chardon namely Mr. Lister had also accompanied them on said occasion. He was a freelance trader and Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was very well acquainted with him. The said delegation had brought many gifts along-with food for Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. The gifts consisted of eight rolls of cloth of variety texture and some articles of silver i.e. candle stands, pandans (betel leaf pot), pots, pen and inkpots small boxes of decoration and sprinklers etc. Then there were two big size mirrors which were framed in carved wood along-with many cartons of Iranian rose and dry fruits. Those gifts were presented to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in a garden and the same were accepted duly. The delegation had returned to Saint Thom thereafter where they had continued their stay for six more days. Dr. Manucci Nicolas had visited Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] daily, during those six days (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.396***).

Sciatica pain [عرق النساء کا عارض**]**:

Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had suffered from sciatica pain and Governor Madraas Mr. Pitt had sent his personal physician for his treatment. The lord Bishop of Madraas had also visited him during his physical sickness. He had presented him some lamps and candles and pleaded him to accept the same. He had posed himself to be a poor man and there was not much money he could offer. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had accepted his gifts as a matter of courtesy. He had given Rupees three hundred and fifty to the lord Bishop at the time of his departure on the following morning (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.386***). Dr. Manucci Nicolas was also present all along for the treatment of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. When Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was able to regain his health and he was ready to leave Saint Thom, he had given Rupees three hundred and fifty to Dr. Manucci Nicolas to distribute amongst his children. He had retained however, the doctor of Mr. Pitt with him. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had also presented an expensive Saropa [سروپا] to Dr. Manucci Nicolas when was returning to his camp. He had kept the other doctor with him for a month on Rupees thirteen as his daily stipend. The same was other than his boarding and lodging expense. When the health of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was restored fully and he was capable of riding a horse, he gave said doctor Rupees one thousand more as well as a valuable Seropa [سروپا] when he had decided to bid him farewell (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.397***).

Granted Kane Meadows to Dutch [کنی میڈوولندیزیوں کو مرحمت کردیا]:

The period of five years had elapsed since Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was appointed as Governor General of Kernatak. The Dutch had sent another delegation along-with some gifts on said occasion. They had extended a request for the control of Kane Meadows as well. The said town was close to the sea and the same was about five Farsang in the north of Pondicherry. He had accepted their request and they were granted said place. They had invited the people from other areas for habitation and to populate said area (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.5 Page No.59***). We may point out that the constant and regular diplomatic efforts had ultimately yielded results for the foreigners. Thus they were able to consolidate their position.

Permission for the Company to mint coins [کمپنی کو اپنے سکے ڈھالنے کی اجازت]:

The aforementioned events had revealed that the presence of Dr. Manucci Nicolas *éminence grise* as well as gifts and presents were supposed to allure a person who was familiar with the skill of marshaling his troops only and who was unfamiliar with the long term implications of those treacherous moves which were set afloat by using the personal charm requests and flattery along-with cunningly submissive presence of lord Bishop etc. They had succeeded through those moves ultimately and they were able to make Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] succumb to their grand stratagem. The East India Company was able to get permission to mint their coins for the first time in 1118 Hegira (1706). They had also obtained the permission to control three villages i.e. Jagmoz [جگموز] Praisham Puck [پرشم پک] Nadeya Dir [ندیا دیر] which were situated in Pergana Pon Mali [پرگنہ پون ملی] (***Pictorial***). The concessions awarded by Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] were definitely detrimental to the general national interest. The implications of the same were evidently against the interest of the country. He was not supposed to grant those concessions. Thus he had recognized the existence of a parallel government by granting the permission to East India Company to mint their own coinage.

Participation in the revolts of Princes [شہزادوں کی خانہ جنگی میں شرکت]:

The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] died in 1118. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] had contributed

tremendously to expand his Empire. The history was replete with kind of services they had rendered for the Mughal Empire. There was a very unfortunate fact that the great edifice which they were able to build in years through their incessant efforts, they were also involved unconsciously for dismantling the same at the twilight of their respective career(s). The Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] had turned out to be more harmful in this regard. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had participated however, in a battle against the Prince Kam Bux [کام بخش] but he had stayed aloof generally with regard to *inter se* rivalries of the Princes. He was more inclined to honor the obligation of his rank and duty with loyalty. The tension was perpetual since long between Prince Kam Bux [کام بخش] and Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت]. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had to share the same just due to his old friendly relations. The relationship between Prince Kam Bux [کام بخش] and Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was severed however because of Chanchaie [چنچئی] battle, according to some historians. The author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] had expressed his views that Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had supported the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] against Prince Kam Bux [کام بخش] after the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] in 1118 (***Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.65***).

Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was one of the commanders in other words who had supported Bahader Shah. The Prince Kam Bux [کام بخش] was injured severely while fighting bravely in said battle. He had died after some time ***(Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.14 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.261-263***). Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had arrested Prince Kam Bux [کام بخش] when he was injured (***History of Deccan Volume No.1 Page No.337***).

The King Shah Alam Bahader Shah [بادشاہ شاہ عالم بہادر شاہ] *succêss de scandale* had bestowed the rewards upon Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] after winning the battle against Prince Kam Bux [کام بخش]. The Governorship of Deccan [دکن] Brar [برار] Paeen Ghatt [پائیں گھاٹ] except, Khandase [خاندیس] had devolved upon Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] during third year of his reign (***Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.65 Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.86***). The province of Burhanpur [برہانپور] or Khandase [خاندیس] was also included in the same subsequently and after the death of Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت]. The nephew of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] namely Bayazeed Khan [بایزید خان] and

his brother namely Adil Khan [عادل خان] were appointed as Governors of those areas (***Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.66***). He was honored by the King in fifth year i.e. 1122 Hegira 18th Zilhaj [ذالحجہ] with the bestowal of diamonds, Khilat [خلعت], elephant and a horse [خلعت فیل واسپ] (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.683***).

Best friend of King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ کا معتمد]:

The blood was shed like water among sons to obtain the control of reins of power after the death of King Shah Alam Bahader Shah [بادشاہ شاہ عالم بہادر شاہ]. He had died on 19th Moherram [محرم] 1124 Hegira. The champion of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] i.e. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had stayed aloof however during said power struggle. When Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] was able to get the reins of power in 1124 Hegira he had also bestowed many rewards upon Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. The same had strengthened his relation with Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] in such a manner that the loyalty of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was considered as an unflinching support for his reign. Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] had always looked up-to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in the hour of need. The fact of the matter was that the two king makers namely Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] and his elder brother Syed Hasan Ali Khan Qutab-ul-Mulk [سید حسن علی خان قطب الملک] had made Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] a King after initiating war against Jahandar Shah [جہاندار شاہ]. The latter was also a minister of Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر]. The two brothers were adept at playing the political chess games as well as executing the skill of king making techniques during the Mughal era. He had become a King whosoever the king makers had decided to promote. Thus they were always in a position to control the reins of powers through their appointee. The mother of Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] was from Kashmir (***Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No.139***). Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] was the only one who was very tall, handsome and a charming person among the entire chain of Mughal rulers. He was also very stout and was unmatchable in many ways among the descendants of the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] (***Envois Page No.390***). The cowardice which Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] had demonstrated however, the same was also unprecedented in history. The gulf of differences between him and Syed brothers had widened gradually. The same had subsequently touched the alarming limits. The Kingdom was ruled in the name of the King but the command of those two brothers used to determine in reality the course of the events. Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] was unable to get rid of them despite his best efforts. He was never able to amass the requisite courage to take

decisive steps against them or even to take stern actions. The following stanza was also a living reality in this regard to describe Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] who lacked the requisite wisdom:

عروس ملک کسے درنبل بیگرد تنگ
کہ بوسہ بر لب شمشیر آبدار زند
If someone renders bride like country devoid of comfy
Then kiss to sword's blade only was to restore comfy

Change in Gujrat [گجرات میں تبدیلی]:

Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] had tried his level best to heave a sigh of relief by weakening the association of those two brothers. He was desirous to appoint Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] in this regard as Governor of Deccan in place of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. The underlying objective of the same was to weaken the strong association of two brothers. They were solidified however, very strongly and they had never opted to stay away from each other. Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] was aspirant however, to share the income with Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] while staying in the center (***Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1 Page No.336 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.740 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Page No.114 Envois Page No.302 Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.679 Turk Tazan-e-Hindh*** [ترک تازان ہند] ***Part No.3 Page No.413***). Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] notwithstanding the same had directed Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] to move from Deccan amidst aforementioned rigmaroles to take control of Gujarat [گجرات] area (***Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.99 Turk Tazan-e-Hindh*** [ترک تازان ہند] ***Part No.3 Page No.399 Mirrat Ahmedi*** [مرات احمدی] ***Page No.401).***

There was a fort in Gujarat [گجرات] which was in the east of Ahmadabad [احمدآباد] city. The walls of the same were made of bricks which were very high and strong. The eastern door which had three very high and strong arches was known as "Teen Derwaza" [تین دروازہ]. There were plates on the walls with the inscriptions in Arabic and Persian languages. The same were affixed on the front of the fort. Ahmed Shah Gujarati [احمد شاہ گجراتی] had built said fort in 1414 (***Ghrabat Nigar*** [غرابت نگار] ***Page No.101***).

Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had moved from Hyderabad on 20th Jamadi-ul-Awal [جمادی الاول] 1165 Hegira without showing any reaction. He had entered Ahmadabad [احمدآباد] city on 1st Shawal [شوال] in compliance with official orders despite the fact that there was no proper arrangement for his accommodation. The former Governor Shamat Khan [شامت خان] was desirous to have more time in order to vacate the fort. He had handed the charge over to Abdul Hameed Khan [عبدالحمید خان] temporarily and was there to receive him (***Mirrat Mohammedi*** [مرات احمدی] ***Part-I Page No.215***). Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had opted to stay therefore in the palace of Mohammed Baig Khan [محمد بیگ خان] for some time. The same was located at the bank of river Sabid Mati [سابد متی]. Then he had moved his accommodation after sometime into the fort. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] used to be in his tent mostly which was on a sandy river bank. The compiler of Mirrat Ahmedi [مرات احمدی] namely Mirza Mohammed Hassan Almulqib Ba Ali Mohammed Khan Bahader [مرزا محمد حسن الملقب بہ علی محمد خان بہادر] was also there in those days. He was at an official post at that time (***Ghrabat Nigar*** [غرابت نگار] ***Page No.101 Mirrat Ahmedi*** [مرات احمدی] ***Part-I Page No.401 403 404***). Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] had not moved out of Delhi [دہلی] and Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] had no other option but to post Chain Qalaich Khan [چین قلیچ خان] to those provinces temporarily. Then Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] had decided to move to Deccan in the month of Jamadi-ul-Awal [جمادی الاول] 1167 Hegira (1714) after a considerable delay and under a lot of pressure. He had fake royal stamps with him for issuing fake royal orders. He had sent a threatening message to the King that if any damage was caused to his elder brother Syed Hasan Ali Khan Qutab-ul-Mulk [سید حسن علی خان قطب الملک] then he was supposed to come back to Deccan from Delhi just within twenty days (***Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1 Page No.336 Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.80 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No.115***). The descriptive account with regard to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] has become very lengthy despite our best efforts. The detail account of those events was essential due to the fact that the same was likely to help us understand how much Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was integrated and associated in the progress of history of his time. The same has also highlighted some other very latent aspects of our history.

Confidential message of Farukh Sair to Khan [خان کے نام فرخ سیر بادشاہ کا خفیہ پیغام]:

The King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] was cognizant of the fact that Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was extremely dutiful and a selfless General. He was the right person to execute plans of Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر]. The plans were also matching his level of military capabilities and characteristics (***Anfenston Page No.669***). The King had put his crown at stake even two years prior to the appropriate time just because of lack of consultation and due to his cowardice. When Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] had moved to Deccan with a massive lashker in 1127 Hegira then Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] had sent a confidential message through Khan Doran [خان دوران] to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] to halt the onward march of Syed Hussain Ali Khan [سید حسین علی خان شاہ]. He was desirous to have him assassinated (***Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.80 Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.121 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No.119 Makhir-rul-Kiram Faseel*** [ماخرالکرام] ***Page No.165***) and for doing said favor he had promised to appoint him as Governor of six provinces of Deccan (***Anfenston Page No.669 Anion Page No.302 Mirat Mohammedi*** [مرات محمدی] ***Page No.215).*** He had also promised to award him the title of Shair Shah [شیر شاہ] according to Dr. Manucci Nicolas. The province of Khandase [خاندیس] was also committed under his control on 3rd May 1715 (Rabi-ul-Akhir [ربیع الاخر] (1127) (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.264***). The same was the part of the area of Syed Hussain Ali Khan [سید حسین علی خان شاہ] where he was supposed to act as a Governor. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had reached Burhanpur [برہانپور] along-with few of his soldiers after receiving the message from the King (***Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.66).*** Syed Hussain Ali Khan [سید حسین علی خان شاہ] had moved from Delhi [دہلی] and had the lashker of about fifteen to sixteen thousand soldiers with him. When he was able to reach Akberpur [اکبرپور], he was informed at the precipice of the River Nerbader [نربدر] that Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was appointed as Governor of Khandase [خاندیس] besides Gujarat [گجرات] in accordance with fresh royal orders and he had already reached Dar-ul-Suroor Burhanpur [دارالسرور برہانپور] in compliance with the orders. He had also learnt from the general public that he was likely to sort out Syed Hussain Ali Khan [سید حسین علی خان شاہ] who was out there for objurgating (***Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1 Page No.327).*** He was also debarred to call on Ameer-ul-Umara [امیرالامراء] and even to pay respects (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.751 Maser-ul-Kiram*** [ماثرالکرام] ***Fasal Doam*** [فصیل دوم] ***Page No. 165 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No.119).***

Tension with Hussain Ali Khan at Burhanpur [برہانپور میں حسین علی خان سے کشمکش]:

The Merhatta Sardar Gangagee [گنگاجی] in the meantime, was able to besiege Burhanpur [برہانپور] as a result of tension between two leading lords of the Kingdom. Zafer Mohammed Khan [ظفر محمد خان] had joined him but when Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was able to reach Burhanpur [برہانپور] then, said Merhatta Sardar was able to escape (***Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.81***). The level of inadequate approach of King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] was such that he had neither taken Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] into confidence at an appropriate time with regard to his planning nor had he given him sufficient time to prepare for necessary military action. When Syed Hussain Ali Khan [سید حسین علی خان شاہ] had reached the River Nerbader [نربدر], he had received the duly signed message from the King through Mir Jumla Moazam Khan [جملہ معظم خان] along-with Sumsam-ud-Dolla [صمصام الدولہ] who was author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] (***Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.81***). Ameer-ul-Umara [امیرالامراء] and his lashker were just at a distance of five miles from Burhanpur [برہانپور] and notwithstanding the same, Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had come out to receive him. Then Neba Gee Sindhia [نیبا جی سندھیا], who was holding the post of Haft Hazar [ہفت ہزار] cavalrymen in the army of King Bahader Shah [بادشاہ بہادر شاہ] and was a Jagirdar [جاگیردار], had approached Ameer-ul-Umara [امیرالامراء] apparently along-with some leading Maratha Sardars to pay the respects. He was there as a matter of fact, as an aid of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in compliance with royal orders. They had set up their camps close to the city. He was actually desirous to witness the spectacles between the victorious and the vanquished. He was also desirous to have his vested interests realized (***Turk Tazan-e-Hindh*** [ترک تازان ہند] ***Part No.3 Page No.418 Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.81 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.751***). Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had made the arrangements to stay inside the city. When the locals were able to know about the situation, they had panicked due to an imminent bloodshed in their streets. They had sent a delegation to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] under the leadership of Sheikh Najam-ud-Din [شیخ نجم الدین] who was a respectable personality in the city. He was able to prevail on Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] somehow or the other and he had convinced him to move out of the city. Then Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had set up his camp in Bahaderpura [بہادرپور]. The Mansabdars [منصبدار] of Burhanpur [برہانپور] namely, Mir Azam Vice Dewan [میراعظم نائب دیوان], Qasim Ali Khan Butat [قاسم علی خان بیوتات], Ali Yar Khan Buxi [علی یار خان بخشی] and Mohammed Anwar Ullah Kerrore [محمد انور اللہ کڑوڑ] and others were out there to receive Ameer-ul-Umara [امیرالامراء] who had reached Burhanpur

[برہانپور] with all the pomp and show on 14th Shaban [شعبان] 1127 Hegira (1714) along-with his massive lashker (***Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.81 82).***

Battlefield in Lalbagh [لعل باغ میں میدان جنگ]:

Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] had sent a letter to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. He had expressed his views through the same that, he was appointed as a Viceroy of entire Deccan area in accordance with the royal decree. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was bound to pay respect to him in person as a matter of principle and in case of any objections he was supposed to approach the King at Delhi [دہلی]. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had rejected however, said letter (***Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1 Page No.321 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.751 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No.119***) because whatever he was doing in the area was in fact under the instructions of the King. He was also cognizant of the fact that the Merhatta Sardars of the surrounding area who were also supposed to support him. He had failed to gauge however their ill-will and their cunning plans to deceive him at the eleventh hour (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.751)***. Neba Gee Sindhia [نیبا جی سندھیا] was also authorized in those days to receive the revenue of Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد]. He was also getting the remuneration from the exchequer against providing the support to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] (***Turk Tazan-e-Hindh*** [ترک تازان ہند] ***Part No.3 Page No.418 Syed-ul-Mutakhereen*** [سیدالمتاخرین] ***Volume No.2 Page No.404***). Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] had sent the messages repeatedly to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] to desist from any move of waging a war (***Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No. 82).*** Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had cast aside all the reservations like a loyal soldier. He had very few soldiers with him yet, he was not a kind of person to shy away from ensuring the compliance of orders of his ruler.

نظیری لازم عشق و جنون جنگ است وناسازی
تومعذوری بہ مردم، مردم فرزانہ می سازد

Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was right in the middle of battlefield as a fighter on 9th of Ramadan-ul-Mubarak [رمضان المبارک] according to various books of history (***Maser-al-Kiram*** [ماثرالکرام] ***Fasal*** [فصل] ***No.2 Anfenston has mentioned the date as 8th Page No.669***). Syed

Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] had also aligned his troops on 11th Ramadan-ul-Mubarak [رمضان المبارک] (***Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No. 82).*** The troop formation of Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] in the battlefield was in the manner, according to Khafi Khan [خافی خان] that, his brother Saif-ud-Din Ali Khan [سیف الدین علی خان] and his nephew Alam Khan [عالم خان], Khan Zaman [خان زمان] son of Khan-e-Khanan Asad Ali Khan [خان خاناں اسد علی خان], Ali Mardan Rustam Baig [علی مردان رستم بیگ], Iltafat Khan [التفات خان], Ferzand Ali Khan [فرزند علی خان], Basalat Khan Azam Shahi [بسالت خان اعظم شاہی] also known as Sultan Nazer Jo Bakhsi [سلطان نظر جو بخشی], Dewan of Ameer-ul-Umara Raja Mahakam Singh [امیرالامراء راجہ مکرم سنگھ], Mir Musheraff [میر مشرف] who was a hefty person but he was a most trustworthy and time-tested brave officer, all were present in person. Then there were other leading Sardars who were present in Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد]. They were deputed as the frontline stalwarts at the forefront (***Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No. 752).*** Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] on the contrary had a lashker of fifteen to sixteen thousand soldiers from Panni nation whereas, according to some other historians there were two thousand soldiers only which were at his disposal. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had appointed his most reliable Sardar, Hera Man Bakseria [سردار ہیرا من بکیسریہ] despite said numerical disparity. He was also his Mir Shamsheer [میر شمشیر] in the frontline contingent. Then he had set up his camp in Lalbagh [لعل باغ] (***Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.122 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.752).*** The level of their self-confidence was such that when the army of Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] had surrounded them they had not budged an inch from their stance despite the fact that it was raining heavily at that time. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was perched there on his bed nice and easy (***Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No. 82).*** Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was on his bed in a casual and peaceful manner despite all his preparations according to Dr. Manucci. He had his Iranian dogs enchained on his bedside. Then the rain had started all of a sudden and neither had he the tents nor even any other shelter. The lashker of Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] had surrounded them in such a situation. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] notwithstanding the same was perched on his bed in a very casual manner (***Volume No.4 Page No.624***). Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had two hundred soldiers only and they were equipped with the axes etc. according to Anfenston (***Page No.669***).

DEPICTION OF THE FIERCE BATTLE [مہیب لڑائی کا نقشہ]:

The skirmishes had started between the combatant sides on 25th of Ramadan Sheriff [رمضان شریف] 1127 Hegira (1714) and each side had tried to destroy the frontline of the opponent side initially. Then no sooner the battle had heated up, the rush of blood had fueled the flames (***Masher-ul-Kiram*** [ماثر الکرام] ***Fasal-II Page No.165).*** Then whosoever was in the range of Pathans he was slaughtered. The situation was very critical for Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاه امیرالامراء] and most of his leading Sardars and lords were killed by Pathans. The battlefield had picked up the momentum slowly and gradually and then the lashker of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had realized that the artillery attack from the opponent side had caused a colossal damage. Then his Sardar Hera Man Bakseria [سردار ہیرا من بکیسریہ] who was commanding a unit had opted to attack the artillery unit of the enemy with full force. The same had caused a great turmoil in the massive lashker of Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاه امیرالامراء]. He was able to control the same however, in collaboration with his companions. The Pathans on the other hand were also pitched *succêss fou* against all the odds. They had killed many of his companions amidst clashing sound of swords. They had also wounded the others and they had rendered them lying in the battlefield helplessly (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.753 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No.119).*** Since said battle was a turning point in our history therefore, the rendition of a brief descriptive account of the same was essential. It was a clear reflection of bravery and courage of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. Had Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] taken Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] into confidence in a more appropriate manner prior to the initiation of the battle then, the history of the Subcontinent would have taken a different turn definitely.

The author of Syed-ul-Mutakhereen [سیدالمتاخرین] and Khafi Khan [خافی خان] had given the descriptive account of battlefield in the manner as below:

> "The heroic performers had played havoc on earth from both sides when they had started slaughtering each other fiercely. The sharp swords were gleaning with blood and the human heads were rolling on the ground like balls. The blood of combatants was saturating the mud. There were a number of well maintained human bodies but the same were slaughtered without even having the enjoyment of any female company. There were number of heads of the elegant looking people which had decorated the spearheads. The

land was shivering with thunderous sounds of cannons. The heavens were stunned absolutely like earth and both were engrossed in witnessing the fierce battle of warriors" ***(Syed Al-Mutakhereen*** [سیدالمتاخرین] ***Page No.404).***

The two sides had initiated a great battle according to Khafi Khan [خافی خان]. They were all out for an absolute devastation. When the warriors had opened the attacks, the glare of swords was making the eyes blurred with the chivalry of warriors. The heads of braves were rolling under the hooves of horses just like polo balls. There were many a gorgeous young men whose heads were divorced from their bodies. There were gallant warriors who had fallen from the horse saddles just like fully ripe fruits (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.752).*** We may point out that Sultan Nazer Basalat [سلطان نظر بسالت] was present in the battlefield in person. He had recorded the minutes of the battle proceedings personally.

Relentless attacks of Khan [خان کے قیامت خیز حملے]:

Mushraff Khan [مشرف خان] Dewan of Ameer-ul-Umara [امیرالامراء] was clad in the iron weaponry from head to toe. He was seated in the Amadi [عمادی] (Couch) of an elephant like Mount Alberz [کوہ البرز]. He was in the forefront contingent and there were several Sardars who were marching in front of him. They were ready to wage a war while commanding their respective contingents (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.752).*** Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had landed in the middle of the battlefield in his casual wear. He had ordered his Mahawat [مہاوت] (Elephant trainer) to take the elephant as close to Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] as it was possible. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was surrounded by the soldiers of the enemy at that time. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had ruffled the artillery unit of the enemy with a barrage of arrows during the first onslaught and the formation of their lashker was disturbed resultantly. Sardar Hera man Bakseria [سردار ہیرا من بکیسریہ] had come in the range of the enemy swords during said onslaught. The Pathan companions had accompanied the elephant of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] with their axes. Then they were able to knock the enemy down like a thunder bolt within no time. They had wounded and killed many soldiers (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.753 Syed-ul-Mutakhereen*** [سیدالمتاخرین] ***Volume No.2 Page No.404 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No.119).*** They were just three hundred in number but despite that, Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had attacked the enemy incessantly. He

had rattled the entire formation of the enemy (***Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.66 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.752***). Then one of the opponents had tried to block him initially during his advancement but Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had pushed him aside. Then there was another one who tried to intervene but he was put to the sword. Then there was a third one who had ventured out but he was also beheaded (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.264***). The onslaught of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was so rapid and swift and it was so comprehensive that the enemy had lost the confidence according to historians. There were many renowned Sardars who had failed to hold their ground. The nephew of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] i.e. Khan Zaman [خان زمان] son of Khan-e-Khanan Asad Ali Khan [خان خاناں اسد علی خان] and Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] were wounded very badly (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.753 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No.120).*** Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was very desperate to take his elephant in the close proximity of Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] during the stampede and dash. Mir Musheraff [میرمشرف] had come from nowhere all of a sudden right in front of him and he had started tucking the arrow in his bow. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had shouted at him in the thick of the situation and he had said “why you have covered your face like women? Remove the veil so that I may be able to see your face” and as soon as Musheraff [میرمشرف] had removed the iron veil from his face, Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had shot an arrow with the speed of a projectile, according to historians. The same had pierced through his neck and had toppled him over on the rear side of his Amadi [عمادی] (Hood) on his elephant. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had moved his elephant very close to the elephant of Mir Musheraff [میرمشرف] after shooting the arrow. He had hit him with the bottom end of his sword several times according to an eye witness account of a historian ***(Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.753 Syed-ul-Mutakhereen*** [سیدالمتاخرین] ***Volume No.2 Page No.404)***. The Mahawat [مہاوت] (Elephant driver) of Mir Musheraff [میرمشرف] had kicked his elephant away from the elephant of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. There were many enemy soldiers who had moved out of the battlefield during the continuance of said back and forth movement of elephants. They were desirous to witness the battle scene like spectators. There were just a few of them who were determined fully to hold their ground during the continuance of the battle ***(Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.754)***. The lashker of Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] had almost lost the battle (***Turk Tazan-e-Hindh*** [ترک تازان ہند] ***Part No.3 Page No.420 Syed-ul-Mutakhereen*** [سیدالمتاخرین] ***Volume No.2 Page No.404 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page***

No.120). Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] while fighting from left, right and center with a handful of his soldiers, had moved like a tornado towards the elephant of Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء].

شمۂ از داستان عشق شور انگیز ماست
ایں حکایتہا کہ از فرہادوشیریں کردہ اند

Victorious Khan was vanquished [خان جیتی بازی ہار گیا]:

The providence had devised its own plan and as soon as the elephant of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had come close to the elephant of Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] there was a deadly cannonball which had come exactly at that moment from the frontal position of the enemy. The same had landed on the head of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and he was killed instantly. The Mahawat [مہاوت] of his elephant had kicked the elephant hurriedly and he had moved out the same from the battlefield. Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] was witnessing the actual proceedings. He had announced to beat the drums of victory instantly. Then he had ordered his soldiers to bring back the elephant of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] along-with his dead body (***Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.66 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.754***). The Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was already brutalized on 12th Moherram [محرم] 1165 Hegira. He was strangulated at the riverbank to meet his death. Then said incident had followed yet another death of a very reliable and an epitome of excellence as well as a Vattern General i.e. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and his dead body was at the mercy of Ameer-ul-Umara [امیرالامراء]. He had tied up the corpse of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] with the tail of an elephant and then he had driven the elephant in the city for two days to mutilate the dead body publically (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.754 Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.264 Gerbil Page No.356***).

ما ومجنوں ہم سبق بودیم در بستان عشق
او بصحرا رفت وما در کوچہ ہا رسوا شدیم

Majnoon and I had same school of thought
He opted for a desert and I was lost in streets

The treatment which was meted out to the corpse of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was never documented in history. The said General was buried probably in the vicinity of Burhanpur [برہانپور].

Treachery of the companions and marauding [ساتھیوں کی غداری اور لوٹ مار]:

Neba Gee Sindhia [نیبا جی سندھیا] and other Merhatta Sardars were there at the instructions of the King to assist and to provide succor to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. They were on the drift on left and right in a casual manner initially which was a typical Merhattas like movement. The latent objective of the same was to witness the drama between the victor and the vanquished and then join hands with the ultimate victor. The scene of the battlefield had no sooner turned in favor of Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء]. The Merhattas had immediately accepted his dominance and had also agreed to join hands with him in order to divide and distribute the equipment as well as the belongings of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] had taken into his custody seven hundred horses and one hundred elephants as well as some Iranian hunting dogs along-with other valuable goods and weaponry. He had digested the same like milk of his mother [کوئی دامن لے گیا کوئی گریباں لے گیا]. He had also discovered some royal letters which were addressed to Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] by Khan Doran [خان دران] along-with some royal decrees. He had sent the same to his brother in Delhi whereas his brother had already initiated the process of raising his own army through general conscription in the wake of the worsening situation (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.754 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No.120 121 Anvion Page No.329 Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.174***). He was under the apprehension that the supporters of the King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] were likely to stage a similar show for those two brothers after the aforementioned incident.

Another painful turn in the history [تاریخ کا ایک اور المناک موڑ]:

The death of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was an extraordinary event and was a big blow as a matter of fact, to the Mughal Empire. The same was also a turning point in history because the death of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had proved to be the beginning of an end of a long journey for the Mughal rulers. The same had pushed them into such somber depths which were deeper than even the deepest. The immediate reaction of said incident was that when the news of his death had reached the King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر], it had not only saddened him but he was pushed into the immeasurable dissonance for several days *idée reçue* his face was the index of his inner grief. When the death news had reached Syed Hasan Ali Khan Qutab-ul-Mulk [سید حسن علی خان قطب الملک] he had approached the King in sheer exasperation. The King had expressed his one liner feeling at that time in the manner that the renowned and loyal Sardar was murdered needlessly. Syed Hasan Ali Khan Qutab-ul-Mulk [سید حسن علی خان قطب الملک] and Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had responded very sarcastically however, in the manner that had his brother been killed by him, the same would have been perhaps a source of joy for the King ***(Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.755 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No.120 121 Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.82 83***). Then he had set afloat his maneuvers of maligning the King. He had confronted the King with his entire correspondence which had taken place between Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and him and had placed the same before the King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر]. The King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] had left the meeting instantly. Then he had assigned the unconditional and absolute powers to those two brothers to run the affairs of the Empire ***(Hadeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.87 88***). Then there was a day ultimately when Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had abused and snubbed the King right in the open Durbar. The King was scared resultantly and sought refuge in his Herm [حرم]. The companions of Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had grabbed the King from his hair and then dragged him on the floor amidst hue and cry of his wives. Thus they had brought him out of the Herm [حرم] into the open Durbar forcefully. They made him blind thereafter, by moving a poisonous shaft in his eyes. Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] was put in the confinement in the Serdera [سردرہ] or Serpolia [ثرپولیا] room of Lal Qila [لعل قلعہ] thereafter and Abdullah Khan Panni who was popularly known as Runmust Khan Panni Bijapuri [عبداللہ خان بیجاپوری المخاطب بہ رنمست خان پنّی بیجاپوری] was made his custodian. The treacherous politics may be examined further that there was a time when those two brothers had organized the battle against Jahandar Shah [جہاندار شاہ] and they had made Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] a King as a consequence thereof. Then they had imprisoned Jahandar Shah [جہاندار شاہ] in the same room where he was killed. Thus there was yet another unfortunate day

when they were able to imprison Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] in the same room on 9th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1131 Hegira 28th February 1719 after torturing him in different ways. Then they had strangulated him to death at midnight on 8th or 9th Jamadi-ul-Sani [جمادی الثانی] 1131 Hegira 27th or 28th April 1719 for the sake of consolidating their own control ***(Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.819 Anvion Page No.290)***.

سر جدا کردازتنم شوخے کہ بامایاربود
قصہ کوتاہ کرد، ورنہ درد سر بسیار بود

He had beheaded me impishly because my life was for my friend
It would have caused more headaches but the tale had ended

Suicide of wife [رقیعہ حیات کی خود کشی]:

When Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had opted to go out in Ahmadabad [احمدآباد] for the first time to collect the revenue, the Raja of Hod [ہور] (Kathiawar [کاٹیاواڑ]) had presented him his daughter at that time in accordance with their culture. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had converted her to Islam and then had solemnized the Nikah [نکاح] with her (***Mirat Mustafa Abad*** [مرات مصطفی'آباد] ***Page 147***). When one day he was about to leave for Burhanpur [برہانپور] *idée reçue* said woman had also showed her willingness to accompany him. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had not agreed with her but she had pulled the dagger out from his waist just out of sheer sentiment of love. When she had learnt about the death of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی], she stabbed herself to death with the same dagger. She was pregnant at that time and according to the historians as soon as she had stabbed the dagger, her belly had fallen open and the baby had dropped out. The death of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was an insult as a matter of fact for a wife of a man of his stature to live without him. “She was his life partner and she had opted to share even his death as a partner” (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.755 Anfenston Page No.669 Syed Al-Mutakhereen*** [سیدالمتاخرین] ***Page No.405***).

تو نیز بادہ بجنگ آورراہ صحراگیر
کہ مرغ نغمہ سدا ساز خوش نوا آورد

Some incidents of Gujrat [عہد گجرات کے چند واقعات]:

When Raye Ram Singh [رائے رام سنگھ] had replaced his father after the death of landlord of Nawan Ger [نواں گر], he had withheld the payment of stipulated tribute money which was due to the King. He had also removed the Vice Fojdar [نائب فوجدار] thereafter. Then he had moved out from Khambalia [کھمبالیہ] and established his accommodation in said area. When Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was informed about said situation, he raided the area and had also obtained the stipulated tribute money by force (***Mirat Mustafa Abad*** [مرات مصطفی'آباد] ***Page 214***). The River Serber Masti [دریائے سر بر مستی] was overflowing in 1713 and it had caused severe damage to the crops. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had given the exemption in payment of revenue to the people for said year in the wake of natural calamity (***Mirat Mustafa Abad*** [مرات مصطفی'آباد] ***Page 214***). Ahsan Ullah Bender [احسن اللہ بندر] was Nazim of Khambayat [ناظم کھمبایت] during his tenure of Governorship in Gujarat [گجرات]. The general public had never accepted him and the people had lodged complaints against him with Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. He had replaced him and appointed Aqeel Khan [عقیل خان] instead. When Ahsan Ullah [احسن اللہ] had left the area, the people had chased him for quite some time on the road just out of sheer anger and also pelted him with stones. The said situation had continued for two miles up to Moza Keyari [کیاری]. When Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was informed about the outcome of his orders, he sent father of the compiler of Mirat Mohammedi [مرات محمدی] (*We have already given references of the same in this book)* to pacify the general public. He was able to do the needful very successfully. He was present in Ahmadabad [احمدآباد] with his father according to said compiler of history (***Mirat Mohammedi*** [مرات محمدی] ***Volume No.1 Page No.403 404***). Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had appointed Momin Khan [مومن خان] as Muqdi [مقدی] for Bender Surratt [بندرصورت] in 1167 Hegira 1714. He had also committed Beroda [بڑودہ] Brooch Dhotah [بھروچ دھوتہہ], Pathla [پٹھلہ] and Nadyad [ندیاد] under his control (***Mirat Mohammedi*** [مرات محمدی] ***Page No.215***). The troops from both sides had confronted each other however, due to the tension period with Zia Khan [ضیاء خان] Qaladar [قلعہ دار] (Custodian of Fort). Then the mediators were able to settle the issues amicably and the tension was pacified without much ado (***Mirat Mohammedi*** [مرات محمدی] ***Page No.410***).

Theory of two nations and trouble at the eve of the Holly festival [دوقومی نظریہ ہولی کا فساد]:

The concept of two nations had emerged in the Subcontinent when the first individual had embraced Islam. The same concept had persisted thereafter one way or the other notwithstanding the fact that there were some Muslim rulers who had given extraordinary concessions to Hindus as matter of courtesy. The Emperor Akber [شہنشاہ اکبر] had propounded a new religion to bridge the widening gulf between two nations despite that the concept of two nations had remained simmering. When Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was Subaydar [صوبہ دار] of Ahmadabad [احمدآباد] during the reign of Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر], there were Hindu Muslim riots on a regular basis. The situation was precariously dangerous even to the extent that the same was brought into the notice of center at Delhi. The Muslims were of the view that Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had developed some soft corner for Hindus.

Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was in Ahmadabad [احمدآباد] as its Subaydar [صوبہ دار] during the first year of Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] era. The riots had broken out in the following year at the eve of "Holi" between the Hindus and Muslims. The reason was that there was a Muslim who was in a Hindu neighborhood. They had a common lawn where Hindus *en fête* were engaged in the "Holi" celebrations. The Muslim had objected because it was invading his privacy in the common lawn. The matter was resolved through the intervention of some officers but the official permission was granted to the Hindus subsequently to celebrate the festival. Then the Muslims had also slaughtered a cow in the same common lawn at the eve of Eid Mellad-un-Nabi [عید میلادالنبی]. The Hindus of the area got united against the slaughter of a cow and then they had attacked the Muslims. The Muslims were less in number therefore they had opted to remain confined in their houses. The Hindus were able to get hold of a fourteen years old boy and then they butchered him. He was son of a Bora Muslim and according to another version he was laid on the ground and then they slaughtered him like a cow. The said incident had triggered a wave of a massive genocide of Muslims. It had enraged the Muslim community and they had swarmed the Hindu community so much so the incident was transformed into a battle of Islam against the infidels. There were some Pathan servants of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in Ahmadabad [احمدآباد] and they had also joined the procession without his permission. The procession of the Borah [بوہرا] community of the city was also very large in size. They had approached the Qazi [قاضی] collectively. The Qazi [قاضی] was under the apprehension that he was likely to invite the wrath of the Subaydar therefore he had closed his door on them and refused to entertain their complaint. There was another version that as a result of undue tilt of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان

پنّی] in favor of the Hindus, the Qazi had instigated the Muslims on his own to set the door of his house on fire. The mob had also set on fire the shops and houses of Hindus thereafter. There was a man by the name of Kapoor Chund Joheri [کپور چند جوہری] who was very friendly with Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. He was notorious in the area to ignite the entire row. Kapoor Chund Joheri [کپور چند جوہری] had organized a group of assailants in the wake of said situation, closed the doors of his Mohallah [محلہ] and killed many people thereafter. Then the representative groups from both sides had approached Delhi center with their respective complaints. Kapoor Chund Joheri [کپور چند جوہری] had also approached Delhi [دہلی] along-with his report of facts.

Sheikh Abdul Aziz [شیخ عبدالعزیز], Abdul Wahid [عبدالواحد] and Sheikh Mohammed Ali Waiz [شیخ محمد علی واعظ] had also approached Delhi along-with a delegation of some Muslims. The Dewan Rattan Chund [دیوان رتن چند] of Qutab-ul-Mulk Abdullah Khan [قطب الملک عبداللہ خان] was appointed as a representative for his people. He had arrested some Muslims along-with three of their main leaders and had put them in the jail. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was able to restore peace and order however, through the armed forces on his return from the tour of River Serber Masti [دریائے سر بر مستی]. The situation had aggravated in Delhi due to the fact that the Muslim population was subjected to many atrocities even when there was Muslim administration practically and the ruler was also a Muslim. Khawaja Mohammed Jafer Derwaish [خواجہ محمد جافر درویش] had also brought out a protest rally on said occasion. He was the real brother of Sumsam-ud-Dolla Khan Doran [صمصام الدولہ خان دوران]. The same had the blessings of Khan Doran [خان دوران] and the objective was to support Muslims who were under arrest. Thus he was able to highlight many other grievances of the Muslim population as well (***Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No.135 Syed-ul-Mutakhereen*** [سیدالمتاخرین] ***Volume No.2 Page No.65 Mirrat Ahmedi*** [مرات احمدی] ***Page No.455***). The said Khan Doran [خان دوران] was the same person who had tried to mediate subsequently between Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر] and Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] and his elder brother Syed Hasan Ali Khan Qutab-ul-Mulk [سید حسن علی خان قطب الملک]. The riots had also engulfed Delhi but were brought under control and the peace and order was restored gradually (***Lubab*** [لباب] ***Volume No.2 Page No.755 to 757***).

Story of the newly converted Muslim woman [نو مسلم ہندو عورت کا قصہ]:

There was a similar sort of incident which had taken place in Burhanpur [برہانپور] at the end of Bahader Shah [بہادر شاہ] era. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was Subaydar of the area at that time. There was a Sheikh [شیخ] of Dergah [درگاہ] and he was among the leading figures in Burhanpur [برہانپور]. He had converted a Hindu woman to Islam on her own desire therefore he was desirous to take her into Nikah or probably he had already solemnized the Nikah [نکاح] with her. The relatives of said woman had filed a complaint with Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. He had summoned said Sheikh along-with said alleged converted woman in an open court according to Khafi Khan [خافی خان]. Then he had paraded them around all *in puris naturalibus* naked. Then he had covered their private parts with a piece of cloth and ordered to shave off their heads. Then he had handed over the custody of the woman to her relatives. The said act of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was also reported to the Durbar. Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] had supported Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] on said occasion in the Durbar according to some historians. The complaint was therefore turned downed. (*He had killed his own son from a Hindu girl whom he had converted to Islam. He was in a position to foresee probably the likely consequences of such arrangement of marriage therefore there must have been some underlying wisdom in his act, Writer*). The very objective to quote said incidence was to highlight the concept of two nation theory which was very much in existence even at that time. The people *idée reçue* had witnessed the dead body of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in the same Bazaars just a few days later in 1167 Hegira which was mutilated publically. There were some people who were of the view that the actual avenger had taken the revenge of aforementioned incident from Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] (***Lubab*** [لباب] ***Volume No.2 Page No.884***).

The aforementioned incidents were a proof of the fact that the concept of two nations was in existence since ages in the Subcontinent. The same had also dominated the judicious mind of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in his own right with regard to the treatment of Hindus and Muslims. The efforts of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] have already been discussed, which he had made during the lifetime of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] with regard to resolving the dispute of Hindus and Christians.

Foundation of Daoud Nager [داؤد نگر کی تاسیس]:

Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had laid the foundation of a town in the sub-division of Geya [گیا] Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] which was named after him as Daoud Nager [داؤد نگر] which exists even now. The same place or the town was located at the right side of River Soan [دریائے سون] and on the left side of Patten Canal [نہر پٹنہ]. The most famous building of the area was an Inn which Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had built. The town was surrounded by a deep moat. There used to be specific entrances in olden days to approach the town. The entrances used to remain closed at night. The town was quite popular for its trade activities in those days. The most popular industrial produce of the town used to be Tasser [ٹسر] cloth which used to be in abundance in the area. The same is used as gauze to polish the bronze and copper pots and for carpet bases even now. Then there were Sugar Mills which were established in said area in 1907. The office of a municipal committee was also set up in the area in 1885 (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.11 Page No.199 to 200***).

Hobbies habits and characteristics [دلچسپیاں عادات و خصائل]:

Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was very fond of hunting. He used maintain his own menagerie and aviary which used to have many cheetahs, eagles and ducks etc. He had more than one thousand ducks in accordance with the descriptive account in various books of history. He used to spend more than Rupees two lacs and fifty thousand annually to maintain his menagerie and aviary (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.5 Page No.97***). He was so fond of good animals that *idée reçue* he used purchase any good breed of hunting animals at any cost (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.255***). He used to evince very keen interest in monkeys as well as in ferocious hounds. He had imported once a rare breed chimpanzee from a Dutch Jew namely Abda Dana by using the influence of Governor of Manila Philippine. Then he had handed the same over to the attendants to ensure special care. The said chimpanzee was found dead somehow after some days and *idée reçue* he had punished one of the attendants so badly that he had died due to the pain and anguish. He had cut off the ears of the attendant who was supposed to keep the room properly illuminated for the chimpanzee. He had burnt the third attendant alive just due to the reason that he had failed to diagnose the illness of the chimpanzee. The real truth always rests with God only (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.5 Page No.97-98***). Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had bought two very ferocious dogs from captain Agishwer in March 1706 because he was leaving Madraas for Manila Philippine. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had let those dogs loose

on a bull in order to see their ferociousness. The dogs had ripped the bull apart just within no time. Then in order to see whether the dogs were also capable of attacking the human being in the same manner, he let those dogs loose on two criminals. The dogs had also ripped them apart and *idée reçue* once he let loose those dogs on his soldiers as well. They were annoyed with Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] as a consequence of said sadism but very soon he was able to bring back the cheers on their faces. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had also bought a third dog from the same person after very hectic efforts. The dog was beautiful white and was fully trained. There was a battery of servants which had carried the dog over for him in a Palki [پالکی]. The dog used to remain enchained with his bed with a silver color chain (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.5 Page No.96-97***). The veracity of some of these events was controversial. The mercurial and the genius people notwithstanding the same can be taken to have such unusual and abnormal traits in their personalities which are unlike many other people. The aforementioned events have highlighted the fact in any case that, the people of the Subcontinent used to have trade relations with the Philippine Island. We have already mentioned about Manucci [مونسی] that he was an unreliable person. There was also a very pertinent question that whether the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] was also cognizant of the fact that Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was possessed by such idiosyncrasies?

He had killed his own son [اپنے بچے کوہلاک کردیا]:

The fairness of aforementioned personality traits of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was unascertainable. When we had carried out the study of some other unusual events of his life, there were some facts which had also endorsed some other bizarre realities. Manucci [مونسی] was not a completely reliable historian yet, he had expressed his views in the manner that when a baby boy was born in the family of Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] in 1702 then his younger brother namely Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابرھیم خان پنّی] had visited Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] to congratulate him. He had presented him sweetmeats besides a tray full of Ashrafies [اشرفیاں] (Gold coins). Then he had suggested that his nephew should be named after the name of their father namely Khizer Khan Panni Shahjahani [خضّر خان پنّی شاہجہانی]. The said suggestion had enraged Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and he had *embonpoint* toppled over the trays of the sweetmeats as well as the Ashrafies [اشرفیاں]. Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابرھیم خان پنّی] had slipped out quietly from said place after witnessing said scene. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had

walked inside his castle thereafter in search of his young baby boy. He had snatched the baby ultimately from the foster mother who was hiding him and then he had smashed him on the floor. Thus the baby was killed. Then he had left the room by saying that his mother was from a different descend therefore said boy was unlikely to be as brave as Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] rather the baby boy was likely to bring a bad name for him (*God knows the truth*) (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.238-239***).

Heritage [ترکہ]:

Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had not left behind any heirs ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.66).*** He had left behind a very simple heritage despite the fact that his life was full of pomp and show. The same consisted of one hundred elephants, seven hundred horses, Jagir of Biaderia [بیدر] or Zaferabad [ظفرآباد], a few Iranian hounds and many lions, cheetahs and various species of birds. He had not even owned the small tents. He used to live like a vagabond. *Idée reçue* Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] had taken the entire aforementioned heritage into his custody except his Jagir (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.264***). We have already mentioned above that his companions had looted and plundered his entire heritage in the battlefield after his death. Syed Hussain Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] had also shared the booty. He had sent after two years just two elephants out of the booty to the King as his share (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.754***). The earth had always remained a treasure-house of many a fallen sky.

Jagirs [جاگیریں]:

The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had given him the areas of Baider [بیدر] or Zaferabad [ظفرآباد] and Dharoar [دھاڑوڑ] as a Jagir when Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had handed over the Nalarak [نلورک] fort and he had agreed to accept his employment. He had owned Kernol [کرنول] already as Altamgha (ownership) Jagir [آل تمغہ ملکیتی جاگیر] which he had inherited from his father Khizer Khan Panni Shahjahani [خضّر خان پنّی شاہجہانی]. The same had devolved upon his younger brother namely Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابرھیم خان پنّی] after his death. The British colonists had murdered Ghulam Rasool Khan Panni [غلام رسول خان پنّی] in 1655. Then they had confiscated the Jagirs. The Jagir of Baider [بیدر] or Zaferabad [ظفرآباد] had devolved

upon the posterity only. The same was held by Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی] resident of Hyderabad India as late as till the division of Hindh. The contents of his letter, which was addressed to us (writer), had revealed that he had also received the compensation in cash just like other Rajas and Maharajas against relinquishing the claim of Jagir in favor of Government of Hindustan.

Jagir Baider [بیدر] or Zaferabad [ظفرآباد]:

The city of Baider [بیدر] or Zaferabad [ظفرآباد] was about eighty miles away from Hyderabad. The same had a number of fortalices and underground tunnels. Baider [بیدر] was the capital of two Muslim states namely Bahni [بہنی] and Breed Shahi [برید شاہی]. The city was located at a high pedestal. The same was established in 1469 by Ahmed Shah [احمدشاہ]. He was the ninth ruler of Bahni family. Bahni was ruled at different times by fifteen rulers. The mausoleum of its pioneer was in existence until lately. There were a number of monuments which had always reminded about the glory of the past.

Mahmood Goowan [محمودگواں] was one of the Iranian Wazirs of the ruler Mohammed Shah Salas [محمدشاہ ثالث]. He had established a Madraasa. The building of the same was in existence until lately but in a ruinous order totally. The leading building of the area was "Rangeen Mahal" [رنگین محل]. There was a labyrinth access to the city from the south. The same had three entrances. The inner door was known as Shair Derwaza [شیر دروازہ] because it was decorated with the drawings of two lions. The writing pattern on said door was an indicator of the fact that the same was placed there by the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. The door planks were studded with bighead door nails. The other door was decorated with colored tiles of angular shapes. There used to be 177 villages in 1908. The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had conquered the same in 1652 and he had named said place as Zaferabad [ظفرآباد]. The Nobatkhana [نوبت خانہ] (*Drum Beating Room*) was among the ruins of Baider [بیدر] which was located on the side of the second door. There was a big distance between the second and third door. The third door was known as "Gunbad Derwaza" [گنبد دروازہ]. It was the biggest door among all the doors of Baider [بیدر]. The royal palace was located adjacent to the same and the ruins were there until lately. There were some Dewan Khass [دیوان خاص] buildings. The same were contiguous with palace. There were a number of guardrooms with

minarets [مینار]. The same were on the opposite side of "Rangeen Mahal" [رنگین محل]. There was a royal bathroom [شاہی گرم حمام] along-with ruins of a mosque. The mosque was known as "Sola Khamba" [سولہ کھمبا]. There was a plaque which was affixed on the mosque and according to the same the mosque was built in the Alamgir [عالمگیر] era. The roof of the mosque had the remains of water tanks and channels of water supply. There were other popular remains which were known as "Takht Mahal" [تخت محل] and "Kala Burj" [کالا برج]. There was a grand fort in the north of the city. The length of the outer wall of the same was about 4500 yards. The height of the embankment was about fifteen yards and width of the outer wall was about fifty feet. There was a solid cabin [چوبوترہ] at a distance of six hundred feet. The same was created to place the cannons. The total number of those cannon cabins [چوبوترے] was 37 and most of them had the cannons even until lately. The same were placed inside and each cabin had a particular name. The most popular among them were Kala Burj [کالا برج], Laj Burj [لاج برج], Kalyani Burj [کلیانی] and Barri Top ka Burj [بڑی توپ کا برج]. The opening of the last Burj from the outer side was eleven feet whereas the circumference of the same was one foot from the inside. The walls of the fort were very compact and were surrounded by the moats.

The Jamia mosque [جامع مسجد] Chobara [چوبارہ] and Takht Kirmani [تخت کرمانی] had a real historical significance in the city of Baider [بیدر]. Chobara [چوبارہ] was erected right in the middle of the city. The same was the central point for many roads. The width of Chobara [چوبارہ] was about one hundred and eighty feet at ground level and the same was tapered off at fifty feet seven inches towards the top and the height was seventy two feet. There was a minting unit, weapons store and many ammunition depots. There used to be a number of mosques, palaces and other grand buildings in the city but all those historical monuments have become extinct. There were a number of mausoleums of Bahni [بہنی] rulers in Baider [بیدر]. There were mausoleums of Bahni [بہنی] rulers in the west of the city. The same were known as Elmi Breed [علمی برید], Qasim Breed [قاسم برید] etc. Then there were twelve mausoleums of the ruler dynasty in the north, near village Ashtray [اشتورہ] (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.534 Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.8 Page No.165-170 Nizam State Railway Magazine Series No.5***). Those monuments used to present the glimpses of Muslim grandeur in the Subcontinent.

SULEIMAN KHAN PANNI BROTHER OF DAOUD KHAN PANNI

[سلیمان خان پنّی ، برادر داؤد خان پنّی]

Renowned General of Alamgir [عالمگیر کا نامور جرنیل]:

Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was also among the leading personalities of the ruler family of Kernol. He was the third son of Khizer Khan Panni Shahjahani [خضّر خان پنّی شاہجہانی] and the younger brother of Vice Wazir Jung of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] i.e. Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. He was also among the leading Generals of Alamgir. He had also rendered many a great performances just like his elder brothers during the reign of Alamgir and during the reign of his descendants. He had also earned a big name for himself and was also very much involved in the royal family politics after the death of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. He had remained busy in sorting out the political enigmas with sword just like his elder brothers namely Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابرہیم خان پنّی] and Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. He had fought for the protection of the rights of a claimant to the throne i.e. the Prince Azeem [شہزادہ عظیم] during the power struggle period. He had died in a battle near Lahore [لاہور] while he was trying to escape. He was drowned along-with his elephant in the River Ravi [دریائے راوی]. The excerpt about him according to Maser Alamgiri [ماثر عالگیری] was in the manner as below:

> "There was another personality of Panni nation by the name of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. He was the real brother of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] and was the right-hand man of the eldest son of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] namely Shah Alam Bahader Shah" [شاہ عالم بہادرشاہ] who was a successor actually (***Page No.643***).

The compiler of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] had expressed his views in the manner as below:

اما بہادر خاں سلیمان خاں یہ ہر دوباہم برادر حقیی بودند

برادر کلاں خودبتقدیم کارہائے شاہی می پرداختند

(***Volume No.2 Page No.66***)

We have discussed the initial introduction of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] when he had showed up in the royal Durbar on 26th Ramadan-ul-Mubarak [رمضان المبارک] in 1093 Hegira 1681 and he was decorated *succêss de scandale* with a Khilat [خلعت]. He was also awarded the

royal honor (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالمگیری] ***Page No.157***). History has talked about him in the manner as mentioned above only and the same had not specified the achievements in recognition of which he was awarded a Khilat [خلعت] among other rewards. We may suppose that, he had rendered some appreciable royal services to attain the awards. The author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] had expressed his views in the context of his association with the royal interest that when the royal army had reached Deccan in 26th year during the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] then, Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was instrumental in creating the inroads into the royal Durbar of Aurangzeb Alamgir [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] for his brother Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. He was assigned the task of curbing insurgencies of Merhattas along-with his uncle Ali Khan [علی خان] and the Prince Muez-ud-Din [شہزادہ معزالدین]. He had participated in the raid and earned a name for himself while rendering some worthy performances in the royal service alongside his brother. Then both of them were awarded *succêss de scandale* a Khilat [خلعت] each, among other royal honors (***Volume No.2 Page No.64 and 77 Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالمگیری] ***Page No.157)***. The said historical statement had revealed that he was also a great performer just like his brothers. He had also contributed in the history making process in Hindustan. He was the right-hand man of the eldest son of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] i.e. Shah Alam Bahader Shah" [شاہ عالم بہادرشاہ] who was a successor to the throne (***Page No.643***).

Attempt to capture Kadlor [کدلور پر قبضے کی کوشش]:

The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] had appointed Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] as Governor of Porto Novo in 1698. The said city was located in the southern Hindh near Madraas at a distance of fifteen miles from Kadlor [کدلور]. The same was a provincial capital of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. He was known in the area for his authoritative administration and the people of many European nations were also impressed by his way of administration other than British intruders. When he was passing by Kadlor [کدلور] area the British second-in-council had come out of the city to escort him into fort David. He had congratulated him on his safe return from the expedition of Chanchaie [چنچئی] fort. We have already explained in the context of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] that he had participated in the siege of Chanchaie [چنچئی] fort. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had also thanked him in reciprocity. He had informed him about his next return and had promised to meet

the British Governor after a few days. There was an interesting incident which was recorded in the history about the adventurism of said General. He had opted to go into the area of Chadhram [چدھرم] just after a few days of his arrival. He had sent sweetmeats to the British Governor of Kadlor [کدلور] as well as to the second-in-council. They both accepted the gift happily but the English commander had showed his reluctance to accept the sweetmeats because he had some reservation with regard to the schemes and programs of adventurer Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. He had also warned his Governor time and again in the same context. The said incident was discussed in various books of history even to the extent that even digesting those sweetmeats had become very difficult for him. The Governor had cast aside however, all his warnings and then those sweetmeats were perhaps not even tasted properly when within just eight days thereafter about sixty cavalrymen of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had reached Kadlor [کدلور] on 18th February 1898 as per a well devised plan. They had tried to enter the city from one of its doors. They had bullied the guards and tried to enter the city even without any permission. When the British Captain was able to sense the situation, he informed his Governor immediately. Then the Governor had issued the orders and allowed the entry to the horse riders into the city. He was under the impression that they were in Kadlor [کدلور] to take their royalty which was collected as revenue. Those bags of tax money of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] were nothing but sacs full of sand and pebbles according to some historians. He had planned to capture the city by using the same as a pretext. Then as soon as said group of cavalrymen was able to enter the city, there was yet another group which had emerged from nowhere and had also joined them. Then they all were granted permission to enter the city collectively. The said act of barging into the city was followed by third and fourth group which had made the entry into the city one after the other. There were about three thousand cavalrymen as well as equal number of infantrymen and they all had congregated in the city according to the historians (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.130 132***).

Death of the brother-in-law of Khan [خان کے بہنوئی کی ہلاکت]:

The real events may present a different picture but the figure of six thousand soldiers seems to be an exaggeration because neither had the city the capacity to absorb such a large number of soldiers with their bag and baggage nor even it was feasible for the Governor of Kadlor [کدلور] to grant permission to so many people. The incident seems to be correct but partially. The number

of six hundred however, appears to be quite possible because it was also impossible for six thousand soldiers to move out *en bloc* from the city. The historian Manucci had expressed his views further that the soldiers of one of the Sardars of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] who was also his brother-in-law, was desirous to get out of the city through one of its gates at midnight. The guards had stopped him and they had denied him the exit without the permission of the British second-in-council. The Sardar had pressurized the guards and somehow or the other, they were not only able to get out rather they had started moving back and forth frequently. There were more than five hundred soldiers of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] who were waiting at the gate on said night to make their entry according to the historian Manucci. They were under the instructions to barge into the city on receiving the positive signal from inside. The positive signal was the white flag hoisting on one of the check posts or on any one of the Burjs (Minarets) of the city. Then one of the locals had disclosed the fact with regard to the presence of about five hundred soldiers who were under a cluster of date trees. The British second-in-council had not given any importance to said information initially but, he was able to wake up to the reality when a contingent had started hovering around under the command of brother-in-law of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. The brother-in-law of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had called out the officer-in-charge on duty and then he had attacked the Dafahdar [دفعدار] swiftly with his sword and injured his head. Since he was injured therefore, he had also opened the gunfire in retaliation on the attacker. There was another soldier who was also in the line of his fire and also tried to defend. Then there was a stray bullet which had hit the quiver [ترکش] of brother-in-law of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] but he was able to survive the same miraculously. Then the sentry had fired the second shot and a soldier who had intervened from the side was killed resultantly. Since the soldiers were more in number therefore the sentry had no chance to reload his gun because there were about forty two swords which were drawn at him. He was made to lick the ground however, just because of his injuries. Then the British second-in-council had come out of his house when the siren was tuned on with the intention to control the situation. He was just in the middle of nowhere when the brother-in-law of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was able to hoist the white flag on the gate of a Burj. Then the soldiers under the date trees had barged in from the other door of the city after having seen the flag. Since the door was locked properly therefore, they were unable to enter. The sergeant who was posted at the gate had locked up the door firmly after hearing the siren. Then the British soldiers had opened a barrage of bullets on the brother-in-law of Suleiman Khan

Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] from the other side. He had no option but to run and take shelter around the embankment. Then one of the British soldiers was able to spot him there and fired at him through one of the holes. The brother-in-law of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had died on the horse back instantly after receiving the bullet (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.132***).

Attacks of Khan and offers of the British intruders [خان کے حملے اور انگریزوں کی پیشکش]:

When Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had learnt about the death of his brother-in-law, he was able to sense the unsuccessful end of his expedition because his brother-in-law was a very intelligent and a seasoned General. The tension between the Pathan lashkers and British troops was still in progress when the British Captain was able to reach the site of incident along-with reinforcement from the fort. The Muslim commander had died therefore the troops were not left with any other option but to slip away from the place of incident. The Pathans had also relinquished the control of two Burjs which they had captured during the initial assault according to historian Manucci [مونسی]. They had left the city and had also left behind some wounded as well as dead soldiers. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had not lost the heart after said skirmish. He had opted to go back to his own area where a bigger lashker was waiting for him. Then he had launched a massive attack against the British troops after a few days. The same was also defeated because when he had left the city the British intruders had taken all the foreseeable precautionary and preemptive measures. Then Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had set on fire four villages of East India Company subsequent to the defeat. He had launched the third attack thereafter and the British intruders had failed to put up any resistance against the same. They were on the defensive resultantly and then they had made an offer for a truce. The same was coupled with a pecuniary compensation as well. Thus *idée reçue* they were able to pave the way to approach the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] directly. They had made the payment of thirty thousand crowns as a gift thereafter. They had also requested to devise a modus operandi on permanent lines to sort out their other problems. The said request was also accepted duly (***Manucci*** [مونسی] ***Volume No.4 Page No.133-134***). The planning and the sacrifices of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] were rendered useless as a result of said acceptance. Had Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] not granted their request then the British intruders most probably would have left the area for good. The Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] was

supposed to have devised rather a plan in order to promote Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] in his endeavors. Had he done so, the entire history of Hindustan certainly would have taken a turn differently. The mode of operation of Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] was based on his personal aggrandizement *arriviste* only. The aforementioned statements were seemingly beyond exaggeration, distortion and embellishment.

PARTICIPATION IN THE SIEGE OF WARKANEKER AND PROMOTION

[ورکنیکر کے محاصرے میں شرکت منصب میں اضافہ]:

We have already quoted as a general reference that Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was also present along-with his two brothers at the time of siege of Chanchaie [چنچئی] fort. The same was conquered in 1110 Hegira 1698 ultimately. The detail account has already been given in the history of Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. Then as far as the participation of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] in said conquest was concerned, there was a historian who had expressed his views in this regard in the manner as below:

> "The royal army was able to capture the water supply sources (*Boulian*) [باؤلیاں] after the battle of a few more days. Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and his brothers (Ibraheem Khan Panni [ابرھیم خان پنّی] and Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی], *Writer*) had fought very bravely on the morning of 14th Moherram [محرم]. Hameed-ud-Din Khan [حمیدالدین خان] and Terbeyat Khan [تربیت خان] on the other hand were also able to initiate the attacks. The custodians of pride and honor had swamped the enemy all equipped. They had overwhelmed them while they were working against their maneuvers and were able to escape. Then they had set their houses on fire while they were on the escape. When Daoud Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and Mansoor Khan [منصور خان] had entered the fort, they found the houses totally vacant" (***Maser Alamgiri*** [ماثر عالگیری] ***Page No.366 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.537 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.8 Page No. 459***).

The Emperor had awarded *succêss de scandale* the rank of two thousand, instead of one thousand to Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] along-with other officers in the month of Ramadan-ul-Mubarak [رمضان المبارک] in 1118. The same was for his services which he had

rendered with regard to the conquest of Warkaneker [ورکنیکر] (***Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.66 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.589***).

Support to Azam Khan during anarchy [خانہ جنگی میں اعظم خان کی حمایت]:

Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was able to put up by far the best performance to ensure the expansion and stability of the Empire of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر]. When the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر] died in 1118 Hegira, his successors were entangled in the internal rifts and rows. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was also not in a position to stay aloof in the wake of said situation just like many other Generals. When the lashkers of the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] and the Prince Azeem [شہزادہ عظیم] had come face to face in the battlefield of Jajo [جاجو] then Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had sided with the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] at that time (***Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.66***). The mistake which the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] had committed was that he had not taken his army officers into confidence. He had started the fight against the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] (Shah Alam) under a wrong assessment with regard to the strength of his army. He had a renowned commander, the Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرِجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] and the Prince Baider Bakht [بیدار بخت] in the forefront and the same had also included some free lancers from Deccan. The Prince Mohammed Walid Jah [شہزادہ محمد والد جاہ] had held the left flank and there were also other famous Sardars on the third side other than the Prince Walid Jah [شہزادہ محمد والد جاہ], Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] and Abdullah Khan Panni Afghanpuri [عبداللہ خان پنّی افغان پوری]. The same had included a throng of Hindu Iranian Jalladat Kaish [جلادت کیش]. Then said lashker had made advancement and they were able to land by surprise in the close proximity of Moazam Shah [معظم شاہ]. The fight even at its initial stage had presented the picture that same was likely to be converted into a big bloodshed. Then the guns had started blazing the fire and numerous soldiers of Moazam Shah [معظم شاہ] were killed resultantly and his army was destroyed during the massive attack. The tents were burnt and many goods and arsenals of Azam Shah [اعظم شاہ] were seized. The artillery commander of Moazam Shah [معظم شاہ] was arrested. Then he was presented in the Durbar of Mohammed Azam [معظم شاہ] all tied up in ropes. Mohammed Azam [معظم شاہ] had released him however after sometime (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.580 588 589***).

The Prince Azeem [شہزادہ عظیم] was less familiar with the military tactics. He had moved out with a massive lashker in the meantime for Moazam Shah [معظم شاہ]. He had made his advancement into the frontline of the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] just like flood water. Then the rumor was set afloat that mutiny had taken place in the army of Moazam Shah [معظم شاہ]. The same had thrown his entire army into chaotic disarray. Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان], Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی], Abdullah Khan Panni Afghanpuri [عبداللہ خان پنّی افغان پوری] and some other Sardars who were closely associated with him had requested the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] to beat the drums in the wake of said situation and declare the victory instantly. The objective of the same was to avail time till the following morning for their encampment at the same place. The idea was to overwhelm the enemy troops through a mock declaration of victory. The latent objective of the same was to allow the leading opportunist Generals to switch their loyalties. There were some who were also likely in such a situation, to look for some escape routes. Then the escape of Moazam Shah [معظم شاہ] was also quite possible in said bizarre state of affairs. The Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] had rejected however said suggestion with the view that the same was a womanish move. Then he had ordered to deploy his army units on the vantage points. The two sides had started moving against each other thereafter and so much so, when the weather was extremely hot on 17th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1119 Hegira, the two real brothers had started playing the fire and blood game against each other at the battlefield of Jajo [جاجو] which was just for the heritage of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر]. The battlefield of Jajo [جاجو] was just about eight miles away from Akberabad [اکبرآباد]. The gallant and the chivalrous warriors had entered the battlefield with their huge iron clad elephants. They had carried the chains weighing two to three mounds approximately and had grappled with each other, while the wrangling was in progress each side had made the ingress into the frontline defense of the other side. They were on the loose without any direction to cause devastation and destruction. Then they had entangled *bagarre* with each other physically.

There was no need to give the descriptive account of the devastation which had taken place during said battle. Since, Khafi Khan [خافی خان] had recorded the war events as a government officer therefore, some of his expressions were sufficient in this regard. The same were in the manner as below:

چو گشت از دوسو لشکر آرستہ جہانے بہ پرخاش برخاستہ
دہادہ برآمد زہر پہلوئے چکا چاک بر خاست ازسوئے
زبس خوں کہ کشتگان شد رواں محیط بلا گشت ہندوستاں
بسے تن کہ بے سراز تیغ تیز نہ دست نبرد نہ پائے گریز

Lashkers were perched on each side	Animosity was difficult to hide
Warriors had come out from each side	Then only sword was to decide
Blood of killed was far and wide	Hindustan was a circle vilified
Head and body swords did divide	Hands cut and feet were denied

(***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.589 590 591***)

Were the two real sons of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] and two real brothers at war against each other in the battlefield at Jajo [جاجو] or there was some catastrophe which had played havoc in human life? The dead bodies were afloat in the stream of human blood. The same was a scene of slaughtering the human beings to please the goddess of crown and throne. The braves had neither the strength to move forward nor had the ability to retreat. The repertoire of cannon balls was showered from both sides just like a heavy rain. There were many frontline soldiers of the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] who were killed. The brave soldiers of Moazam Shah [معظم شاہ] had tried their level best to encircle the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] while creating the hullabaloo and kicking their elephants aggressively. The Chack Chack sound of lances and the dead bodies of the braves had added to the horrors of war manifold. Then the brother of an officer namely, Khan Alam [خان عالم] was killed. He had attacked the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] directly out of sheer rage with his eyes full of tears. The Prince had denied him however the joy of killing him. The Prince Rafi-ul-Qader [رفیع القدر] and many others were able to reach out for the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] in the meantime. The Prince Mohammed Baider Bakht [شہزادہ محمد بیدار بخت] had also succumbed to injuries. Then there was one cannon ball which had hit his younger brother i.e. the Prince Walid Jah [شہزادہ والد جاہ]. He was killed instantly and his elephant had also dropped dead due to wounds. Then there was another cannon ball which had landed directly in the Amari [عماری] (Couch) of the wife of the Prince Walid Jah [شہزادہ والد جاہ]. She was also killed on the spot. The elephant of the Prince Walid Jah [شہزادہ والد جاہ] was running back and forth madly while carrying his dead body. Then

the elephant had moved out of the battlefield and it had started running in the direction of Akberabad [اکبرآباد]. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had displayed his war skills for the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] with full dexterity in said battle (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No. 591 593***). The readers can imagine very easily that to be in the good books of the Kings and sardars, hoisting the flags of victory, obtain the Jagirs, to achieve the pomp and show with grandeur and to record the name in the annuls of history what all was required the same was the human blood. Then in order to acquire the association of the kings with the shimmer of power, had also required a perpetual and constant sacrifice which cannot be planned but it was supposed to be earned by shedding blood. The Mughal Empire was put on the ventilator due to the aforementioned battle which had taken place between two real brothers. The people who were instrumental for the annihilation of the Mughal Empire, they were the same Generals who had built said Empire brick by brick.

DEFEAT OF AZAM SHAH AND DEATH

[اعظم شاہ کی شکست وہلاکت]

There were a number of renowned Sardars and Veteran Generals with the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] and battlefield was also dominated by them yet, his bad luck had also engulfed him. There was a gust of storm which had arisen all of a sudden when the war was at its climax. The same had emerged from the rear side of the lashker of Moazam Shah [معظم شاہ] right in front of his lashker. The storm had rendered the quest for victory useless. The arsenals and weaponry of the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] was rendered useless in the extreme murkiness and all the soldiers were also paralyzed in a literal sense. The intensity of the storm had proved to be disastrous for the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ]. The same had proved to be a good omen for Moazam Shah [معظم شاہ] on the other hand. The lashker of the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] was in total disarray during said natural calamity. Then the course of the battlefield had taken an abrupt turn when there was a flying arrow which had slashed the lip of Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] and had distorted his look badly. Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [ذوالفقار خان نصرت] had advised the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] in the wake of said situation to flee from the battlefield and defer the encounter temporarily. The Prince had disagreed with him and rather he had snubbed him. Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] had staged his escape to Gowalyar [گوالیار] resultantly (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No. 596***). Thus the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] had to

face the consequences for not following the earlier advice of Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] and Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] with regard to beating the drums of victory prematurely. He had faced death thereafter right in the battlefield (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No. 597***). Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] and Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] both had survived however in the battlefield. They had come out unhurt.

AGREEMENT WITH MOAZAM SHAH AND GOVERNORSHIP OF BURHANPUR

[معظم شاہ سے مصالحت اور برہانپور کی گورنری]

Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had fought although, on behalf of Moazam Shah [معظم شاہ] in said battle yet, both of them had to enter into an armistice after defeating the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ]. Moazam Shah [معظم شاہ] had declared his Kingship after the victory with the title as Shah Alam Bahader Shah [شاہ عالم بہادرشاہ] (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No. 597***). He had made Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] his Governor for Burhanpur [برہانپور] during the first year in his office. The author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] had expressed his views in this regard in the manner as below:

”پس ازاں کہ بہادر شاہ بر تخت نشت، سال اول جلوس بہ صوبہداریٔ برہانپور مامور گرید“

The people of the area were not happy with him due to some reason. When the King had paid a visit to the area, they had lodged a formal complaint against him. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was replaced resultantly ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.67).*** We have mentioned above that he was the right-hand man of Shah Alam Moazam [شاہ عالم معظم].

Death while fighting for Azeem-ush-Shan [عظیم الشان کی حمایت میں لڑتے ہوئے ہلاکت]:

The Emperor Bahader Shah [بہادرشاہ] had declared war against Kam Bux [کام بخش] and he had killed him two years after the aforementioned incident. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had also supported Shah Alam Bahader Shah [شاہ عالم بہادرشاہ] in said battle along-with Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] and his elder brother Nawab Daoud Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2***). Bahader Shah [بہادرشاہ] had died on 19th Moherram [محرم] 1124 Hegira after ruling for about five years. He had left behind four sons namely Azeem-ush-Shan [عظیم الشان], Moiz-ud-Din Jahandad Shan [معزالدین جہانداد شاہ] and Rafi-ush-Shan [رفیع الشان]. They were

claimants of sultanate along-with a daughter namely, Khajasta Akhter [خجستہ اختر]. When they had started the intrigues against each other for power, Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was also very much part of the power struggle. Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] was with the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ] just like Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] during said battle between Moazam Shah [معظم شاہ] and the Prince Azam Shah [شہزادہ اعظم شاہ]. He was in the opposite camp however at said juncture of history. He was the supporter of Moiz-ud-Din Jahandad Shah [معزالدین جہاندادشاہ]. He was the same man of wisdom who was Governor of Multan during the reign of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر]. He had played an important role during the period of Panni Nawabs of Sibi [سبی]. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] and Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had supported Azeem-ush-Shan [عظیم الشان] and Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان]. They had made concerted efforts to win the confidence of Moiz-ud-Din [معزالدین]. They had managed Rafi-ush-Shan [رفیع الشاہ] and Khajasta Akhter [خجستہ اختر] very intelligently. Then all three of them were united to fight against Azeem-ush-Shan [عظیم الشان]. Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] had placed the cannons at a very advantageous position, which Moiz-ud-Din [معزالدین] had brought from Lahore. He had organized the battlefront at a short distance from Lahore (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.686***).

Azeem-ush-Shan [عظیم الشان] was not ready to attack his brother Jahandar Shah [جہاندارشاہ] for whom Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was all out to support despite the fact that the tension between both of them had persisted continuously. He had opted to be on the defensive and his lashker was demoralized resultantly. Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] who was also the Wazir-e-Jung [وزیرجنگ] of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] and was a Veteran General, had opened the bombardment however on behalf of Jahandar Shah [جہاندارشاہ]. Raja Deya Bahader [راجہ دیا بہادر] and Raja Mohkam Singh [راجہ محکم سنگھ] had appeared before him pursuant to said situation. They were leading Sardars of Azeem-ush-Shan [عظیم الشان] and had implored him to take charge of the situation before it was too late. They had also beseeched him that instead of facing the embarrassment on a regular basis, the encounter was a more appropriate move. Azeem-ush-Shan [عظیم الشان] had calmed them down however because his army was facing one defeat after the other. The army was demanding a more mature approach to solve the problems and so much so the soldiers who used to volunteer their assistance even they were discouraged by some other soldiers. He had launched a full scale attack against the army of Azeem-ush- Shan [عظیم الشان] on realizing the factual position that there was no support available to rescue Raja Deya Bahader

[راجہ دیا بہادر] and Raja Mohkam Singh [راجہ محکم سنگھ] as well as Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان]. The same had resulted in a big bloodshed and resultantly both Rajas had also sustained injuries along-with their companions. Then there were some wounded soldiers who had escaped to Lahore city. When Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had learnt about the defeat of those tow Rajas, he had taken out about one thousand soldiers to confront Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان]. Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] was able to defeat Azeem-ush-Shan [عظیم الشان] every inch of the way at the behest of Moiz-ud-Din. When Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] along-with his lashker had come out to face him, there was a deadly cannonball which had come all of a sudden from the enemy camp and had killed him on the spot. Thus said shot had brought an end to his life near Lahore in 1123 Hegira 17th March 1712. The companions of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had taken possession of his dead body and the same was brought over to the city (***Syed Al-Mutakhereen*** [سیدالمتاخرین] ***Volume No.2 Page No.7 8 10***). The author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] had expressed his views in this regard in the manner as below:

”پس ازرحلت بہادرشاہ توسل عظیم الشان جستہ روز محاربہ بایاد شہزادگان دگر مطابق 1122 ھ“

Azeem-ush-Shan [عظیم الشان] was defeated all ends up. He was drowned in the River Ravi [دریائے راوی] near Lahore while he was trying to escape from the battlefield. The bugles of the victory of Moiz-ud-Din Jahandad Shan [معزالدین جہانداد شاہ] were blown. The man who had opted to stand up against the foreigners, who had hunted freely in the extreme southern end of Madraas, Kadlor [کدلور] and Porto Novo, a man who was able to earn a big name during the victories of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir [شہنشاہ اورنگ زیب عالمگیر], who was able to earn big rewards, was the right-hand man of the King Shah Alam Bahader Shah [بادشاہ شاہ عالم بہادر شاہ], who was the renowned and the Veteran General of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] and who had come in the north of the Subcontinent, he was killed in the center of Lahore. Thus he had left behind the history of his achievements which was written with his own blood. He had not left behind a male heir and his companions had taken his body into the city. The eternal abode and resting place of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was however never identified in history. When Sumsam-ud-Dolla [صمصام الدولہ] i.e. the author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] had written his book, the grandchildren from his daughter(s) were around at that time. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had not left behind any heritage except his personal achievements ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.67).***

PANNI PATHAN

Chapter-X

MIR SHAMSHEER NAWAB IBRAHIM KHAN PANNI

[میر شمشیرابرھیم خان پنّی]

Known popularly as, Bahader Khan Panni [المعروف بہ بہادر خان]

Runmust Khan Panni [رنمست خان پنّی]

The daring General of Alamgir [ایک شجاع عالمگیری جنرل]:

The role which Mir Shamsheer, Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [میر شمشیرابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] had played in the history making process of the Subcontinent, the vivid feature of the same was the former state of Asfia [مملکتِ آصفیہ] (Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن]). The same had retained its status for quite some time. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] was the second son of Khizer Khan Panni Shah Jahani [خضّر خان پنّی شاہجہانی]. He was the younger brother of Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] who was Vice Wazir-e-Jung [نائب وزیرِ جنگ] of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] ***(Maser-ul-Kirram*** [ماثرالکرام] ***Faseel Doam*** [فصیل دوم] ***Page No. 196).*** He was also a man of many qualities and courage just like his brother. He had also participated in many large and small expeditions under the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] and he was also able to earn a big name for himself in the history just like his ancestors. He had fought against the enemy side by side with his brothers Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] and Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. He was able to glorify the history of his time with courage. When Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was able to have access to the Durbar of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر], he had introduced his two younger brothers in the Durbar as well. Mir Shamsheer Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [میر شمشیرابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] had died without leaving behind any heirs according to the historians but, his two younger brothers had proved to be a worthy replacement after his departure from this world ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2, Page No.66).*** When Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] died in Burhanpur [برہانپور] in 1167 Higra, the entire Jagir [جاگیر] had devolved upon Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] (***Pictorial***).

The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had bestowed the title of Mir Shamsheer [میر شمشیر] upon Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] in recognition of his meritorious services (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.534***). He had also awarded him the title as Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] as well as Runmust Khan Panni [رنمست خان پنّی] ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2, Page No.67 and Pictorial)***. The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had also awarded many other awards to him on various occasions. He was awarded the ownership of Jagir of his father initially then the ownership of state of Kernol as a Jagir along-with Jaferabad [جعفرآباد] (Zaferabad [ظفرآباد]) and the areas [محال] of Shah Gherr [شاہ گڑہ] was also awarded to him, subsequently. Those areas were made an integral part of his Jagir [جاگیر]. The same were areas of Pathan population exclusively. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] had participated in the most challenging expeditions of Chanchaie [چنچئی] and Wakaneker [واکینیکر] among many other expeditions and he was able to display his skills of chivalry. He was also involved in the expeditions against the Merhattas on various occasions and he was able to prove his real mettle in practical terms on each occasion. The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had awarded him the title of retaining four thousand personnels as well as four thousand cavalrymen. The same was the biggest award for any one in accordance with the principles of policy which was introduced against the Pathans during the reign of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and as a matter of fact, the biggest honor for any Pathan Ameer [امیر] other than Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] who was popularly known as Runmust Khan Kallan [المعروف بہ رنمست خان کلاں] was a Nawab in Kernol prior to acquiring the status as "Nawab of Kernol". When Jahan Khan [جہان خان] reached there as Viceroy of Deccan, Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] had to pay him Rupees five lacs in cash for the Jagir of Kernol, in accordance with the then prevalent practices in order to obtain the certificate. Then Asif-ud-Dolla [آصف الدولہ] was appointed as Viceroy in 1720 and Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] had to meet him in Burhanpur [برہانپور]. He had ratified the certificate after taking the oath. The same was already awarded to Jahan Khan [جہان خان] for serving the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.292***). He was decorated with the title as Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] after the death of his uncle namely, Nawab Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب علی خان بہادر پنّی] ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2, Page No.67).*** We find the introduction of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] in the history in 1093 Higra 1681. We have already explained in the preceding chapter that Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had given away his life during the fight against the Syed Brothers [سید برادران]

under the instructions of the King Farrukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ]. The same was an act of bravery which was displayed for the protection of the Mughal throne and crown. Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] had severed his relationship with the center during the reign of the King Naseer-ud-Din Mohammed Shah [نصیرالدین محمد شاہ]. He had made a declaration with regard to the state of Asfia [مملکتِ آصفیہ] as an independent and autonomous state. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] had fought against him under the instructions of the King. He had given away his life at Shaker Kherrah [شکر کیھڑہ] (***Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.223, Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.67***).

Rewards [انعام واکرام**]**:

The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] was pleased to meet Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] on 26th Ramadan-ul-Mubarak [رمضان المبارک] 1093 Higra in the twenty sixth or twenty seventh year of Alamgiri [عالمگیری] era and awarded him a Khilat [خلعت]. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] was honored with the title of Asp-o-Feel [امیر اسپ و فیل]. He was also awarded a Khilat [خلعت] on the 6th of Shawal [شوال] during the same year ***(Maser-al-Alamgiri*** [ماثرعالمگیری] ***Page No.173***).

Conquest of Adhoni, reward and Governorship [تسخیر ادھونی انعام اورگورنری]:

The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had sent an expedition against Adhoni [ادھونی] in Talqa [تعلقہ] near Madraas [مدراس] in 1096 Higra (1686) (*Capital of the same was also known by the same name*). It was located on the roadside leading from Skinderabad [سکندرآباد] to Bangalore [بنگلور] and was at a distance of 26 miles from River Tang Bhadar [دریائے تنگ بھدار]. There was also a railway station of the southern Merhattas. The thirty seven per cent population of the area was Muslim, according to the census report 1901. There was a fort which was built on the top of a mountain which was surrounded by other mountains. The same had very dangerous slopes. Nizam of Deccan had awarded said area as a Jagir in 1756 to his brother namely, Basalat Jung [بسالت جنگ]. He died in 1782 and he was buried at the same place (***Imperial Volume No.5, Page No.24***). Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] had landed in the area as a Sardar. The royal lashker had conquered said fort and the Emperor had ordered to arrange a grand Durbar thereafter in order to celebrate the conquest. He had appointed Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب

ابرھیم خان پنّی] as Governor of the area. He had awarded him some rewards as well (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.291***). The compiler of Waqeat Mumliqat Bijapur [واقعات مملکت بیجاپور] had written in this regard in the manner as below:

> "Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] who was brother of Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] he was appointed as the Governor of the area after the conquest. He had built very solid embankments and named it after his name. He had retained the post of Governorship for a very long time".

Nizam had reached Adhoni [ادھونی] and awarded a Khilat [خلعت] to Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] along-with other Sardars ***(Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.86***).

Participation in other expeditions and rewards [دوسری مہمات میں شرکت اور انعام]:

There were some Sardars in 1094 Higra who had terrorized the ruler of Talanga [تلنگا] namely, Taana Shah [تاناشاہ]. It was the 29th year of Alamgiri [عالمگیری] era. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] had assigned the task to his son namely, Andola Khan Panni [اندولہ خان پنّی] to sort them out. The Prince was decorated on his return to Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] with the ranks to conclude the assignment successfully. The elder brother of Nawab namely, Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] had also participated in said expedition ***(Maser-al-Alamgiri*** [ماثرعالمگیری] ***Page No.85***). Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] had also performed bravely side by side with his two brothers i.e. Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] and Nawab Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] during the expedition of Chanchaie [چنچئی] ***(Maser-al-Alamgiri*** [ماثرعالمگیری] ***Page No.366***). The said fort was conquered in 1108 Higra (1696). Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] had also participated in the expedition of Wakaneker [واکینیکر] in 39th year of Alamgiri [عالمگیری] era along-with his brother, Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was a man of grit, gumption and grace according to Khafi Khan [خافی خان]. He had rendered great services in the company of Wazir-e-Jung Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat [وزیرجنگ ذوالفقار خان نصرت] and Bahader Khan Panni [بہادر خان پنّی]. He had landed in the battlefield along-with their respective lashkers (***Volume No.2 Page No.534***). When Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] appeared in the Durbar to offer congratulations after the daunting conquest of the Chanchaie [چنچئی] fort and Wakaneker

[واکینیکر] respectively, he was elevated with the rank of one hundred additional cavalrymen. He was also bestowed upon the privilege of using the Naqara Blund Awaza [نقارہ بلند آوازہ] (*Trumpet*) ***(Maser-al-Alamgiri*** [ماثرعالمگیری] ***Page No.67, Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.53***). We have already discussed under the caption of Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] the tormenting battle and the siege of Chanchaie [چنچئی] and Wakaneker [واکینیکر] as well as the participation of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] in the same.

Governorship of Bangala, Ahmadabad and Hyderabad [بنگالہ، احمدآباد اور حیدرآباد کی گورنری]:

Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] was the Governor for Bangala [بنگالہ] in 1117 Higra (1705). The Prince Mohammed Azam Shah Ahmed [شہزادہ محمد اعظم شاہ احمد] was the Governor for Ahmadabad [احمدآباد]. The King had summoned him in his Durbar and he had appointed Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] in his place. When Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] was Viceroy for six provinces in 1119 Higra 1123 during the reign of Shah Alam Bahader Shah [شاہ عالم بہادر شاہ], he had assigned the associated rule for the province of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] to his brother at that time (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.541, Maser-al-Alamgiri*** [ماثرعالمگیری] ***Volume No.2, Page No.65, Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.604).***

Nazim Kernol [ناظم کرنول**]**:

When Hayder Quli Khan [حیدرقلی خان] was appointed as Dewan [دیوان] of Deccan [دکن] in the beginning of the King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ] era in 1124 Higra, Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] was dispatched to Kernol [کرنول] as a Fojdar [فوجدار] to manage the affairs of military Jagir (***Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.860***). The Syed Brothers [سید برادران] had usurped the power from Moiz-ud-Din Jahandad Shah [معزالدین جہانداد شاہ] with the help of the King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ] during the same period. He was sent there possibly pursuant to said event. He was there to control the possibility of any insurgency in the vicinity of Kernol [کرنول] area. Since Syed Brothers [سید برادران] were based in the centre and they were involved in the process of political sifting and shifting very cunningly therefore, they had not subscribed to the idea to work under the elder brother namely, Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] as Viceroy of six provinces of Deccan and under the younger brother i.e. Nawab

Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان پنّی] as Nazim [ناظم] or Dewan [دیوان] of an important province of Hyderabad [جیدرآباد].

Participation in the Jaland expedition and rewards [جالند کی مہم میں شمولیت اور انعام]:

When Merhattas had revolted in Jaland [جالند] in 1125 Higra (1713), Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had assigned the job of their abjuration to Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان پنّی]. He had moved out with a huge lashker to bring the situation under control. When he had come back to Muzzaferabad [مظفرآباد] all triumphant, Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had showered floral petals on Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان پنّی] as an acknowledgement of said achievement and he had expressed his gratitude. Then he had also rewarded him even otherwise very magnanimously (***Durbar Asif Gulzar-III Gul Awal*** [دربار آصف گلزارسوم گل اول] ***Page No.484, Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.72, Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.111***). The year in which Babo Tank Merhatta [بابو ٹانک مرہٹہ] had opted to go to Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] along-with his large army to collect one fourth as revenue and in order to sort the Merhattas out, Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had sent Abu Rekher Khan [ابو ریخر خان] to encounter him. He had directed him to take along Anwer-ud-Din Talqdar [انورالدین تعلقدار], Kernatak [کرناٹک], Abdul Ghani Khan [عبدالغنی خان], Fojdar Kerrpa [فوجدار کرپہ] and Bahader Khan Panni [بہادر خان پنّی] i.e. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان پنّی] who was a Fojdar [فوجدار] of Kernol [کرنول] area at that time. Then all four of them had given jointly such a devastating defeat to Merhattas that according to Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] the defeat had become the talk of the town (***Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1 Page No.364***).

Devastating defeat of the Merhattas at Attnor [اٹنور پر مرہٹوں کی تباہ کن شکست]:

The Merhattas were out on a run amok in 1125 Higra during the reign of the King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ]. They used to rob the passengers and used to loot the caravans. They had looted and plundered one of the caravans in those days, which was moving from Bender Seurat [بندرسورت] to Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] and they had killed a number of individuals. They were able to establish a number of Gharries [گھڑیاں] in the area of Deccan. They used to disappear in those Gharries [گھڑیاں] after looting and plundering. There were some Merhattas who were also able to make inroads into Nusratpur [نصرت پور] and Rajdher [راجدھر]. They had also made

besides that, the area of Attnor [اٹنور] as their safe haven. Nizam-ul-Mulk-Awal [نظام الملک اول] was Nazim [ناظم] of all those areas in those days. He was a Qaladar [قلعہ دار] of Pergana Pholery [پرگنہ پھولری] which was just eight miles away from Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد]. When he was out there in Baizapur [بیضاپور] to collect revenue, then the deposed Kamalishdar [کمالش دار] namely Kalo [کالو] had approached him because he was looking for a job. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] had supported him and was able to make him agree in the process to lead an expedition against the Merhattas. Then the circumstances had revealed that he was on a special mission therefore, Anwer Khan [انورخان] had arrested him and he had made him a prisoner. The Merhattas had launched an attack on the small force of Anwer Khan [انورخان] on receiving the news of his arrest and they were able to have Kalo [کالو] released from his captivity. Ganga Gee [گنگا جی], Wastaana Gee [وستنا جی] and Ano Gee [انو جی] Merhatta Sardars etc. had accompanied the attackers. They were also able to arrest Anwer Khan [انورخان] and he was incarcerated in the Attnor fort [اتنور قلعہ] (***Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.86 Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.73***).

When Nizam-ul-Mulk-Awal [نظام الملک اول] was informed about said incident, he had sent Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] along-with four thousand cavalrymen and two thousand infantrymen to sort out the Merhattas. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] had moved down from the slopes of Pallasi [پلاسی] and then he was on the course of collusion against the Merhattas. The said incident had taken place in 1125 Higra 1713. The same had laid the foundation for a practical battle between the two sides. Then the torrential rains had started unfortunately, which had multiplied the problems of the lashker of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی]. The continuous rains for day and night were more troublesome for the lashker of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] than the Merhattas. The rainwater had ruined all the arsenals as well as the equipments of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی]. The Merhatta army was fifteen to sixteen thousand as compared with six thousand troops of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی]. They had encircled the army of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] practically. The lashker of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] notwithstanding the same was able to engage the enemy for many days in a fight. Then there were many soldiers from both sides who were either wounded or they were killed during the fight. The historian Khafi Khan [خافی خان] had expressed his views in this regard in the manner as below:

مرہٹہ عرصۂ کارزاربرافغانان نام ونگ، تنگ ساختند،ابراهیم خان پنی استقامت ور زیده برائے کومک " نظام الملک را نوشت"

Translation:

"Ibrahim Khan Panni had written a letter to Nizam-ul-Mulk for some reinforcement while he was fighting resolutely and courageously against the enemy" (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.743 Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.74 Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.109 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No.116 117).***

Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had received the message no sooner, he had sent the reinforcement under the professed command of his eight years old son namely Ghazi-ud-Din [غازی الدین]. He had also sent Mohammed Gheyas Khan [غیاث خان] and Mirza Baig Khan [مرزا بیگ خان] as tutors [اتالیق] and guardians of his son. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان پنّی] was no sooner strengthened with said reinforcement then, despite the bad weather he was able to launch a massive attack against the enemy and he was able to outmaneuver them. When the incidents of bloodshed had multiplied massively, the Merhattas had decided to flee from the battlefield. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان پنّی] had tracked them down all over and he was able to decimate all of them one by one. The riders of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان پنّی] while holding the reins loosely just at the speed of eighty miles per hour, had ensured that there was no sign of the Merhattas even in the far flung areas according to the historians. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان پنّی] was able to capture many goods of the Merhattas in the process including the weapons, numerous horses, camels and two elephants which were their main asset. He was able to seize a number of umbrellas of their Sardars besides that, which they had left behind while escaping from the battlefield. There was a Sardar of each Jatha [جتھہ] according to the formation of troops of the Merhattas and one umbrella carrier used to be placed in front of each Jatha [جتھہ] as a symbol of majesty. The same was especially for the sake of identification only. The other Merhattas who were hunted down during the escape were put to the sword. Then each and every Gharri [گھڑی] was destroyed and whatever support they were able to amass from left and right initially, the source was also eliminated. There were only a few Merhattas who were able to escape. They had sought refuge in the mountains as well as in the craggy caves. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان پنّی] was also able to get Anwer Khan [انورخان] released from their captivity. Thus he was able to conclude the special expedition very

successfully (***Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.110 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No. 117 Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.74-76).***

Attnor was named as Panni Nagger [اتنور کا نام پنّی نگر رکھ دیا گیا]:

When Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] had reached Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] while celebrating his victory, Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had arranged a grand party in his honor and awarded him many prizes. The said celebrations were coupled with some other events. The celebrations extravaganza had lasted for nine days officially. Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had sent a summary of said victory to the King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ] at Delhi [دہلی] through Mirza Bakhsi Baig [مرزا بخشی بیگ] and had also moved out two elephants. Those elephants were taken into the custody as assets of the Merhattas. Then the name of Attnor [اٹنور] was changed as Panni Nagger [پنّی نگر] officially. The change of name of Attnor [اٹنور] was in recognition of gallantry and the chivalry of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] which he had demonstrated during the expeditions against the Merhattas (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.743 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.90 Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1 Page No.363).***

Rewards [انعام]:

When the King Mohammed Shah [بادشاہ محمدشاہ] (1131 to 1161 Higra) was in power, there was a bloody battle which had taken place at Balapur [بالاپور] at the behest of Nizam-ul-Mulk-Awal [نظام الملک اول] against the nephew of Wazir [وزیر] Qutab-ul-Mulk Syed Abdullah Khan [قطب الملک سید عبداللہ خان]. We have already discussed the same but it will be sufficient to reiterate that Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] was all out to assist Nizam-ul-Mulk-Awal [نظام الملک اول] in said battle. Nizam-ul-Mulk-Awal [نظام الملک اول] had won said battle and the nephew of Qutab-ul-Mulk [قطب الملک] was killed. When Nizam-ul-Mulk-Awal [نظام الملک اول] had reached Adhoni [ادھونی] after the victory, Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] had opted to go all the way from Kernol [کرنول] to welcome him. There were six to seven hundred cavalrymen who had accompanied him. Nizam-ul-Mulk-Awal [نظام الملک اول] had expressed his gratitude on said occasion and he had awarded him *succêss de scandale* a Khilat [خلعت] along-with other rewards (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.90 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.9 Page No. 179).***

Governorship of Bijapur [بیجاپور کی گورنری]:

Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان پنّی] was Governor of Bijapur [بیجاپور] during the reign of the King Naseer-ud-Din Mohammed Shah [نصیرالدین محمد شاہ]. He had participated in different expeditions from said place as and when there was his demand during the exigencies.

Fighting arm of Asif Jah Mohammed [آصف جاہ محمد کا بازوئے شمشیرزن]:

Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] had held very significant and key posts as usual even after the death of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] and during the reign of his descendants. He was reckoned among a very few reliable and trustworthy Sardars in the Mughal Empire. We have already explained that he had rendered various services at said position. Then he had proved himself to be a very competent and an expert administrator besides being a very brave and courageous General. He was totally at the disposal of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] and against the Merhattas just by virtue of his military acumen as well as his capability to wage a war. He had earned the title of Mir Shamsheer [میرشمشیر] on the basis of his extraordinary ability to execute a war. He had rendered extraordinary services for Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] Asif Jah-Awal [آصف جاہ اول] for managing the tricky affairs of Deccan which had a very historic significance. There was an undeniable fact historically that, the contribution of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] had helped Nizam to consolidate and perpetuate his parallel governance with the state of Asfia [مملکتِ آصفیہ] (*The detail of the same will be given later*). The same was perhaps due to the reasons that there were a number of lords of Deccan [امرائے دکن] among the descendants of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی]. There were some of them who were very much alive even when this book was being in the process of compilation. They were decorated with the titles as well as honors, Jagirs and other rewards besides the title as Nawab. The deeper study of the events had revealed that Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] had played a tremendous role in the struggle for attaining the title of Asif Jah-Awal [آصف جاہ اول] from the status of Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک]. He had helped him establish his independent and autonomous state. He was always in a position to create more golden chapters in the history but, he died at Shaker Kehrrah [شکر کیھڑہ] while fighting against Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] on the instigation of Naseer-ud-Din Mohammed Shah [نصیرالدین محمد شاہ] (***Maser-al-***

Umara [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.67).*** The learned Mohammed Idrees [محمدادریس] had expressed his views in the history of descendants of Alamgir and the Merhattas with regard to Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان بہادر پنّی] Nizam [نظام] and the Merhattas in the manner as below:

> "The King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ] was enthroned in Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1123 Higra (1711). He had murdered Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان]. Then he had sent Chain Qalaich Khan [چین قلیچ خان], Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] as Nazim for the provinces of Deccan. He had assigned the Subaydari [صوبہ داری] of Gujarat to Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. The King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ] had although murdered Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] yet, he had complete faith in the ability and in the loyalty of Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی]. He had not caused him any major harm except that he was made a permanent Governor of Gujarat instead of Deccan. Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had given extraordinary respect as well as the honor to Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان بہادر پنّی] brother of Nawab Daod Khan Afghan Panni [نواب داؤد خان افغان پنّی]. He was busy thereafter to ensure his success when he was made commander of his army. He had worked very hard to consolidate his command during his expeditions. He had integrated and absorbed Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان بہادر پنّی] in his close quarters as much as Nawab Daod Khan Afghan Panni [نواب داؤد خان افغان پنّی] and Zulfiqar Khan [ذوالفقار خان] used to be when they were in action. The Merhattas were further overwhelmed and intimidated on the arrival of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] at Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] therefore they had started behaving properly. Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] had started making a concerted and a result orientated effort in order to break the strength as well as, the overall sway of the Merhattas. Neba Gee Sindhia [نیبا جی سندھیا] who was a Jagirdar [جاگیردار] of Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] had started the collection of Serdaish Mukhi [سردیس مکھی] at the rate of one fourth instead of nine percent. He was deposed therefore from his Jagir and was declared as a deserter and absconder. The same had resulted in complete peace and tranquility in Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] as well as in its vicinity. Then he was all buckled up to eliminate the dominance of Sahoo [ساہو] by pushing the Merhattas on the defensive" (***Page No.85***).

We have already mentioned above that Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان بہادر پنّی] was instrumental in achieving those extraordinary results.

Participation in Shaker Kehrrah battle [شکر کیھڑہ کے معرکے میں شمولیت]:

Naseer-ud-Din Mohammed Shah [نصیرالدین محمد شاہ] had succeeded the King of Delhi [دہلی] namely Nikko Sair [نکوسیر] in 1131 Higra (1768) with the title as Roshan Akhter [روشن اختر]. He died in 1311 Higra (1728) after ruling for about thirty years. The way Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had fought and died in the battlefield in Moherram [محرم] 1167 Higra while fighting against Syed Hussein Ali Khan Ameer-ul-Umara [سید حسین علی خان شاہ امیرالامراء] at the behest of the King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ] to protect his honor and prestige, in a similar manner after ten years of his death, his brother Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان بہادر پنّی] also lost his life at Shaker Kehrrah [شکر کیھڑہ] on 24th Moherram [محرم] 1137 Higra. He was fighting on the very specific instructions of Nizam-ul-Mulk Wazir [نظام الملک وزیر] and to safeguard the interest of Mohammed Shah [محمد شاہ], the King of Delhi [دہلی]. Thus he was also able to write a very glorious chapter in the history with his blood (***Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.223 Volume No.2 Page No.67***). The town of Shaker Kehrrah [شکر کیھڑہ] was located in the district Baldana [بلدانہ] of Brar [برار] province. The bloody and the revolutionizing battle which had taken place on 24th Moherram [محرم] 1137 Higra at said location between the royal lashker, which was commanded by Mubaraz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] and Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک], the same was also a very painful but a revolutionizing battle in the history of the Subcontinent which had yielded such results that the battle had become a basis to detach the Deccan area as a whole from Delhi [دہلی]. The same had also helped Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] to lay the foundation of the state of Asfia [مملکتِ آصفیہ] in Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن].

Nizam-ul-Mulk as a shrewd politician [نظام الملک ایک شاطر سیاستدان]:

The very objective of the instant narrative was to devise the futuristic plans from the study of history. We would like to discuss therefore those causes and effects which had culminated in the battle instead of depicting the scenes of battlefield in which Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرهیم خان بہادر پنّی] participated and was killed.

The renowned experienced and brave Generals of Alamgir era had vanished mostly one by one from the scene. They had no other option but to adopt the reclusive way of life due to the then compelling circumstances. Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] was a most powerful, shrewd clever, opportunist person among those who were in the field practically. He was a man of great understanding and was a Wazir of the King of Delhi [دہلی] in those days. He was all by himself resultantly and was in a position to give a direction to the Mughal Empire unilaterally. The Wazir [وزیر] of the King Farukh Sair [فرخ سیر بادشاہ] namely Syed Abdullah Khan [قطب الملک سید عبداللہ خان] was aspirant to stay in the Durbar of Delhi [دہلی] and had refused to leave Delhi [دہلی] to take charge of the Nizamat [نظامت] of Deccan despite the insistence of the King. Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] on the other hand had refused openly to leave Moradabad [مرادآباد] or to move into the Durbar at Delhi [دہلی]. He was desirous to stay away from the center. He had no regards in this context even for the royal orders because he was desirous to stay in Deccan. He was very well acquainted seemingly with the weaknesses of the King Mohammed Shah [محمدشاہ] and the Mughal Empire. He was in an advantageous position to assess the situation in the royal palace which was heading towards a bigger turmoil. He had planned to raise his own independent and solid edifice of power just on the basis of his ability and intelligence in the wake of deteriorating control of the royal palace. He had refused regularly and constantly to move into the center therefore, the King had ultimately removed him from the governance of Gujarat [گجرات] and Malwa [مالوہ]. He had refused to accept however even those orders.

The King had elevated Khawaja Mohammed Almukhatib Ba Mubaraz Khan [خواجہ محمد المخاطب بہ مبازرخان] as Nazim of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] province in 1136 Higra (1723) in the wake of aforementioned situation. He had promoted him from the rank of Do Hazari [دوہزاری] to Char Hazari [چارہزاری]. He had given him the title of Amad-ul-Mulk Mubaraz Khan Bahader Ber Jung [عمادالملک مبارزخان بہادربرجنگ] and had ordered him to make the advancement from Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] to Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] along-with his lashker and capture the same. It was a principal seat of Nizam. He had also informed him that the entire province of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] was also committed under his administration. He was informed further that Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] the ruler of Kernol [کرنول] and Bijapur as well as some other Sardars along-with their lashkers were also on their way to provide him the

assistance in accordance with his demands. The orders were already duly communicated to them (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.116 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.950).***

Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] was in Moradabad [مرادآباد] at that time. The intentions of the King were also duly communicated to him. He had also decided to encounter the allies and assistants of the King defiantly, even before the time Mubaraz Khan [مبازرخان] was supposed to take over the charge of Deccan. He had moved out in Ramadan-ul-Mubarak [رمضان المبارک] 1136 Higra (1723) and he was able to reach Sahwer [سہور]. He had sent a missive to his uncle [پھوپھا] Aland Dolla Awiz Khan [علنددولہ عوض خان] in Dave Gherr [دیو گڑھ] to move swiftly along-with his lashker to Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد]. The same was absolutely without any administrative control at that time (***Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.223)***. He had also started the advancement along-with his lashker thereafter and resultantly both the lashkers were united at Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد]. Thus he had emerged in a more firm position in said area. We may point out for the readers that it was the same historical moment when Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] was able to work out the prefeasibility plan. Then he had painted the different colors in the same for his subsequent state of Asfia [مملکتِ آصفیہ].

Anticipatory mistakes of Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان کی اجتہادی غلطیاں]:

The aides and the assistants of Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان] had no sooner received the message from the King during the rainy season they had set up their camps near Nandeerr [نندیر] in Rondeya [روندھیہ] after crossing the River Ganges [دریائے گنگا]. The same was a Moza of Balaghat Brar [موضع بالا گھاٹ برار] where they had waited for the rainy season to come to an end. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] had strengthened the hands of Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] by sorting out the Merhattas under his instructions and by eliminating them from Deccan. He had moved from Kernol [کرنول] under the instructions of the King and he was there along-with his lashker to assist Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان] ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.3 Page No.737 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.117 Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.67).*** Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان] was an old and inexperienced person therefore he had made some general mistakes. He had failed to foresee the sensitive nature of the situation. Then while he was on his way, he had opted to get engaged in conquering a fortalice at Noger [نوجر]. The said futile exercise had allowed the opposition to capture Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد]. The

second mistake which he had made was that he had involved himself in a protracted correspondence with Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک]. Thus he had compromised the requisite vigor and agility gradually, for making any decisive move. The same had also resulted in the loss of more time. Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] was not only able to prepare himself more comprehensively in the meantime rather he was able to win over the support of some of the companions of Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان]. The third mistake which he had made was to wait indolently along-with his allies and lashker for the rainy season to come to an end. He had remained totally suspended for any action as a result of the same. Since the lashker had travelled a long distance and soldiers had to cross many small lakes and rivers, which was also a very troublesome adventure therefore, all their animals, donkeys and horses were fatigued after the rains while struggling through slime and sludge (***Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.213 214 116)***. The same fact had also proved to be a fatal mistake. When the King had learnt about said delay, he had issued a royal order to Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان] wherein he had admonished him in the manner as below:

> "When the first order was issued to you, Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] was in Moradabad [مرادآباد] at that time and Asad-ud-Dolla [عصدالدولہ] was in Dave Gherr [دیوگڑھ] whereas Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] was totally without any administrative control. There was a considerable waste of time unnecessarily, during the siege of Noger [نوجر] fortalice. The opponents were able to get united in Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] and when it was time to initiate the battle, you had the excuse of rains whereas a rain was never an impediment in the way of determined, brave and courageous people. Then you had established your camps six miles away from the city. You had also written that Afghana and others were in agreement with you therefore, the royal orders were issued on your request for Bahader Khan Panni [بہادرخان پنّی] to provide you the necessary aid and assistance……etc." (***Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.217)***

Entrenchment of Mubaraz Khan [مبارز خان کی مورچہ بندی]:

Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان] made yet another fatal mistake as mentioned above that he had made an untimely advancement. He had pitched his totally fatigued and tired lashker against the lashker of Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] on 23rd Moherram [محرم] 1137 Higra and had arranged his lashker

at Shaker Kehrrah [شکر کیھڑہ] without giving rest to his lashker. They were placed in the order as below:

> "He had placed Ghalib Khan [غالب خان] and Hussain Munawer Khan [حسین منور خان], popularly known as Sheikh Deccani [شیخ دکنی] in the frontline. Then he had appointed his uncle namely, Muhammad Baig Khan [محمد بیگ خان] as second-in-command of Yaltamish [یلتمش], right behind the frontline"

> "Abdul Fatah Khan [عبدالفتاح] Randolla Khan son of Dalair Khan Torani [رندولہ پسردلیر خان تورانی] and others as well as four sons of Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان] were posted near Qol [قول]. Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان] was supposed to hold the position right in the Qol [قول] along-with Khaliq Khan [خالق خان] (Dewan of the province of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد]). Arab Khan Torani [عرب خان تورانی] and others were on his right-hand side. He was completely at the disposal of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2).*** There were a number of other brave and gallant cavalrymen, infantrymen besides that, who were all alert and were ready to launch an attack (***Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.217 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.118 Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.131 956).*** The two sides had started shooting bullets on 24th Moherram [محرم] and both sides had opened cannon fires well before midday. The same had activated the battlefield with all the fierceness and ferocity (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.118).*** Thus the complete wilderness of the desert was breached with rattling sounds, according to the historians. The earth and heavens were entangled with each other as a result during the twists and turns of war" ***(Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page 957).***

Fierce scene of the battlefield and death of Khan [لڑائی کا پروحشت منظر،خان کی ہلاکت]:

The battle conditions were such, according to the historians, that there was a father on one side whereas his son was pitched against him on the other side. They were thirsty for the blood of each other. Muqerab Khan [مقرب خان] in this regard was standing by Asif Jah [آصف جاہ] whereas his father namely, Ameen Khan [امین خان] was in the enemy formation. When both of them were able to engage each other eye to eye, they both had alighted from their respective horse saddles

and had fought *bagarre* against each other. Ameen Khan [امین خان] was injured by his son and had fallen down. The son had chopped his head off immediately ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.3 Page No.798).*** Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان] had entered the battlefield along-with his lashker after a very long journey therefore, even to take just one step forward was impossible for his lashker due to rain and sludge. He had fought very bravely however, despite all odds. The noisy commotion from both sides and the movement of the horses and elephants, the barrages of arrows, sizzling sounds of bullets and blasts of cannon balls with smoke and echoes and bloodshed with the profligacy of the human blood, all that was such a horrifying scene in the battlefield that the same was no less than hell on earth. The battlefield was covered with a toxic black sheet of smoke. Khafi Khan [خافی خان], who was physically present in the battle to record the minutes of war proceedings, had described the frightening scenes in the battlefield in a stanza in the manner as below:

چناں گرم شُد آتشِ کارزار
کہ از نعلِ اسپاں برآمدشرار

Enflamed battlefield was triggered in such a way
As if flickers from horse shoes were to sway

Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان], while he was riding his elephant in such a catastrophic and horrifying situation, was reciting the following stanza to encourage his lashker:

غرض نقشے است کزمایا دماند
کہ ہستی را نمی بینم بقائے

As far as I know, situation is such
Even total annihilation is not much

Then the blood smitten shirt of Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان] had become the burial dress for his dead body ***(Lubab*** [لباب] ***Volume No.2***). The enemy had attacked him from all sides. The companions of Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان] had fought very bravely and even their defensive move from left and right had proved to be an offensive. Muqerab Khan [مقرب خان] and Ameen Khan

[امین خان] as father and son had come face to face against each other during the same situation. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] had kept launching one attack after the other and had come in the line of fire of the cannons of Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] all of a sudden. The cannons were posted on a mount and as soon as he was in the range of those cannons along-with his companions, the cannons had started blazing the fire (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.90).*** The brave son of a brave father and a gallant brother i.e. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] was dancing right under the rain of fire with a smiling face. He was all set to play a grand finale in the company of many brave companions according to the historians:

عشق اندازِ تپیدن زدلِ ما آموخت
شر رِماست کہ بر جَست وبہ پروانہ رسید

Ecstasy invigorated heart in such a way
My inner-fire had pushed me to sway

Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] and the two sons of Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان] namely, Ghalib Khan [غالب خان] and Hussain Munawer Khan [حسین منور خان] and Abdul Ghani Khan Mianerra Panni [عبدالغنی خان میانڑا پنّی] and a number of other Sardars, along-with three thousand brave soldiers had plunged suddenly into the valley of death (***Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.214 223229 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.119 Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.3 Page No.798 Lubab*** [لباب] ***Volume No.2 Page No.958959 Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.134***). There were about forty leading Sardars who were riding the elephants and had sacrificed their lives for the honor and prestige of their King (***Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.223***). The son of Panni Nawab namely, Andola Khan Panni [اندولہ خان پنّی] had also fallen from the horseback after receiving the wounds (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.119***). The soldiers of Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had arrested him and had put him in confinement (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.128 Lubab*** [لباب] ***Volume No.2 and Page No.957***).

Extreme brutality [قتل و غارت کی انتہا]:

The said bloody battle was so fierce that according to Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] there were about four thousand Afghans [افغان] who were murdered and more than two thousand cavalrymen were wounded just at one place. There were many wounded and maimed soldiers who were moved out of the battlefield and had died subsequently. The same had turned out to be the battle-royal, as a matter of fact and it was literally impossible to dispose of even the dead bodies. There were one thousand and seven hundred horses and two elephants which were killed. There were some historians who had quoted the figure of dead elephants as four. The elephants of Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان] and his companions were ripped apart ***(Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.229 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.121).*** The number of dead soldiers and elephants was three thousand respectively, according to the author of Hadeeqa-tul-Alam [حدیقہ العالم]. The dead body of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] was also dumped in a big ditch along-with others, according to Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] as well as according to Hadeeqa Maqala Doam [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] page No.132 (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.121***). The victory of Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] against the King of Delhi [دہلی] namely, Mohammed Shah [محمد شاہ] had proved to be the foundation for the declaration of autonomy of the Asfia Sultanate [سلطنت آصفیہ]. Khafi Khan [خافی خان] had expressed his views in this regard in the manner as below:

‘‘ ودگرازعمدہ ہائے سرداران افغانانِ وغیرہ کہ اکثرازحکام وکارفرمایاں وصاحب تُمنہا مشہور بودند مثل غالب خاں وحسین منور خاں، کمال خان دکنی وبہادرخاں ابراھیم خان پنّی وعبدالفتاح خاں پسرارشد عبدالغنی خاں، کہ فی الحقیقت تمام صوبہ بیجاپوراز مدتِ مدید درتصرف آنہاست،ازجملہ فیل سواراں نامی مقتول زیادہ ازدہ نوزادہ دوازدہ نفردرشمارآمدند’’

(Lubab [لباب] ***Volume No.2 Page No.959 Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.132*****)**

Treachery in politics [سیاست کی دورخی]:

Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had entered the capital Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] after the victory at Shaker Kehrrah [شکر کیھڑہ] with all the grandeur and had sent a report to the Mughal Durbar Delhi [دربار دھلی] from the venue. He had reassured his obedience and loyalty to the throne through the same, despite the fact that he had the knowledge that the King Mohammed Shah [محمد شاہ] had sent a lashker against him. He had expressed his views in the manner as below:

خانہ زادبنابرضرورازبلدہ بیروں بر آمدہ پنج شنبہ بست وسوم محرم 6 ھ جلوس محمد شاہی دارساحت شکر کھیڑہ بفاصلۂ ‘‘ پنج کردہے بلاۂ نائرۂ جدال وقتال اشتعال یافت۔ مبارزخاں مع پسران وبہادرخان پنی وغالب خاں وامین خان ودگرہم اہلیانش بتقضائے نیت باطن وخبث بواطن ہدف ناوکِ قضا شدند’’

(Hayat Asif [حیات آصف] ***Page No.227)***

He had also sent the intimations to all his subordinate officers with regard to the victory. He had used the derogatory language against the opponent Sardars through the same ***(Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.229).*** Mubaraz Khan [مبارزخان] was sent by the King against Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] while he was passing the intimation of victory to all the subordinates. The treachery of politics was quite understandable.

Monuments of the Nawab [نواب کی یادگاریں]:

Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] had left behind fifteen monuments. There was a general perception that some of his monuments were still in existence. He had rebuilt the mud fort of Kernol [کرنول] and had named it after his name but, said area was known by his name only until lately. The fort had vanished partly from the scene whereas some of its Burjs [برج] were intact until lately. The remaining part of said fort was in a dilapidated condition. There was one Burj which was used as an ammunition depot by the local police. The most part of the fort site was converted into a residential area. There were a number of residential houses and bungalows on said location whereas, one of the bungalows was owned by Nawab Tallat Ullah Khan Panni [نواب طلعت اللہ خان]. Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] had also raised a minaret in Kernol [کرنول] which was also known by his name ***(Maser-al-Alamgiri*** [ماثرعالمگیری] ***Page No.643 Waqeat Bijapur*** [واقعات بیجاپور] ***Volume No.3 Page No.14***). He had also helped establish a number of Pathan families and thus had added the colors in the social life of Kernol [کرنول] (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.292***). He had also built a solid moat at Adhoni [ادھونی] which was also known by his name. When he had conquered Attnor [اٹنور], the same was named as Panni Nagger [پنّی نگر] officially. Abul-shyer [ابوالخیر] had mentioned him as a Fojdar [فوجدار] of Panni Nagger [پنّی نگر] (Attnor [اٹنور]) in Volume No.1 at Page No.363 of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] under the caption as Abul-shyer Bahader Imam Jung [ابوالخیر بہادر امام جنگ]. The said reference was also quoted in the footnote. The Jagirs of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] were also transferred to his descendants as

heredity Jagirs whereas, the Jagirs of Taherni [تحرنی] and Jaferabad [جعفرآباد], were with Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [دوست محمد خان پنّی] till the division of Hindustan. Nawab was engaged until lately in the process of long litigation against the government of India to get compensation of those Jagirs. The matter must have been resolved in his favor hopefully.

Rahmat Ullah Khan popularly known as Andolla Khan Panni [رحمت اللہ خان پنّی عرف اندولہ خان پنّی]:

Andolla Khan Panni [اندولہ خان پنّی] was a leading figure in a battle against Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک]. He was son of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] and was the younger son of Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni-I [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی]. He had spent his life while serving Asif Jah [آصف جاہ] whereas his actual name was Rahmat Ullah Khan [نواب رحمت اللہ خان] (***Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.67***) (***Pictorial)*** He was known by the prestigious title of Andolla Khan [اندولہ خان] which was awarded to him by virtue of his gallantry. He had also participated in a number of battles. He had fought for the King Mohammed Shah [محمد شاہ] in the battle of Shaker Kehrrah [شکر کیھڑہ] side by side with his father and under the leadership of Mubaraz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ]. He was able to demonstrate his deadly skills in the same ***(Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.214)***. He had fallen however, from the horseback after receiving the wounds and was arrested and detained by the enemy whereas, his father was killed while fighting in the battlefield. Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had kept him in confinement for a very long time and then he was ultimately released. He was made the Fojdar [فوجدار] of Kernol fort thereafter (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.68 120***).

Nizam entered into a settlement agreement [نظام نے سمجھوتہ کرلیا]:

Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had opted to go back to Kernatak [کرناٹک] in 1148 Higra 1735 in order to consolidate the administrative control. Then there was a different Qaladar [قلعہ دار] as well as a Fojdar [فوجدار]. They were there to greet him and Andolla Khan Panni [اندولہ خان پنّی] was among them. He had also presented the gifts to Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] just like the other Sardars. Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] however, had returned those gifts to Andolla Khan Panni [اندولہ خان پنّی] on his way back. He had praised him for providing the supplies in the battlefield along-with providing the soldiers to maintain peace and order in the country. Andolla Khan

Panni [اندولہ خان پنّی] was also very loyal as a Sardar of an army. He was ever ready to provide the services in the hour of need at every place and in every province. Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had returned his gifts [نزرانہ] therefore, as a gesture of good will ***(Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.214)***. He had directed him to ensure the allegiance to the crown Prince who was most likely to be appointed during the ensuing period from Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.128 137 138***). Thus Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had retained Andolla Khan Panni [اندولہ خان پنّی] as a Fojdar [فوجدار] of Kernol in recognition of his previous services ***(Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.214)***. We have been able to trace out the aforementioned information only about Andolla Khan Panni [اندولہ خان پنّی].

HAKIM NAWAB MOHAMMED ALAF KHAN BAHADER PANNI-I

[حاکم نواب محمد الف خان بہادر پنّی]:

1144 Higra (1731) to 1157 Higra (1744)

The foster brother of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] and Rahmat Ullah Khan Panni [رحمت اللہ خان پنّی] known popularly as Andolla Khan [اندولہ خان], son of former Nawab namely, Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni-I [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی] had become the Hakim [حاکم] (Ruler) of the state of Kernol [کرنول]. The King Naseer-ud-Din Mohammed Shah [بادشاہ نصیر الدین محمد شاہ] had presented him a black Shawl [شال] as a symbol of mourning at the sad demise of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی]. He had also declared him as his cousin (***Pictorial***). He had also participated very actively in the politics of the country besides participating in the bloody battles and concluding many other expeditions very successfully. The said Nawab had also the acumen to analyze the contemporaneous politics with great insight. He used to show his very keen interest in the same. He had established very strong ties under the then dictates of time with second son of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] namely, Nawab Nasir Jung [نواب ناصر جنگ]. The historians were mostly of the view in this regard that Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni-I [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی] was one of the leading figures who had instigated Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] against his father. When an agreement was reached between father and son subsequently, Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] had declared general amnesty for all those who were aids and allies of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ]. He had imposed the restrictions against them however, for staying away from his sight.

Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni-I [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی] was also among those against whom said restriction was imposed (***Saheefa Sultan Tipu*** [صحیفہ سلطان ٹیپو] ***Part-II Page No.292***).

Meeting with Asif Jah [آصف جاہ سے ملاقات]:

Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni-I [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی] was also in the defensive mode due to the annoyance of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول]. When Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had made the advancement towards southern Hind in order to annex Kernatak [کرناٹک] with his sultanate, he had then realized that the chances of his success were very bleak without the help and aid of leading Sardars. He had avoided at the same time the supporters of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] purposely. He had sought the help through the same letters which were addressed to all the Nawabs and Jagirdars. He had requested them to move out with their respective lashkers. Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni-I [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی] had also made use of the opportunity in the wake of said situation and sent a huge lashker under the command of his son Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni Sani [ابرھیم خان پنّی ثانی] popularly known as Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] along-with some Nazerrana [نزرانہ]. Thus he was able to restructure his relationship with Asif Jah [آصف جاہ]. The latter had also behaved well with Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] and he had bid him farewell after granting him a number of gifts and rewards. When he had reached Kernol [کرنول] with the news of the nice treatment from Asif Jah [آصف جاہ] and pursuant to get the symbolic assurance from Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni Sani [ابرھیم خان پنّی ثانی], he had opted to be present *in persona propria* before Asif Jah [آصف جاہ]. He had participated thereafter in all those battles which Asif Jah [آصف جاہ] had fought for Kernatak [کرناٹک]. Then the latter was pleased to award him the honors and rewards in recognition of his services (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.293***).

Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni-I [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی] had ruled for thirteen years. We have not been able to trace out much information about his life. He had died in 1157 Higra (1744) and his elder son Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had inherited the tile of Nawab of Kernol [کرنول] from him. The name of his other son was Munawer Khan Panni [منور خان خان پنّی]. There was a mosque by the name of Lal Masjid [لعل مسجد] which was built during the reign of Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni-I [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی] in 1151 Higra (1738). The Lal

Masjid [لعل مسجد] was rebuilt in 1690 Higra (1838) when it had deteriorated badly. The following stanzas were inscribed on its five entrances.

درایام سابق بِنا گشتہ بود　　ہمیں خانہ پا کِ رب الودود
کہ از جہد مو فو ر سید حسین　　زاِملاک خود کردہ جائے سجود
زسنِ پازدہ صدوپنجاہ یک　　کہ ایں زمان کہنہ مسجد نمود
شکستہ زپاباز بستہ دلاؤ　　نظرکردہ ہر گس برائے ستود

سَنش گفت تاخضر ہاتف چناں
زتعمیرمسجد چہ رونق فزود

(***Tareekh Bijapur Serka***r [تاریخ بیجاپور سرکار] ***Page No.418***).

HAKIM KERNOL NAWAB IBRAHIM KHAN SANI
POPULARLY KNOWN AS
BAHADER KHAN AND HIMAT BAHADER KHAN PANNI AND HIMAT BAHADER

[حاکم کرنول نواب ابراھیم خان ثانی المخاطب بہ بہادر خان وہمت بہادرخان پنّی وہمت بہادر]

1157 Higra (1744) to 1164 Higra (1751)

Period of unrest [افراتفری کا دور دورہ]:

The period during which Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni-I [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی] was Nawab of Kernol [کرنول] was a most critical time for Muslim rule in Subcontinent. The King Naseer-ud-Din Mohammed Shah [نصیرالدین محمد شاہ] (*1131 Higra to 1161 Higra*) was in power in Delhi [دہلی] at that time. The Delhi [دہلی] throne had started losing its grip and controls whereas, some of the remote areas had receded from the center and most of the other parts were also treading to the verge of drift. The politics of southern Hind were taking different turns and twists in particular. The history was changing its course regularly as result of the same. There were new stars and they had studded the political horizon differently. The same were struggling very hard to gain their twinkle and brightness. The foreign political players i.e. the British colonialists and French intruders were trying their level best to establish their permanent hegemony in some areas in Hind. They had applied different maneuvers in this regard to march towards the north. The gloriously twinkling star like Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی خان] on the other hand, was also shining very brightly in Maysoor [میسور]. He was also struggling to make the expansion in order

to perpetuate his rule. Then Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] who was a Wazir of King Mohammed Shah [بادشاہ محمد شاہ] previously, was also making different moves on the political chess in his autonomous capacity after receding from Delhi [دہلی] and in the garb of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول]. He was making use of every opportunity in order to establish and perpetuate his sultanate at least in Deccan. There was yet another force among aforementioned forces which was a bit disorganized but the same was quite affectively involved in looting and plundering in the country. It was also instrumental in creating the overall unrest and said force was the Merhattas. The Panni Pathan rulers of Kernol [کرنول] were also ready to shed blood in the wake of said situation to expand as well as, for the autonomy of their sultanate among others with the help of their Pathan Jagirdars supporter of Kerrpa Anantpur [کڑپہ اننت پور] and Shahnawaz [شاہنواز]. The same was a living reality due to the fact that, the Panni Pathan [پنّی پٹھان] were able to register their status in the history by virtue of their long struggle of years as a potent force. The renowned Pathan [پٹھان] of Kerrpa Kernol [کڑپہ کرنول] and Sewanoor [سیوانور] who were in power for generations, they were reckoned as very manly soldiers among Muslims according to a historian (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.183***). They were genuinely interested to initiate the struggle in those volatile circumstances in order to perpetuate and consolidate their rule more effectively. Nadir Shah Afshar [نادر شاہ افشار] had attacked in the wake of said general unrest. He was able to play havoc in Delhi [دہلی] on 8th Zil Hajj [ذی الحجہ] 1151 Higra (8th March 1739). The credit of said victory was deservedly to be given to one force only. The study of circumstances had revealed that had those Panni Pathans [پنّی پٹھان] made a unison and concerted effort by simply relying on their innate chivalrous potentials, personal acumen, political wisdom and diversity, they were most likely to meet success in establishing their independent and autonomous state in southern Hind. They were also likely to establish their own independent and autonomous state in Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] almost on the pattern of their past, instead of creating the state of Asfia [مملکتِ آصفیہ] in Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن]. The new state was likely to be an even bigger state perhaps, in terms of its vastness than the state of Asfia [مملکتِ آصفیہ]. The historical facts of their struggle in any case, were an important chapter in the history of Hind despite the fact that their struggle had ended in a fiasco.

Murder of the envoy of the Nizam [نظام کے نمائندے کا قتل]:

Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni Sani [ابرهیم خان پنّی ثانی] popularly known as Himat Bahader Khan Panni [ہمت بہادرخان پنّی] had become Nawab of Kernol in 1157 Higra (1744). He was known in history as Bahader Khan [بہادرخان] or Himat Bahader (*Brave*) Khan [ہمت بہادرخان] (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.293***). The said Nawab was not only holding the title as "[بہادر] [Brave]" but he was really a brave man. He had fought till the last breath of his life very bravely against three rival forces in the quest to achieve his objectives. He had died in the battlefield ultimately, while he was displaying his fighting skills very gallantly.

Nadir Shah Afshar [نادر شاہ افشار] had attacked Delhi [دہلی] in the month of Zil Hajj [ذی الحجہ] 1151 Higra (1738) therefore, Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] was involved against him till 1156 Higra. Thus he was prevented to go to southern Hind. The landlords and the Nawabs of Kernatak [کرناٹک] had exploited the opportunity with regard to his absence from the area and they had withheld the stipulated money which Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] used to receive from them as the King of Delhi [دہلی]. He had restored the title of Nizam-ud-Dolla [نظام الدولہ] however, to his son namely, Ahmed Ali Khan Nasir Jung [احمد علی خان ناصر جنگ] after some time. The same was withdrawn from him as a measure of punishment due to his revolt against his father i.e. Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول]. He had sent him to southern Hind to manage said area as an administrator. Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] had sent besides that, a written message to the landlords and Nawabs of the area to appear before Nasir Jung [ناصرجنگ] and to offer him the stipulated money. Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] had also moved into said direction along-with Nasir Jung [ناصرجنگ] according to Hadeeqa-tul-Alam [حدیقہ العالم]. The ruler of Bijapur [بیجاپور] had sent Himat Yar Khan [ہمت یار خان] to Kernol in the meantime, to receive the stipulated money from Himat Bahader Khan [ہمت بہادرخان] but, Himat Bahader Khan [ہمت بہادرخان] had murdered Himat Yar Khan [ہمت یار خان] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.158***). The reason for his murder was that when Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had become Nawab of Kernol, he had agreed to pay Rupees fifty thousand per annum, which he had failed to pay till that time. Himat Yar Khan [ہمت یار خان] had amassed in this regard, a big army to build the pressure on Himat Bahader Khan [ہمت بہادرخان]. Then he had sent him a written message for the payment of stipulated money without further delay. He had threatened to kidnap the Pathan ladies and to hand them over to the soldiers of his lashker in the case of failure in compliance of his orders. The message of such abject nature to Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت

بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had injured his pride and was awfully outrageous. He had sent one thousand cavalrymen and two thousand infantrymen to sort out Himat Yar Khan [ہمت یار خان] and to bring the situation under control. Himat Yar Khan [ہمت یار خان] had eleven thousand cavalrymen and two thousand infantrymen at his disposal according to the historians. He had failed to withstand however, the onslaught of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی]. The Panni Pathans [پنّی پٹھان] had fought fiercely and resultantly, Himat Yar Khan [ہمت یار خان] was killed in the battlefield along-with many of his soldiers. Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had emerged all victorious. When Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] had come to know about said bloody battle, he was enraged excessively and decided to take an appropriate action in one way or the other against Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی]. He had put the matter of revenge in abeyance however, in the wake of said already volatile situation in southern Hind. Then he had summoned his son Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] and opted to leave for southern Hind after consulting him (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.158 Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.74 173***).

Reconciliation between Nawab and Nizam [نظام کی نواب سے مصالحت]:

Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک], despite being a Wazir of the King Naseer-ud-Din Mohammed Shah [نصیرالدین محمد شاہ] along-with Hakim Khandase [حاکم خاندیس] was not ready in 1156 Higra to take any action in southern Hind against Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی]. He was of the view rather, to bring about general reforms in the area. He had moved out of Delhi [دہلی] resultantly, to set up his camps at Adhoni [ادھونی] which was about thirty miles away from Kernol. Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had not committed any fatal mistake rather he was on the course which was most appropriate. He had decided to preserve probably his resources and energies in order to implement his program. He was able to decide with courage his personal meeting with Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک]. The entire burden of the incident was shifted on Himat Yar Khan [ہمت یار خان] in said meeting and thus he had challenged the honor of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی]. The clarifications which were rendered by him had satisfied however, Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.159 Hayat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.374***). He was not in a position besides that, to offend the brave and egoistic ruler. Thus the matter was amicably resolved. Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had to take the stipulated money thereafter, from yet another Pathan

state i.e. Shahnoor [شاہنور]. Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had always patronized the ruler of said state and they were hand and glove with each other therefore, Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had intervened and was able to resolve the matter amicably with him as well (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.279***).

After Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک کے بعد]:

Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] (1161 Higra to 1167 Higra) had grown old with the passage of time and the Delhi [دہلی] throne was also taken over by Ahmed Shah [احمد شاہ], son of Mohammed Shah [محمد شاہ]. He had also made an offer to Nizam to assume the charge of his premiership but, he had showed reluctance for the same just due to his old age. Then he died at a ripe age of about one hundred and four years on 4th or 5th Jamadi-ul-Awal [جمادی الاول] 1161 Higra (1747). There was another version according to which he died at the age of eighty nine (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.164***). Since his elder son namely, Ghazi-ud-Din Bahader [غازی الدین بہادر] was among the Ameer-ul-Umara [امیرالامراء] in the Durbar at Delhi [دہلی] at the time of his death and his younger son namely, Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] whose reference has already been given above, was in southern Hind therefore, he had succeeded him and had taken over Nizamat [نظامت]. He had already revolted against his father for said Nizamat [نظامت]. The allegations of revolt were also leveled against the Nawab of Kernol. The stability and order of Deccan was also disturbed after the death of Nizam and resultantly a great turmoil had surfaced in every nook and corner of his Nizamat [نظامت]. The writ of Delhi [دہلی] center had already weakened in the area. The declaration of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] with regard to the succession to the seat of Nizamat [نظامت] in such circumstances was challenged by the grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] i.e. Mohie-ud-Din Muzzafer Jung [محی الدین مظفر جنگ]. He had also announced his claim to Nizamat [نظامت]. Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب] on the other hand, had also declared himself as Nawab of Kernatak [کرناٹک]. The same in any case was not the end with regard to the claimants of power in southern Hind.

The French had bought the land in Pondicherry since a very long time. They were also able to establish their trade centers in the area. The same place was also called as “Phalchery” [پھلچری] in the historical references. The famous French Governor Doplay was a “Resident Governor” of said area. The French people had owned the trade centers in Madraas [مدراس] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page***

No.179). Those two foreign trade giants had used their trade as a launching pad and they were just waiting for an opportune moment to get into power even at the national level. There was no possibility in the wake of aforementioned turmoil in Deccan for both of them to watch the situation as spectators. They were active as a result to instigate the local rulers by exercising their influence in their internal affairs. Thus they were engaged in political gimmicks. The said situation had also weakened the policy of controlling the far-flung areas and to bring the same under the control of Delhi [دہلی]. The late Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] was not only a brave and a Veteran General but he was also a very cunning and shrewd politician. He had tried his best to strengthen his grip on the surrounding areas of his Nizamat [نظامت]. He had subjected them to the control of Delhi [دہلی] as long as he was alive therefore his demise had created a political vacuum. The attack of Nadir Shah Afshar [نادر شاہ افشار] had already shattered the control of the center. There was not an equally able and strong person in sight to replace Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] after his death. There were other five claimants of Nizamat [نظامت] besides that after his death i.e. Ghazi-ud-Din [غازی الدین] Ameer-ul-Umera (Resident Delhi), Ahmed Ali Khan Nasir Jung [احمد علی خان ناصر جنگ], Mir Syed Mohammed Khan Slabat Jung [میر سید محمد خان صلابت جنگ] and Mir Nizam Ali Khan Asad Jung [میر نظام علی خان اسد جنگ]. The last one had four sons. The fifth one was his grandson Mohie-ud-Din Muzzafer Jung [محی الدین مظفر جنگ]. The brother-in-law of Syed Mohammed Khan [سید محمد خان] was Nazim of Kernatak [کرناٹک] and Nizam-ul-Mulk [نظام الملک] had sacked him and they had appointed Anwar-ud-Din Gopamosi Shamat Jung [انوارالدین گوپاموسی شہامت جنگ] as a Governor instead but Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب] was desirous to become the Nawab of Kernatak [کرناٹک] after his death. He had tried his level best to promote his relationship through the lords of Kernatak [کرناٹک] because he was quite influential in the local politics. He had also started promoting friendly relations with Monsieur Doplay i.e. the French Governor in order to materialize his vested interests. Anwar-ud-Din Gopamosi Shamat Jung [انوارالدین گوپاموسی شہامت جنگ] had also tried to amass some support in order to secure the Governorship (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.181***).

Main characters of the historical battle at Kernatak [کرناٹک کی تاریخی جنگ کے مرکزی کردار]:

Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had also monitored the situation quite vigilantly as Nawab of Kernol in the wake of aforementioned turmoil and turbulence. He had also started to work for the expansion and for the autonomous and independent sultanate in

southern Hind in accordance with the then prevalent demands. There was a historian who had expressed his views in this respect in the manner that the demand of Pathans for an independent sultanate was in accordance with the dictates of their times. The way Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had contributed practically during said historical period, the resonance of the same was also heard in the famous battles of Kernatak [کرناٹک]. The significance of the same can be treated however, as a missing link in the history of Hind. The bloodiest and most revolutionizing battles of Kernatak [کرناٹک] were fought as a matter of fact during the reign of said Nawab and then in the battlefield after his death. The credit of the same was attributed to his brother Nawab Munawer Khan [منور خان]. The said battle had determined the fate of the East India Company as well as the French traders in the area. The Panni Nawabs were although unsuccessful in achieving the desired objectives but, they were not only able to glorify the history of Hindustan with their blood in pursuance of the same rather, they were able to fix a milestone during said critical juncture of history. The Imperial Gazetteer had highlighted their position in this regard in the manner as below:

> "Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had played a very significant role in the historical battles of the eighteenth century. He was able to hoodwink the French and British colonialists very successfully" (***Volume 61 Page No.33***).

The aforementioned quote had revealed the fact that those who had fought the famous battles of Kernatak [کرناٹک], they were in fact Panni Pathans. The factual background of those battles of Kernatak was that the same were fought at a most critical juncture during the history of Muslim rule in Hindustan. The ensuing circumstances had unfortunately overwhelmed the overall position of the community rulers of Kernol on a permanent basis in the history. They were apparently responsible for those conditions due to their sheer idiocy. The bright sun of Muslim rule had ultimately and resultantly submerged into said blood smitten scenario.

Announcement of Nizamat of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ کی نظامت کا اعلان]:

When the son of late Nizam [نظام] namely, Nawab Nasir Jung [نواب ناصر جنگ] had announced his succession to Nizamat [نظامت], the indicators of an attack by Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی]

on Delhi had become quite evident soon thereafter. Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] had also summoned Nawab Nasir Jung [نواب ناصر جنگ] in the same context and in order to support him in Delhi. He had also moved in the same direction in 1162 Higra. We may point out that Panni Pathans were also quite vibrant at that time for their autonomous rule in southern Hind as well as in the northern province of Baluchistan. The Nawabs of said nation were enjoying the climax of their authority and rule in said area. They had embarked on said journey via Baider or Zaferabad [ظفرآباد] which was granted to the ancestors of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] by the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] as the Altamgha Jagir [آل تمغہ ملکیتی جاگیر] (*Ownership Grant*). The Pathans of said area and particularly the Panni Pathans were enjoying a very powerful and an influential status in those days. When Nasir Jung [نواب ناصر جنگ] was moving close to said area, the local Pathans were able to kill his General namely Suf Shicken Khan [صف شکن خان]. The reason for his killing was that he had assisted one concubine while she was trying to escape (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.80 179 Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.190***). The resultant fallout of said killing had ignited the sentiments of the Pathans against Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] at Kernol. The absence of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] from Deccan had created however, a very alarming situation. The nephew of late Nizam [نظام] namely, Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had announced his succession to Nizamat by exploiting said situation. The same was against Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] because he was his maternal uncle. He had announced his Nizamat [نظامت] in connivance with the French people and he was able to conquer Arkaat [ارکاٹ] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.182***). He had claimed that his maternal grandfather had declared and confirmed his succession to his Nizamat [نظامت] when he was alive. The claim was unjustifiable due to the fact that the French had interfered in the affairs of Muslims in order to expand their influence at a very opportune time. They had declared their support for Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] and had provided the troops to Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب] besides that, to take action against Anwar-ud-Din Gopamosi Shamat [انوارالدین گوپاموسی]. Those troops included four hundred French and two thousand Indian soldiers. They were all under the command of a French General namely, Monsieur Tol (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.181 Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No.19***). Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب] had exploited the opportunity and had made the advancement against Anwar-ud-Din Gopamosi Shamat Jung [انوارالدین گوپاموسی شہامت جنگ] whereas Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had also sided with Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب] during said advancement. The number of soldiers was resultantly enhanced up to forty thousand in the lashker of Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب]. The said lashker had entered Kernatak [کرناٹک] and they had started even collecting the revenue. Anwar-

ud-Din Gopamosi Shamat Jung [انوارالدین گوپاموسی شہامت جنگ], who was one hundred and seven years old at that time, had opted then to come out with his army to push the enemy out of his territory. There was a bloody battle between the two sides at Ambore [امبور] on 21st Shaban [شعبان] 1162 Higra (11th July 1749) and Anwar-ud-Din Gopamosi Shamat Jung [انوارالدین گوپاموسی شہامت جنگ] was killed in the same whereas, his son namely, Mohammed Mahfouz Khan [محمد محفوظ خان] was arrested. The other son Mohammed Ali [محمد علی] was able to escape. He had sought refuge in Terchana Pali [ترجنا پلی]. Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had entered Arkaat [ارکاٹ] victoriously on the following morning and had proclaimed to be the Subaydar [صوبے دار] for Deccan. He had declared Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب] as the Nawab of Kernatak. He had granted eighty one villages to Monsieur Doplay as compensation for the French support which they had provided to Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. Mohammed Ali [محمد علی] the son of Anwar-ud-Din Gopamosi Shamat Jung [انوارالدین گوپاموسی شہامت جنگ] who had managed to escape, had appealed to the British colonialists on the other hand, to help him out. They had provided a platoon of one hundred soldiers to keep the inferno ablaze (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.181 Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No.19***).

Battle between nephew and maternal uncle [ماموں اور بھانجے کا مقابلہ]:

Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had reached the banks of River Terbada [دریائے تربدا] across Zaferabad [ظفرآباد] on 17th Jamadi-ul-Awal [جمادی الاول] 1162 Higra (1845) in compliance with the orders of the King of Delhi [دہلی]. Then he was informed that his services were not required in Delhi [دہلی] and had received the formal certificate of appointment simultaneously as a Nazim and as Viceroy of Deccan province (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.181 Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No.19 Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.191 192***). He had come to know about the incident of Arkaat [ارکاٹ] in the meantime, he had opted therefore to move his troops against his rival nephew i.e. Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. He had sent an order to all the Rajas and Nawabs in this regard who were based in the southern areas of the River Kishna [دریائے کشنا]. They were directed through the same to keep their lashkers ready for his help. The renowned Nawabs of Kerrpa Kernol [کڑپہ کرنول] and Shahnoor [شاہنور], who were rulers of their respective states for generations and they were considered as very brave soldiers among Muslims, had come forward resultantly as his supporters and aids ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.183)***. The same was in fact a most

significant juncture in our history because the French as well as the British intruders had found an opportunity to interfere directly in the national politics.

Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] was able to cover his journey step by step however and when he was able to reach Arkaat [ارکاٹ], both the sons of Anwar-ud-Din Gopamosi Shamat Jung [انوارالدین گوپاموسی شہامت جنگ] had also joined him. The French had to back up Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] in any case therefore Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] was obliged to seek help from the British intruders ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.184)***. The lashkers had started approaching him from all sides in the same month of Jamadi-ul-Awal [جمادی الاول] whereas out of those three hundred thousand soldiers, half of them were infantrymen and the rest were cavalrymen. Then there were eight hundred cannons and thirteen hundred elephant riders besides that, who were also there in a standby position. The number of cavalrymen was seventy thousand according to Maser-ul-Kiram [ماثرالکرام]. There were about one hundred thousand infantrymen. Then his supporter namely Mohammed Ali [محمد علی] had four thousand cavalrymen and five thousand infantrymen and besides that, he had about four thousand gunmen along-with one thousand British soldiers. The army of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] consisted of a lashker of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [ہمت بہادرخان پنّی] as well as Pathan people from Kerrpa [کرپہ] and Shahnoor [شاہنور]. Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] was able to reach the fort near Chanjaro [چنجارو] along-with said mammoth army which was surrounded by Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. When Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] came to know about the arrival of said lashker of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ], he escaped to Pondicherry where he had sought refuge from the French people. The Dewan of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] namely, Sheesh Rao [شیش راؤ] stayed back along-with four thousand cavalrymen just with the hope to loot the war spoils. Then no sooner, the reconnaissance party of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] was able to spot him, they had looted him squarely. Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had considered this as a good omen. He had taken the same as an initial success. Then he started marching towards Pondicherry where Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had sought the refuge (***Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No.21***).

Arrest of Muzzafer Jung in the battlefield [میدان کارزار میں مظفر جنگ کی گرفتاری]:

Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had reorganized his troops when he was in Pondicherry. He started to wait after that for the arrival of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] according to Rahat Afza [راحت افزاء]. Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب], whom the French had made as Nawab of Kernatak [کرناٹک], had

approached Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] to provide help along-with five thousand soldiers, ten thousand infantrymen and two thousand French soldiers as well as an artillery unit. The same had encouraged Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] to move out of Pondicherry on 11th of Shawal [شوال] 1163 Higra (1649) to confront Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ]. He left his mother, sister and some other female relatives at some safe place in Pondicherry. Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had sent in the wake of said situation, a lashker of twenty thousand soldiers as an advance contingent on 26th Ramadan-ul-Mubarak [رمضان المبارک] 1163 Higra (1749) under the command of his chief commander namely, Najaf Khan [نجف خان]. The same had marched towards the venue of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. There was a distance of about six miles between the lashker of maternal uncle [ماموں] and his nephew [بھانجے] as a buffer zone to initiate any attack. The distance was narrowed down further on the third day and both the lashkers had come into clash with each other. Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had sent his advocate namely, Mohammed Anwar Khan [محمدانورخان] to Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] at that point of time with the direction to settle the terms of any compromise. Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had opted to continue however, the game of fire and smoke without paying any heed to the proposal. The darkness of night had ultimately engulfed the battlefield. Major Lawrence showed up along-with six hundred mobile soldiers at said point of time and he joined hands with the lashker of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.184 185 Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.193 Gerbil Volume No.3Page No.21***).

Then, thirteen hundred French officers who were at the battlefield for the support of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had left the venue along-with their troops as soon as the darkness of night had set in. Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب] had also managed to escape to Pondicherry thereafter and not only that, most of the soldiers of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had also drifted away. The factual position was revealed to Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] at dawn. Then there were only five thousand cavalry and infantrymen who were left with him. Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had sent the lashker of sixty thousand to chase those who had escaped from the battlefield. The said run and chase had also resulted in a number of skirmishes. He had made an offer to Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] once again for an amicable settlement. Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had accepted the same without any hesitation and then approached Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] very swiftly. Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had arrested Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] and he had killed a number of deserters of his army along-with some French gunmen. The said situation had dispelled all the doubts of Nasir Jung [ناصر

جنگ] with regard to becoming the Nazim of Deccan (***Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No.22 23 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.186 187***). The Panni Pathans had also contributed in said pursuit and they had demonstrated their gallantry. *The detail account of the same will be given later*.

Failure of Nasir Jung in Pondicherry [پانڈیچری میں ناصر جنگ کو ناکام کردیا]:

Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had opted to stay in the battlefield just for a day after winning the battle and after arresting Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. The objective of the same was to ensure proper care for those who were wounded and maimed during the battle. He had made the advancement towards Pondicherry on the following morning with his lashker where he had given the order to dig up the trenches just five miles short of said place. Then there was a fierce battle at Pondicherry. Since the fort was very strong and the ammunition was stored in a large quantity in the same therefore, no General was ever able to conquer it, according to the historians. Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had also failed to conquer the same resultantly, despite his best efforts (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.88 187***). The fact of the matter was that a particular mindset was dominant in his lashker at that time and even his own troops were disinclined to support him. The careful analysis of the situation had revealed that the Panni Pathans who were in the lashker of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had proved to be his staunch allies after the arrest of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. They were disappointed however, due to some reasons and they were not ready to provide him the requisite cooperation during the raid at Pondicherry. The troops had failed to show the desired fervor as a result, despite the personal insistence of the commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] and Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ]. The propagation of written orders had made most of the Sardars shy away from any sort of participation. He was constrained in the wake of said situation to announce that all of them were debarred permanently to see him. Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had made said announcement after his defeat for Nizamat [نظامت] of Mohammed Ali [محمد علی], son of his late father Anwar-ud-Din Gopamosi Shamat Jung [انوارالدین گوپاموسی شہامت جنگ] at Kernatak [کرناٹک] and the French had declared and assigned the title as Nawab of Kernatak [کرناٹک] instead to Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.190 191 Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No. 23***).

Result of breaking promise with Himat Khan [ہمت خان سے عہد شکنی کا نتیجہ]:

The reasons which were leading the situation to the limit of sheer apathy with regard to Pathans were that Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had brought along the supporters of Pathan Jagirdars without any specified objective. They had participated in the battle under the instructions of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ]. Then he had sought an exemption from the payment of accrued revenue in the three states immediately after the conquest of Pondicherry and after the arrest of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. He had also expressed their resentment simultaneously, on the deceitful arrest of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.189***). Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had entered into an open pact with the Pathans according to some books of history. The same was to the effect that they were entitled to share half of the booty after the defeat of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] but, when Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] was arrested deceptively and all his treasure and wealth was committed to the control of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ], the Panni Nawabs and their companions had declared themselves to be equal shareholders. They were also given the assurance besides that, for the grant of their respective share of land in the conquered areas. The subsequent events had revealed that when he had demanded the fulfillment of agreement prior to the attack on Pondicherry then, Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had deferred the compliance with regard to the same. The entire planning of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had ended up in a fiasco, in this regard. The incident of concubine, who was helped to elope, was also not yet put into the oblivision. Those events, among other things had rendered Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] altogether as untrustworthy in the eyes of those Pathans. They had pretended apparently to be on his side amidst their grudge which they had harbored against him. The same was at rightly at a most opportune time (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.188***) and was the reason factually, that the Pathans had withheld their all out support for Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] at the Pondicherry front. He had no other option as a result but to opt for a retreat without achieving the anticipated results.

Commendable stance of Doplay [ڈوپلے کا قابل شتائش استقلال]:

When the partners of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had deceived him, the same had triggered a sympathy wave for him in Pondicherry which was the biggest setback for Monsieur Doplay. Monsieur Doplay was a person who had the nature to produce the best results even in adverse circumstances. The defeat of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ], which was in fact his own defeat, had convinced him to look for the causes of internal rift among the comrades of Nasir Jung [ناصر

جنگ] and if there was no rift at all even then, the same was very much desirable to be created. He had sent a letter to Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] in this regard and he had offered an armistice through the same. He had also requested for the release of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] as well as for the grant of a Jagir to him. He had requested besides that, to grant the pardon to Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب] and had also demanded a declaration for his appointment as Nazim or Nawab of Kernatak [کرناٹک]. He had also requested for the continuation of the lease of Arkaat [ارکاٹ] for the French people in the same manner as it was awarded during Nizamat [نظامت] of murdered Anwar-ud-Din Gopamosi Shamat Jung [انوارالدین گوپاموسی شہامت جنگ]. Then he also requested to grant a certificate to the French people to continue their stay in Pondicherry and in Arkaat [ارکاٹ]. Then he also showed his inclination to hoist the flag of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] in the French area subject however, to the acceptance of his requests (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.189 191 Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No. 23***).

Promises of Doplay with Himat Khan [ہمت خان سے ڈوپلے کے وعدے]:

When Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had summoned his advisors to discuss the aforementioned proposals of Monsieur Doplay, all of them had given their consent to accept the same except Qazi Daiem [قاضی دائم]. The assessment which he had offered was that the French were tired of staying in Pondicherry and they were likely to quit soon. Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had agreed to his assessment and without giving any appropriate reply of the proposals, he returned all the gifts immediately which were sent by Monsieur Doplay. Monsieur Doplay had not given up hope rather he had sent a delegation in the Durbar of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] with a proactive approach. The members of said delegation had stayed with Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] for eight days. They had made the inroads into members club of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] during that time. Thus they had succeeded in creating doubts in the minds of some members. They also came to know about the internal rift of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] with the Pathans. The delegates had also met Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] and they had exchanged the views as well. Thus they were able to pave the way for future correspondence and the delegation was able to succeed in attaining their objective. Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had refused flatly however, with regard to accepting any French proposal. He left for Arkaat [ارکاٹ] thereafter to evaluate the situation differently (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.191 Volume No.2 Page No.24***).

The French were able to exploit the absence of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] and launched an attack against the army of Mohammed Ali [محمد علی] on 21st August 1749 (1163 Higra). They were able to crush the same completely besides capturing most of his area. When Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] came to know, he sent an order from Arkaat [ارکاٹ] to confiscate all the assets of the French people along-with seizing all their centers at Masliham [مسلی ہم] (Machli Patum [مچھلی پٹم]). The French had captured a large portion of Chanchaie [چنچئی] area on receiving said news (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.93 192 Mukhtaser Tareekh Deccan*** [مختصر تاریخ دکن] ***Page No.118 Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No. 25***).

The situation was persisting with polarization as mentioned above whereas, the tension had also aggravated in the absence of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] between the relatives of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] and Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ]. The tension between the Panni Pathans and Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] besides that, had also multiplied rapidly. They had planned to get Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] released, who was incarcerated in the fort. They had already made their intensions clear to Monsieur Doplay as well as to Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب] but they both were quite comfortable without paying any heed. They had given their consent but had failed to get Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] released from the fort despite their best efforts. Then they had hatched another conspiracy to murder Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] on 20th Ramadan-ul-Mubarak [رمضان المبارک] 1163 Higra during the Eid prayer. Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] and Monsieur Doplay had also decided to share the wealth of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] equally, besides handing over the area of the lower side of River Kishna [دریائے کشنا] i.e. in the south of Deccan to Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی]. They had also decided to maintain the rule of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] in Deccan i.e. in the north of river. Then they had decided to handover the control of all the ports to the French people (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.195 196***). We may point out that River Kishna [دریائے کشنا] was the dividing line between the state of Deccan and the state of Kernol of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی]. The said conspiracy was leaked out somehow or the other to Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ]. He had not given any importance to the same due to some unknown reasons. He had sent his commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] with the troops however, against the French people and then he opted to follow him as well (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.195***).

Misperception at Chanchaie Front [چنچئی کے محاذ پر ناصر جنگ کی غلط فہمی]:

Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had moved out along-with his lashker on 11th Shawal [شوال] 1163 Higra. Then the combatant troops had confronted each other on 13th Shawal [شوال]. The said confrontation had taken place at Chanchaie [چنچئی] fort which was in the possession of the French people. They were in an advantageous position. Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had some misconception about Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] till that time therefore, he had assigned a leading role to him with regard to establish the ensconce position. He was unmindful of the fact that he had already disgraced himself in the eyes of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] due to his acts and omissions.

The torrential rains had started by that time to the bad luck of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ]. The same had created a number of problems for his mammoth lashker. The river had started overflowing whereas the floodwater had engulfed him from all sides. The same had also chocked the supply line and resultantly the food scarcity had also become a momentous hazard for his lashker. Then said food scarcity slowly overwhelmed everything else and according to the historians, even the expenditure of one Rupee per head had turned out to be insufficient to give a complete fill to every soldier. The scarcity of food coupled with floods, was followed by the contagious viral diseases as well. The French were able to plug on the contrary, all the loopholes and gaps very adequately in their quarters. Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had held the ground firmly however, despite all the odds till the time everything was restored to normal position. He was unaware about the revengeful intentions of the Panni Pathans and was not in a position to redress their grievances. He had come to know about the Eid conspiracy through his commander Mir Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] according to a historian. The Panni Pathans were governing more than half of his army nevertheless the same but he had failed to meet the needs of the time (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.201 202***). The same was definitely the outcome to settle all the terms and conditions with Monsieur Doplay secretly.

Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had opened the artillery fire at Chanchaie [چنچئی] fort on 24th Zil Hajj [ذی الحجہ] 1163 Higra. The base of the French people at Pondicherry was about twelve miles away from said place. Monsieur Doplay had ensured all the supplies from Pondicherry to reach his units during the bloody battle, amidst heavy shelling which he initiated at night at Chanchaie [چنچئی] and was carried into the next morning. He stayed there for a day and then he opted to go

back (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.203 204***). We may point out that fort Chanchaie [چنچئی] was surrounded by many fortalices and there was only one access to enter the main fort which was through a wooden plank placed crosswise on the moat around the entire fort. The fierce battle lasted for about ten days and had not taken a decisive tilt in favor of either side. We may also point out for the readers that all the bloodshed in the fierce battle was just for the sake of a momentary personal aggrandizement. The fort Chanchaie [چنچئی] was the same place which was conquered by one of the gallant ancestors of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [ہمت بہادرخان پنّی] namely Nawab Daod Khan Panni [نواب داؤد خان پنّی] and the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had summoned him in 1021 Higra (1607) after the conquest to celebrate the victory. The brawny Muslims had lost the same to the French traders however about, 147 years later because of their internal rift.

Written promise of Doplay with the Panni Pathans [پنی پٹھانوں سے ڈوپلے کا تحریری وعدہ]:

When the two combatant sides were engaged in the game of fire and blood, Muzzafer Khan Gardli [مظفر خان گاردلی] who was a supporter of the French people as well as, Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] who used to take help from Pondicherry for Muzzafer Khan Gardli [مظفر خان گاردلی] directly, was arrested on 24th Zil Hajj [ذی الحجہ] by the soldiers of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ]. He was brought before Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] where he had made the disclosure about a new conspiracy. He was handed over to Bakhsi Khan [بخشی خان] but it was the bad luck of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] that even Bakhsi Khan [بخشی خان] was also in league with the conspirators who were deadly against him (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No. 204***). Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] had not taken any stern measures against the same despite knowing everything. Bakhsi Khan [بخشی خان] had sent a message in the meantime to Monsieur Doplay in collusion with Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. He was in the captivity of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] at that time. He had expressed his views through the same that Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] was likely to be subjected to the defeat provided Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [ہمت بہادرخان پنّی] and his associate Pathans opted to form a united front along-with the French traders. He had no clue that Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [ہمت بہادرخان پنّی] was already hand and glove with Monsieur Doplay and he was supporting his futuristic programs. Monsieur Doplay in the wake of such hugger-mugger had sent a letter to Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [ہمت بہادرخان پنّی] right in the battlefield with the promise that he was ready to abide by his verbal commitments. He had expressed his views further that

subject to get rid of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] by the Pathans as a united front and then appointing Saad Ullah Khan Muzzafer Jung [سعد اللہ خان مظفر جنگ] as a successor to the seat of Nizamat [نظامت] in Deccan, he was ready to share the wealth and treasure of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] on equal basis and they were also entitled to acquire besides that, the area of their choice and size. The said letter was to the satisfaction of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [ہمت بہادرخان پنّی] and even the Wazir of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] namely, Mohammed Anwar Khan [محمد انور خان] was also involved in said ploy according to the historians (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No. 205***).

Himat Khan had played havoc [ہمت خان نے تباہی مچا دی]:

Monsieur Doplay had sent eight hundred French and three hundred Indian soldiers as a supplement reinforcement unit after settling the terms of his ploy. The same had brought about a big roar with regard to his arrival on 13th Moherram [محرم] 1164 Higra November 1750 and was also an indicator with regard to the enemy attack against Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ]. Then on 16th December 1750 there was a surprise cannon shot which was fired by the Afghans [افغان] from Janoogee [جانوجی] camp. The said surprise fire was shot by Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] on the lashker of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] which rattled the entire lashker. Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] along-with his lashker was under the wrong impression till that time. When the reality had dawned on Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ], the frontline contingent of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had moved deep by that time into half of his lashker. Then they had captured the artillery unit of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] without much ado and had turned the barrels of his own cannons towards his tent and started the shelling. The French troops had gradually come very close and they were already informed that they were supposed to abstain from shelling the area from where they were supposed to spot the Pathans waving the white flag. The inferno of the battle was at a full blaze during the second half of the night. The devastation was a manifest scene of hell on earth (***Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No.26 28 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.206***).

The lashker of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] was at the venue since a long time just like a locust. They had dug up ditches and wells in order to cater their needs. The author of Rahat Afza [راحت افزاء] had expressed his views with regard to the surprise shelling of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] in the manner as below:

> "Himat Khan who was riding an elephant, had hit Nasir Jung on the chest with the Shair Bacha [Culverin]"

Shair Bacha [شیر بچہ] was small size cannon, which was carried on an elephant. Himat Khan [ہمت خان] had opened fire probably through the same cannon at the chest of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] (*Writer, has seen such cannons in Lahore Fort with the word "Shair Bacha" inscribed*).

Molvi Ghulam Ali Azad [مولوی غلام علی آزاد] had expressed his views further in the manner as below:

> "Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had pointed his gun towards Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] and two bullets had pierced his chest. He had died on the spot. Then many of his officers were also killed and Himat Khan [ہمت خان] had chopped off the head of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ]" (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.206 Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.196 Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.67***).

The aforementioned incident had taken place on 17th Moherram [محرم] 1144 Higra (1750) but some historians had given the date as 16th of Moherram [محرم] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.208***). There was a historian who had described the incident in the manner as below:

> "Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had gone past the artillery unit and then he had entered the enemy camp on 17th Moherram [محرم] 1164 Higra. The same was near Chanchaie [چنچئی] and about one Kos [کوس] away from "Phalchery" [پھلچری]" ***(Mukhtaser Tareekh Deccan*** [مختصر تاریخ دکن] ***Page No.118).***

The Panni Pathans were the first ones to have captured his treasure along-with other goods. They had carried out the looting and plundering in his entire dominion. The same had devolved upon Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] subsequently. The Panni [پنّی] Pathans were more instrumental in said battle.

Doplay got away with everything [ڈوپلے سب کچھ لے گیا]:

The Panni [پنّی] Pathans had changed the course of history at the aforementioned juncture of political change of mandate. They had made an all-out effort simultaneously to make their own state in the south of Hind. Then whatsoever they had done, the same was translated into reality. The entire credit of success was accredited somehow to the French Governor Doplay who was a supporter of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. The entire wealth and diamonds along-with other valuables of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] were in the custody of Monsieur Doplay after his death. Monsieur Doplay had established a city on the site where Panni Pathans had killed Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ]. He had named the same as "Doplay Fatehabad" [ڈوپلے فتح آباد]. He had also raised a minaret as a monument in commemoration of said battle and inscribed his name on four sides of the same in four different languages i.e. Persian, Mali, Hindustani and French along-with a rendition of the descriptive account of battle (***Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No.26 28 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.206 Durbar Asif Gulzar-III Gul Awal*** [دربار آصف گلزارسوم گل اول] ***Page No.43 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.209***). When Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] was able to enter Pondicherry after the death of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ], the entire wealth of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] was at his disposal. The same consisted of eighteen boxes of diamonds and about Rupees ten million in cash. There was also gold and silver among big stacks. Then Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] distributed an extraordinary sum of money, as a reward, among the highest and low rank French officers. The same was much more than their expectations, according to the historians. Monsieur Doplay was made his second-in-command for the area which was from River Kishna [دریائے کشنا] to Ras Kumari [راس کماری]. Monsieur Doplay had promised to handover the area however, to Panni Pathans which was in the south of the state of Kernol. He had also acknowledged Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب], formally as Nawab of Arkaat [ارکاٹ]. Monsieur Doplay was also decorated with the rank of Haft Hazari [ہفت ہزاری] as well as Mahie Maratib [ماہی مراتب] whereas his wife was assigned the title as Jahanara Begum [جہان آرا بیگم]. Monsieur Doplay used to put on the Khilat [خلعت] which was bestowed upon him and used to appear in the Durbar of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] in the attire of his Umera [امراء]. He used to kneel (*plié)* down also before Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. The circulation of money, which was minted in the Pondicherry Mint, was also approved for the entire Kernatak [کرناٹک] area. The French Company was granted an area in Kernatak [کرناٹک]. The same yielded an income of Rupees three hundred fifty thousand per

annum ***(Mukhtaser Tareekh Deccan*** [مختصر تاریخ دکن] ***Page No.75 Daedal Page No. 69 Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No.28 Doplay and Clive Page No.70 71)***.

The French had not only taken a major chunk from the wealth of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] rather, they had taken control of Pondicherry, Rajanderi Mahmood Bander [راجندری محمود بندر] and Goa Bander [گوآبندر]. Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had signed the certificate without any hesitation in this regard for the grant of those cities. The same was the beginning of an end of everything for Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] because Monsieur Doplay had usurped thus, even the powers of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. The area of southern Hind, which was granted to Monsieur Doplay for the French people, was almost similar in size as compared with the area of entire France. Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب] had also participated in said division and distribution with an equal fervor. He was granted the entire area of Terchana Pali [ترچنا پلی], Madera [مدہرا], Ternavi [ترناوی] and Chanchaie [چنچئ] etc. up to Irm [ارم] area and besides that, a sum of Rupees two million and two hundred thousand per annum was also allocated to him. There was an equally essential demand to dish out some hush up money to Panni Pathans. Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] was given therefore, the Adhoni state [ریاست ادھونی], Richer [رائیچور] and Bijapur [بیجاپور] up-to Serangapatum [سرنگا پٹم] other than his own state of Kernol. Then an oath was taken on the Quran from Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] for his allegiance to Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.61 213***). The honor to swear an oath had devolved upon said Nawab only. The reasons behind the same were quite oblivious. Monsieur Doplay had also taken his personal share from the wealth of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] whereas, he had made a pledge with the comrade Pathans to abstain from realizing any vested interest in the wake of said change of political mandate. He had taken however, Rupees three million in cash for his personal use besides, tons of diamonds despite taking a pledge. He had taken Rupees five million in cash as complementary money just for distribution among his officers and soldiers. Then he had also taken Rupees five million as a compensation of fighting a war. He had deposited the same in the French government Treasury. Irm Das Pandat [ارم داس پنڈت] was given the title of Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ]. He was made as Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] to look after the supreme national affairs in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد]. Then Monsieur Doplay had inaugurated the ceremony in Pondicherry ultimately, after finishing with the aforementioned self-serving divisions, distributions and allocations. Nizamat [نظامت]

was assigned to Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] and the cannon shots were fired in this regard besides the general display of fireworks (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.214 215***).

Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had decorated the French General Monsieur Bossy with the rank of Haft Hazari [ہفت ہزاری] along-with a flag as well as, Mahie Maratib [ماہی مراتب]. Monsieur Doplay had presented him Rupees three hundred thousand only in return and besides that, each soldier was paid three months salary in advance. The French General Monsieur Bossy was also awarded the title as "Amwatul-mulk" [عموۃ الملک] Saif-ud-Dolla [سیف الدولہ] Ghazanfer Jung [غضنفر جنگ] along-with a Royal Khilat [بادشاہی خلعت] (Robe) and Serpaich Murasa [سرپیچ مرصع] (*Scepter*) and an elephant. General Bossy had accompanied Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] up-to Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] just as a mark of respect. He was supposed to go to Masvi Patum [مسوی پٹم] thereafter. Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ] was their special person *eminence grise* and he was a very trustworthy person of General Bossy (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.16 215 Mukhtaser Tareekh Deccan*** [مختصر تاریخ دکن] ***Page No.69-70 Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No.28***).

The Panni Pathans were cheated a second time [پنیوں سے دوسری بار بھی دھوکا ہوا]:

The Panni Pathans who were heroes of Kernatak [کرناٹک], had lost the game even second time. They were cheated firstly by Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] and then Monsieur Doplay had also outplayed them. He had changed his stance after achieving his objective and had forgotten literally the fulfillment of his promise. They were awarded although a large area on a solemn pledge to prove the allegiance yet, the same had not satisfied them. Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] was desirous to have the entire area from his state of Kernol up-to the southern port. He had also claimed besides that, half of the wealth of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ]. He was moving about with calmness apparently yet, he had harbored a grudge against the French people as well as Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.16 215 Daedal Page No. 69 Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No.28 Durbar Asif Gulzar-III Gul Awal*** [دربار آصف گلزارسوم گل اول] ***Page No.42***). The style of grievance which they had proclaimed was such as if they were the ones who had performed the actual job but when the time had come to fulfill the promise, the Governor Doplay shamelessly backed out from the same (***Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No.29***).

Himat Khan went to Pondicherry to attain his rights [ہمت خان حق طلبی کے لیے پانڈچری میں]:

When Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] lodged a complaint with Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ], regarding the non-fulfillment of his promise which he had avoided with a cold shoulder, he directed him to meet Monsieur Doplay in Pondicherry. The result of the ever changing colors of times was that, one who was a friend had become a foe and vice versa. The commander of late Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] namely, Mir Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان], Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] and Nawab Shahnawaz [شاہنواز] i.e. the author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] who was previously a Dewan of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ], was able to settle their differences. They were able to cast their previous master Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ] into the oblivion therefore they were obliged to change their loyalties. They had decided to get the high ranks and posts under Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. The reality was that the politicians and those who were power hungry had no conscience. They had followed the dictates of times just like slaves. Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had decorated Nawab Shahnawaz [شاہنواز] with the rank of Panj Hazari [پنج ہزاری]. He had made him his Wazir [وزیر] ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No. 216)***. The same had amounted to be a show of wheels within the wheels which had made Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] land into more perplexity. When Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had advised him to have a word with Monsieur Doplay, he had taken a great lashker along-with arms and ammunition and then he was in Pondicherry to remind him of his promise. When he was fully involved in the discussion with Monsieur Doplay, the latter had sent for Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] in order to seek his consultation. Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had consulted the commander Mir Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان], Wazir Nawab Shahnawaz Khan [وزیرنواب شاہنواز خان] pursuantly, as well as the author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء]. They both had given their consent with regard to meet Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی]. Thus all three of them had landed in Pondicherry along-with their respective lashkers. When all three of them were able to reach Monsieur Doplay then, Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] was also in session at that time and had discussed his demands. Hussain Ali Khan [حسین علی خان] who was popularly known as Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب] was also present. They all had moved towards their respective chairs after shaking hands with Monsieur Doplay and Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب] and without even acknowledging the presence of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی]. When Chanda Sahib [چندا صاحب] was able to assess the stiff neck situation, he extended his hand promptly for a handshake in order to ease the

tension. Then both sides were seated face-to-face after the traditional way of embracing and handshaking.

Heated arguments between two sides [فریقین کے درمیان تلخ کلامی]:

Monsieur Doplay had played the delaying tactics game with a Panni Pathan i.e. Himat Khan [ہمت خان]. The said maneuvering was a complete injustice particularly when, Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] was already enraged. He had reposed complete confidence in his own military performance as well as, in the performance of his lashker. He was absolutely enraged and furious at that time when he demanded his stipulated share. He enquired out of sheer enragement from Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] and from commander Mir Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] about the number of their troops which they had brought on said occasion. They replied that they had enough soldiers with them and the soldiers were equipped sufficiently to meet any exigency adequately. Then such type of question and answer session had made the possibility to achieve any result even more distant. When the reliance on swords had had become even more evident between the two sides, the same had infuriated even the soldiers outside. Nawab Shahnawaz [شاہنواز] had intervened however, at said juncture and was able to manage the situation well. The possibility of major bloodshed was resultantly averted. The said session had lasted for some time and Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] and his aides had walked out of the session thereafter, after showing their solidarity with Monsieur Doplay. Thus Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] was left right in the middle of nowhere. He had also left the venue after the ungainly negotiations along-with his comrades ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No. 218).***

Arrangement of dance and fun party [محفل رقص وسروکا انعقاد]:

The history is the name of attributes and performance of any person who has some bearing on a nation. We may discuss the dance and fun party which Monsieur Doplay had arranged for the Muslim Umera [امراء] and hopefully, mentioning it should not be out of place. The same shall reveal rather the abysmal level of national politics of the then Muslim leaders of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] and Deccan. We will explain further how their minds were shadowed even at a very critical stage in the history with a pseudo tinge of their self-serving personal aggrandizement. Monsieur Doplay had reserved a Hawaili [حویلی] for the stay of Nawab Shahnawaz [شاہنواز]

according to the author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء]. He had made a proper arrangement in the same for a dance and fun [رقص وسرور] as well as, liquor party at night which was in the honor of his companion Umera [امراء]. Then there were many French couples who had stretched the spellbound dance party into the later part of the night. When the party was at its full boom and the same was rolling into a total ecstasy, Monsieur Doplay and his wife along-with his very pretty daughter had also taken the dance floor on French music tunes. Thus they had pleased the participants in such a manner that the spectacles of debauchery and licentiousness on said night had put to shame even the Venues and Pluto in the heavens ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No. 218)***. The party was totally spellbound because Monsieur Doplay was drenched in everything including, the royal arrangement as well as, with the intoxicating effect of attaining the unlimited wealth of Nasir Jung [ناصر جنگ], acquiring a piece of land in the Subcontinent and absolute control on the reins of power over the land area which was equal in size to the whole of France.

Disappointed Pathans were ready to fight [پٹھانوں نے ناکامی پر سر سے کفن باندھ لئے]:

The aforementioned grand party was arranged to swallow down the wealth and riches which were available in large quantity, along-with the grandeur of rule. The Pathans of Kernol were not concerned with the same in any case. They were mentally quite away from fun and game and they were standing right in the middle of battlefield to acquaint themselves with the foreseeable scenes of fire and blood. They had travelled a great distance to see the fulfillment of their demands and were trying to map out their prospective sultanate in their imagination. They were delineating the boundaries of the same with their blood and were not concerned in any manner whatsoever even to think about the French blondes as well as the dance and fun games. Their imaginative eyes were looking at the destiny across the blood lakes and beyond the dead bodies of their enemy. Monsieur Doplay had deferred the fulfillment of their demands very cunningly yet, they were keeping their ambitions alive. They were quite in the state of antsy on said occasion just like true Pathans. Monsieur Doplay had an exclusive session of discussion with Mir Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان], Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] and Nawab Shahnawaz [شاہنواز] at the end of aforementioned grand party. Then he had bid them farewell after all the promises and pacts. Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had departed thus, with the apparent confidence and ostensible grandeur with regard to the capture of Deccan ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No. 218).*** The French General Bossy had accompanied him in said venture. He had three hundred French soldiers, ten thousand

local troops and one hundred and fifty cannons at his disposal. Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had appointed Monsieur Bossy as a commander of said army as well as his advisor. He had commanded absolute authority as a result of the same.

The Pathans had not accompanied said lashker according to the historians. They stayed back at Pondicherry just because of their individualistic approach. They had to move out in any case, when Nawab Shahnawaz [شاہنواز] had reached the venue. The lashker of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had already left by that time and he had followed them. Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had also started his journey in sheer disappointment on the third or fourth day in order to reach back home along-with his lashker. The comrades of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] were quite concerned with regard to the act of withholding the journey by Panni Pathans. The sphere of whims and jitters had overwhelmed them. They had the apprehension of some meetings in Pondicherry secretively and most of them were anticipating a deadly attack by the Pathans particularly when their lashker was expected to pass through the cleft of Koh Kinar Kaloh [کوہ کنار کلوہ]. The same was about three to four Kos [کوس] in length. They were also apprehensive that the Pathans had already manned the vantage points of their route. Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] was perplexed extraordinarily due to aforementioned unpredictability of said situation ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No. 215 216 220).***

Hard lines were drawn between Nawab and Muzzafer Jung [نواب اور مظفر جنگ کے درمیان صف آرائی]:

The Panni Pathans had caught up the lashker of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] at Arkaat [ارکاٹ]. They were disinclined out of sheer enragement, defiance or arrogance for walking behind the lashker of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. They had made a stopover therefore, at Arkaat [ارکاٹ] but Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had continued his onward march. Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had restarted his journey towards his state of Kernol after two days. When they were able to catch up with the lashker of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] midway, some of the enraged soldiers of his lashker had started to tease the soldiers of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] just like hooligans. They had started looting the carts of goods *fourgon* fearlessly, which were lagging behind according to the historians. The lashker of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had reached Raijoti [رائجوٹی] gradually, which was the area of the Pathans of Kerrpa who were supporters of

Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی]. The Nawab of said area namely Abdul Ghani Khan Meyanerra Panni [عبدالغنی خان میانڑا پنّی] was accompanying Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] at that time. The people of former Nawab had looted the goods from two of three carts of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] on their way along-with, goods of French soldiers. They were compelled to fight a small battle resultantly, with those soldiers. They had initiated the fight perhaps purposely, may be as a tactical move.

General Bossy and his soldiers had ravaged the entire village in retaliation and they had ransacked other villages of the area. The same had provided an actionable excuse to the Pathans who were busy then purposely, in looting their *fourgons* carts. They had looted all the carts of Muzzafer Khan Gardli [مظفر خان گاردلی] which were being dragged in the rear part of the contingent. They had followed the lashker of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] very confidently after conducting the looting spree as if nothing had happened. Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had left for the city of Raichoti [رائچوٹی] along-with some of his Sardars at that time just to attend a dinner party. The same was about two miles away from the campsite of his lashker. He had remained busy there throughout the night ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.220 Global Volume No.2 Page No.29 Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.64 243).*** When the commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] and Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] came to know about the looting and plundering incident of their *fourgons* carts, they had no other option but to curse the Pathans. They had vowed to settle the score with them. They had equipped themselves properly after a due consultation with their friends and colleagues and then they had marched out in the open for an all-out battle. General Bossy had also sent a message to Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] for an all-out battle against the Pathans. Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had ordered his comrades in the following morning to prepare for a major clash after receiving said message. Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had also come to know about their heinous plans and he had also opted to return from Raichoti [رائچوٹی] in haste with the intension to join his lashker ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No. 661).*** The French were all out for the support of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] (***Durbar Asif Gulzar-III Gul Awal*** [دربار آصف گلزارسوم گل اول] ***Page No.45***).

Entrenched position and fight [مورچہ بندی کی کیفیت اور لڑائی]:

Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had entered the battlefield as per plan in the following morning. The formation of his lashker was also very interesting according to authentic books of history. The same should be mind boggling for any autonomous and sovereign nation of present day. The arrangement was as below:

> "The French artillery was in the forefront. The same was jointly headed by Monsieur Bossy and Monsieur Lawson and was followed by Muzzafer Khan Gardli [مظفر خان گاردلی] who was heading an artillery contingent of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. The same consisted of five thousand foot soldiers, three thousand cavalrymen and five hundred French soldiers and was followed by the elephant of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] with a heraldic sign. There were contingents of five thousand infantry, one thousand archers, one hundred cavalrymen and one hundred horse riders who had surrounded him. The younger brother of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] namely, Fazal Muhie-ud-Din [فضل محیی الدین] was behind said heraldic sign. He was leading the contingent of five thousand cavalrymen and equal number of brave soldiers and archers as if the same was a herd of sheep".

The facts and figures quoted here-in-above are factual and the same were without any exaggeration. The witnesses can give a false testimony but the attendant circumstantial evidence cannot be false. The lashkers of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] and Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had confronted each other at Lakereet Puli [لکریت پلی] on 11th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1164 Higra. Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی], who had returned from Raichoti [رائچوٹی] in haste after the dinner and after learning about the wickedness of his enemy, was unprepared to face such an enormous onslaught. He forwarded Madar Saif Ullah Khan [مدار سیف اللہ خان] therefore, for negotiations and reconciliation. The French had shot him dead in an absolute apathy. Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] was fully conscious about the criticality of the situation but when he had learnt about the death of his mediator, he decided to face the consequences by fighting the war upfront. When he was just in the process of gathering himself together, the French had blown the bugle of war and they had initiated the fight. (*Detail account of war will be given later*). The barrage of shells had started falling on the Pathans simultaneously with the sound of the bulge. The same had put them in a state of panic. They had no other option but to retreat and allow the enemy to

make advancement. When the lashker of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had witnessed that the Pathans were on the retreat, they were enticed for a massive hunt down exercise. The said army was so large in size that they had become an unruly mob while they were involved in the process of run and chase. They had got entangled with each other and resultantly the entire army formation was disturbed. There were many soldiers who were killed during the unmanageable stampede. The retreat and shooting tactics were as matter of fact an ancient war maneuvering of Panni nation. They had always taken pride in the skillfulness of the same. The commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] was encouraged by the death incident of Nawab Nasir Jung [نواب ناصر جنگ] during said hullabaloo therefore he had deemed it appropriate to avenge his death immediately. He had bid farewell to the revenue minister Shahnawaz [شاہنواز] and had also opted to move into the battlefield ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.222).***

Death of Himat Khan Panni [ہمت خان پنّی کی ہلاکت]:

The catastrophe was let loose on the Pathans by the lashker of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. The land was too hard to be broken and the heavens were too far away. The general conditions and the circumstantial situation had revealed that Khan Alam Deccani [خان عالم دکنی] son of Muqerab Khan Deccani [مقرب خان دکنی], Sheikh Ali Jenievi [شیخ علی جنیوی], Murtaza Khan Rasaldar [مرتضی' خان رسالدار], Sheikh Mohammed Rasaldar [شیخ محمد رسالدار] and Mohammed Said Akber Khan [محمد سید اکبر خان] were posted there with five thousand troops. Mohammed Anwer Khan [محمد انور خان] who was vested with the title of Qutab-ud-Dolla [قطب الدولہ] was right behind them to confront Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. Then Suf Shiken Khan [صف شکن خان], who was an artillery officer, was juxtaposed with one thousand cavalrymen along-with some other Rasaldars [رسالدار] among other troops under Bakhsi Khan [بخشی خان]. They were followed by two thousand foot soldiers, Nawab Slabat Jung [نواب صلابت جنگ], Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Asad Jung [نواب نظام علی خان اسد جنگ], Nawab Basalat Jung [نواب بسالت جنگ] and the brothers of Nawab Nasir Jung [نواب ناصر جنگ] were on three elephants. They were followed by the elephant of Nawab Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. Then Mirza Mohammed Khan Bux [مرزا محمد خان بخش] was posted with seven thousand cavalrymen and Ameer Mohammed Hassan [امیر محمد حسن], Imanat Khan [امانت خان], Fateh Khan [فتح خان], Dergah Ali Khan [درگاہ علی خان], Mustafa Khan [مصطفی' خان], Mashoor Khan [مشہور خان], Janbaaz Khan [جانباز خان] and Mahmood Amman Khan [محمود امان خان] were also with him. The others were in the formation of thirty nine elephants along-with

many troops. Musa Khan Bakhsi [موسی' خان بخشی] and some other Sardars were posted at the end, along-with a few thousand soldiers. Beria Naik [بیریا نائک], Soria Naik [سوریا نائک], Manoogee Banalker Pidermal Gee [مانو جی بنالکر پدمال جی] and Raja Ram [راجہ رام] were posted on the other side with a few thousand Merhattas, ten thousand cavalrymen and twenty thousand foot soldiers. The artillery squad from the other side had included Pir Muqtader [پیر مقتدر], sons of Abdullah Khan [عبداللہ خان] and bothers of Muzzafer Khan Gardli [مظفر خان گاردلی] namely, Hassan-ud-Din Khan [حسن الدین خان] and Hussain-ud-Din Khan [حسین الدین خان] among others. The landlords of Bijapur [بیجاپور] were on their right-hand side whereas on the left-hand side were Raja Kachan Rao Khanda [راجہ کچھن راؤ کھنڈا], Kalla Baik Rao [کلہ بیک راؤ], Hergee Serkat [ہرجی سرکت] and Gopal Rao [گوپال راؤ]. The others were posted with seven thousand cavalrymen and ten thousand infantrymen. There was a fully equipped mammoth lashker or a full orchestra to play the ultimate symphony of death on earth! Then Mir Amman Ullah Khan Khokhar [میر امان اللہ خان کھوکھر], Amer Pailank [امرپائلنک], Baji Rao [باجی راؤ] and Bheem [بھیم] etc. were deployed with four thousand cavalrymen and ten thousand infantrymen. Aqib Khan [عاقب خان] and Shujjat [شجاعت] and others were on their rear side with one thousand cavalrymen and two thousand infantrymen, then with such formation a massive lashker of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had moved out to fight against Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.22 221).*** The said lashker included the Sardars of adjoining areas. They had landed in the battlefield just to handle any urgency.

The aforementioned detail was quoted in various books of history and it was an exaggeration seemingly yet, according to those who had recorded the minutes of war proceedings in the battlefield, the same was an unprecedented display of war formation. The commander, Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] had by passed his lashker and had entered the battlefield literally with the ambition to kill or to be killed. The war had taken place on 11th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1124 Higra (January 1751). The battlefield was vibrant with all its ferociousness. The lances were piercing the human bodies and swords were busy in cutting and slashing human beings. The level of commitment was such that the leaders from both sides were engaged in the battlefield physically, in order to prove that they were as good as their soldiers in the realm of bravery and gallantry. They were there just like dancing flames when they were giving the cautions and commands in the frontlines. The other contingents of commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] were static somehow or the other and they had not participated in the battle. Muzzafer Jung [مظفر

جنگ] was physically present in the battlefield but he had opted to stand on the sidelines as if he was a spectator. Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] on the other hand, was busy with a prying eye and he was analyzing the proceedings of the battle. When he was able to spot Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ], he pitched some troops against commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] and swarmed Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] with a contingent of troops but unfortunately, none of his comrades came for his rescue. Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] had kicked his elephant towards Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] in said foreclosed situation. Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] penetrated very deep into the troop formation of his enemy just in the cadence of advancement. The foot soldiers and the Khawas brothers [خواص برادران] who had surrounded Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had opened a massive barrage of fire against him. He received two bullets in his stomach. Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] resultantly dropped his shield out of sheer pain. Then he gathered himself together and he had put a small cushion on the wounded area during the scuffle which was very much in progress. Mir Hassan Khan [میر حسن خان] i.e. brother of commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] shot another bullet in the meantime. The same had penetrated deep into the chest of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی]. The deadly bullet put Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] to eternal sleep and he literally bathed in his own blood. Thus courageous and brave General of independent state of Pathans i.e. Kernol breathed his last breath after writing the title of historical battles of Kernatak [کرناٹک]. The soldiers of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] grabbed his elephant very swiftly and Mir Hassan Khan [میر حسن خان] moved forward very quickly and he chopped off the head of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی]. Then his comrades chopped his body into several pieces. The said incident took place on 17th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1124 Higra (January 1751) ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.223 Durbar Asif Gulzar-III Gul Awal*** [دربار آصف گلزارسوم گل اول] ***Page No.484 Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No.29).***

Muzzafer Jung was also killed [مظفر جنگ بھی ہلاک ہو گیا]:

The bloody battle was in progress between the Pathans and commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] on one hand, whereas on the other hand, the body of the commander of the Pathans was chopped into many pieces. The same had demoralized the Panni Pathans or it had given an added impetus to the overall progress of warfare, the fact of the matter was that when the Panni Pathans

had opted to engage in battle, they were committed tooth and nail and they attacked their enemy very defiantly. Then after the death of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی], there was a stray arrow which came from the side of the troops of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] which pierced the left eye of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ], Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] who was sitting by his side, held up his body firmly and straight with his two hands just to give the impression to his lashker that he was still alive ***(Durbar Asif Gulzar-III Gul Awal*** [دربار آصف گلزارسوم گل اول] ***Page No.64 Maser-ul-Kiram*** [ماثرالکرام] ***Fasal Doam*** [فصیل دوم] ***Page No. 193).*** The elephant movement of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] was also constant in the battlefield as if the rider was busy marshaling the troops. The arrows of the Pathans were regularly falling on the enemy which killed a number of enemy soldiers including Yaqoob Mohammed Khan Rasaldar [یعقوب محمد خان رسالدار], Mir Zafer Khan Bengali [میر ظفر خان بنگالی] and others. Then there was an arrow which hit the face of the maternal uncle of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] and besides that, Namat Khan [نعمت خان] and Jalal Khan [جلال خان] were also injured. Nizam Ali Khan [نظام علی خان] was hit by some arrows. Jalal Khan [جلال خان] was also hit by an arrow on his face. There were some soldiers of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] who were posted there, they were also killed. They were positioned there with their naked swords as a standby force. There were some other soldiers who were able to escape from the battlefield, whereas many others were arrested. The comrades of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] had chopped off their heads and then they pinned their heads on the lance-heads just to show off. The close friend of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] namely, Nawab Abdul Ghani Khan Mianera Panni [عبدالغنی خان میانڑا پنّی] was also killed. The overall death toll of said battle was about three thousand people. The said battle had taken place at Lakereet Puli [لکریت پلی] on 17th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] between Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] and Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] according to Hadeqa-tul-Alam [حدیقہ العالم]. The battle was so intense that the combatants had neither the energy nor the time to bury the dead soldiers on said day. They were able to bury the dead bodies in the open desert in the following morning. Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] was killed exactly two months after the death of Nawab Nasir Jung [نواب ناصر جنگ]. Then his coffin was dispatched to Roza [روضہ] on 18th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] ***(Durbar Asif Gulzar-III Gul Awal*** [دربار آصف گلزارسوم گل اول] ***Page No.46 Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.203 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.223 Maser-ul-Kiram*** [ماثرالکرام] ***Fasal Doam*** [فصیل دوم] ***Page No. 193).***

Assignment of office to three individuals in the battlefield [تین افراد کی میدان میں مسسد نشینی]:

Since the leading figures from both sides were killed therefore, after the annihilation of lashker of the Panni Pathans, the Umera [امراء] of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] proclaimed with drum beats his three maternal uncles as their joint successors. They were Nawab Syed Mohammed Khan Salabat Jung [نواب سید محمد خان صلابت جنگ], Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Asad Jung [نظام علی خان اسد جنگ] and Nawab Mohammed Sharif Khan Basalat Jung [نواب محمد شریف خان بسالت جنگ]. They were perched on their elephants and were guarding the post statically from one side of the battlefield. They reached back to their base camp soon thereafter, with the dead body of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ]. Nawab Syed Mohammed Khan Salabat Jung [نواب سید محمد خان صلابت جنگ] alone was declared as successor of Nawab according to some other historians. When the dead body was taken to his tent according to a historian, his mother who was the daughter of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah-Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول], made such a hue and cry that even the heavens were looking gloomy and sad. The three maternal uncles of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] on the other hand had succeeded him and the Umera [امراء] had presented them Nazeranas [نذرانہ], Slams [سلام] along-with their commiserations ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.223 Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No.29 Durbar Asif Gulzar-III Gul Awal*** [دربار آصف گلزارسوم گل اول] ***Page No.47).***

زمانہ جام بدست و جنازہ بردوش است

The world with all its licentiousness is also carrying the funerals

Those who had recorded the minutes of war proceedings had neither given the descriptive account about the fate of tens of Panni Pathans nor had they quoted the number of troops of their lashker. The corroboration of events which had emanated from the war conditions as well as from other historical events and chronological order of history had substantiated the reality differently. This much was however proved that the Pathans were beaten all ends up and despite that, there were about five thousand of them who were able to reunite themselves. They had decided to loot and plunder three Asfi rulers [آصفی حکمران] who were very well organized in this regard to carry out the ambush exercise ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.223).*** They had lost the battle in the field yet, they had not accepted the defeat. The victory tends to bring the general arrogance and rejuvenation but, to remain steadfast and resolute even after the defeat was a very peculiar

and a praiseworthy trait. The contributory factor in the defeat was the ethnocentricity of the Pathans.

Panni Pathans had fought once again [پنّی پٹھانوں نے پھر لڑائی کی]:

The lashker of the three new Asfi rulers [آصفی حکمران] which was known previously as lashker of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ], the same had embarked upon its onward advancement. They had realized after covering a distance of about five miles that they had forgotten to dismount their three valuable cannons from the posts along-with other war equipments. Then his brother namely, Ameer Mohammed Hassan [امیر محمد حسن] whose bullet had pierced the chest of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] and was killed, had decided to go back to retrieve the aforementioned equipments despite the opposition of commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.226).*** The Panni Pathans were literally doomed and apparently their unity was in total disarray. They were at the site of Lakereet Puli [لکریت پلی] however, in order to ensure their regrouping and in order to work out some implementable future strategy. They were not left with much to dilate upon because from being thousands in number, they were reduced to hundreds and most of them were wounded as well. The whereabouts of some others were also unknown. We have already mentioned above that most of them were arrested and their heads were chopped off. The wounded were crying with pain and their wounds were being dressed up in the battlefield. They were very small in number as compared with their enemy troops. The biggest problem to which they were exposed was that they were just a bunch of people without any proper leader. What they had in abundance notwithstanding the same was the element of their ethnocentricity and their indomitable spirit. They were resolute and their ambitions were futuristic therefore, when Ameer Mohammed Hassan [امیر محمد حسن] had reached the close proximity for the retrieval of his forgotten equipment, they had surrounded him squarely. Ameer Mohammed Hassan [امیر محمد حسن] was scared and had sent a missive to his brother i.e commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] through which he had sought the reinforcement. The commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] was very well familiar with the Pathan mentality therefore he had decided to rescue his brother. The Pathans were able to engage commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] in the skirmishes despite being few in number. He was able to take away however, the forgotten equipment from Lakereet Puli [لکریت پلی] despite his engagement in the skirmishes. The same had given rise to the question that whether the Pathans

had lost the confidence because they were totally shaken physiologically? The answer to the same was that no sooner commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] and his brother Ameer Mohammed Hassan [امیر محمد حسن] had moved towards their lashker along-with their retrieved equipments, the Pathans had chased them with a group of about five thousand soldiers just like hooligans. Then they teased the soldiers who were in the rear company of contingent ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.226).***

Massacre and plundering in Kernol [کرنول میں قتل عام اور لوٹ مار]:

When the enemy lashker was moving towards Kernol, Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ] had already granted the state of Kernol of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] to Ameer Mohammed Hassan [امیر محمد حسن] as a Jagir [جاگیر] along-with the state of Kerrpa [کڑپہ] of Nawab Abdul Ghani Khan Mianera Panni [عبدالغنی خان میانڑا پنّی], who was previously killed in a battle. When the enemy was able to reach Kernol, they engaged the local Pathans of the state for a direct confrontation. Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ] had assigned Kernol as Talqa [تعلقہ] to commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] through a letter. He had instigated him to capture the same in the presence of the lashker of Nawab and he had also assured him with regard to his own preparedness. They had resultantly ravaged the entire city and then carried out a massive massacre and also ransacked the entire Bazaar. They arrested the relatives of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] and randomly killed the Pathans (***Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No.30 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.227 Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.204***). Salabat Jung [صلابت جنگ] had surrounded the state of Kernol in 1715 according to the Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.61. General Bossy was also involved in said siege (***Page No.33***) therefore both the states were without their respective leaders at that time. The Panni Pathans were in a state of dissonance after the defeat. Then the fatigue had also rendered useless the remaining strength of their five thousand people. The requisite means and resources were also not at their disposal. They were almost through with the utilization of their war equipment. They were just like a lost caravan of Joseph in a state of extreme wretchedness. They were able to land in their ravaged state of Kernol ultimately, after surviving the torrents of war. The same was under the occupation of their enemy. The streets of the same were drenched with the blood of the Pathan people. There was no need to mention that their real asset was not tarnished. They were in high spirits with warfare dexterity along-with a

will to fight. The way the enemy had ravaged the state of Kernol can be analyzed from the descriptive account of the author of Maser-ul-Kiram [ماثرالکرام] Molvi Ghulam Ali Azad [مولوی غلام علی آزاد]. He was in the service of Nawab Nasir Jung [نواب ناصر جنگ] and was also a Wazir of Umera of Deccan [امرائے دکن]. Then there was the author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] Shahnawaz Khan [شاہنواز خان] who had also accompanied the enemy lashker. He was on his way to Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] therefore they had described the events in the manner as below:

> و چوں لشکر برسرکرنول آمد، شہرراغارت کرد،واہل وعیال ہمت خان ہمہ باسیری درآمدندوازشا متِ عملے کہ ازآں بے ہمت صادر شُد، جان و مال وآبروئے ہمہ برباد رفت،حالت دنیا خود ایں شُد ما لِ عقبیٰ' چہ خوابد شُد"

(***Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.204 Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.3 Page No.860 Maser-ul-Kiram*** [ماثرالکرام] ***Page No. 195***)

Translation:

> When the lashker of Deccan was able to reach Kernol, they had vandalized the city and all the relatives of Himat Khan were arrested. The ill fate had destroyed his life honor and entire property. When it was so devastating for him in this world then how devastating it certainly would be for him in the world hereafter.

The pages of history had also recorded the fate of Shahnawaz Khan [شاہنواز خان] but the family of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] was able to get the recognition of their bravery in the history even after his death. They had ruled the state of Kernol for years in the process. There were a number of monuments of said era in Kernol as well as in Hyderabad until lately which were the epitomes of their past glory existing in present times. The very affluent and prestigious descendants of those people had enjoyed their Jagirs along-with titles like Nawabs of yester years till the time this book was being penned. The aforesaid annihilation story of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] was in a way, a compliment to a brave and gallant General like him. The same was a worthy asset for the chapters of history.

فیضی احنت ازایں عشق کہ دوراں امروز
گرم دارد ز تو ہنگامۂ رُسوائی را

Defeat of the enemy [دشمن کی ہزیمت]:

The new Nizam had taken over Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] on 29th June 1751 (***Gerbil Volume No.2 Page No.30)***. The commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] had launched a regular campaign to capture the same thereafter, in order to use the state of Kernol as his platform. The Pathans of the area were however able to get united and were also able to come up with the solid defense, despite the fact that neither they had any leader nor did they have any organized army till that time. They had initiated the practical war and started showering the fire literally through the bullets and the cannons. Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ] had warned commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] to abstain from unnecessary display of valor. The enemy managed to reach the outer wall of the city ultimately, after a massive bloodshed. They made the efforts to enter the state of Kernol. The same was also the capital of the state. The Panni Pathans were able to foil their said attempt. The commander, Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] had made an attempt to break open the doors of the city with the help of the elephants which were made of teak wood. He had failed to achieve however, his desired objectives. Then his brother namely Ameer Mohammed Hassan [امیر محمد حسن] was able to climb up the dilapidated wall sometime thereafter and Mirza Abdullah Baig [مرزا عبداللہ بیگ] and Fazal Baig Sardar [فضل بیگ سردار] and others were also able to reach the site swiftly. They had jointly posted their banner on the city. Then commander, Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] was also able to enter the city along-with his troops and as result, all the Pathans had grouped up in the fort. The city of Kernol had come however, under the control of commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان]. When Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ] had come to know about the success of commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان], he had also entered the city through the same route. He was in the company of Nazer Ali Baig [نظر علی بیگ], Khan Bakhsi Syr [خان بخشی سائر] and Mohammed Akber Khan Rasaldar [محمداکبرخان رسالدار]. There was a Gharri [گھڑی] where the Pathans had a military post. Mohammed Akber Khan [محمداکبرخان] as well as his companions had captured the same (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.227***).

The Kernol fort was very solid. The same was rebuilt with lime and stones by the grandfather of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] namely, Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی]. There was a large stock of arms and ammunition in the fort.

The commander, Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] and the troops of General Bossy had besieged the fort jointly in March 1751. Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ] had also participated in the attritional siege which lasted for many days. The fight continued during said period on a daily basis and the same ultimately resulted in a massive bloodshed. Those who were inside the fort had continued the fight very bravely. They had not allowed them to have free access despite their massive lashker. The two brothers of commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان], who were on their way back from Raichoti [رائچوٹی], had also made their entry in the venue with the intention to join the siege. The commander, Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] had appointed Nazer Ali Baig [نظر علی بیگ] at his place and then he was able to capture the moat. Then a barrage of shots, bullets and arrows was showered from the fort which killed a number of people of the enemy and there were many others who were injured. There were some soldiers of the enemy who were able to climb up to the wall of the fort despite that with the help of ladders. They made an offer to the Pathans thereafter, either to fight outside the fort else, accept a safe passage for escape and vacate the fort. The history always extended the salutation to the courage of the Pathans because they refused to accept defeat. Thus they cast aside said offer very courageously and opted to persist with their defense. The delegation of three brothers of commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] namely, Ameer Mohammed Hassan [امیر محمد حسن], Nazer Ali Khan [نظر علی خان] and Mohib Ali Khan [محب علی خان] were sent inside the fort on the advice of Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ]. They were supposed to conduct the negotiations with the Pathans in the wake their resolute stance. The courage of the Pathans was worthy of admiration however, because they had killed very daringly all three of them. Then they had dropped their dead bodies from the wall of the fort into the open area. They declared their intentions this way for those who had besieged the fort. When commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] came to know about the incident, he was overawed to identify the dead bodies of his brothers. Then after conducting the identification of his brothers, he was so perplexed and aggrieved that he made a suicidal jump from the wall of the moat. He had luckily survived. Then he put to the sword in the absolute enragement, those ten Pathans who were around him (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.227 Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.30 229***). Therefore the Panni Pathans can say very

proudly that the test for gallows and for the rope of scaffold starts from the place also where they live [جہاں ہم ہیں وہاں دارورسن کی آزمائش ہے].

Return of the dejected enemy [پریشان حال دشمن کی مراجعت]:

The commander, Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] was bewildered totally, due to the unexpected murder of his three brothers. He was overwhelmed with a sense of grief and opted to separate himself from the siege of the fort in order to mourn the death of his brothers. Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ] handed over the control of the captured area to Muzzafer Khan Gardli [مظفر خان گاردلی] in the wake of said situation. He had also opted to retire from the scene. The commander, Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] was of the view that Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ] had ill-advised him with regard to sending his three brothers together and resultantly they were killed. He was deadly against him thereafter and had started working on the plan to murder him. He had also initiated besides that, a move to kill the Pathans randomly in the entire vicinity of the fort. Nawab Slabat Jung [نواب صلابت جنگ] was selected under the influence of the French General by that time, for the Nizamat [نظامت] of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] out of the three brothers. The reason for the same was that the only son of Muzzafer Jung [مظفر جنگ] was underage at that time. Nawab Slabat Jung [نواب صلابت جنگ] had put off his journey because of the incident of commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان]. Then he had moved towards Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] after sharing his grief and sorrow for landing in Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] (***Saheefa Zerreen*** [صحیفہ زریں] ***Volume No.1 Page No.113-14 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.228).*** Mir Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان] and Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ] had extended their stay for three more days. Then they had appointed Muzzafer Khan Gardli [مظفر خان گاردلی] as an independent commander of the battlefront and even they moved to Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد]. He had appointed Mirza Mohammed Khan [مرزا محمد خان] Qaladar Ghadak [قلعدار گدک] as his sub-commander thereafter. Then he had also opted to follow others for Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.236).*** The Pathans were very much constrained even though, with regard to vacating the fort yet, they had kept the vibrancy of the battlefield alive in order to prove their resolve.

MUKERAM-UD-DOLLA NAWAB MUNAWER KHAN BAHADER PANNI POPULARLY KNOWN AS RUNMUST KHAN

[مکرم الدولہ نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی المخاطب بہ رنممست خان]

Courageous Nawab [بلند ہمت نواب]:

Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] was the younger brother of late Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی]. He was bestowed upon the titles like Mukeram-ud-Dolla [مکرم الدولہ] and Runmust Khan [رنممست خان] (***Pictorial Hyderabad***) and was also known for his bravery just like his elder brother. He had continued the battle which his late brother had started against Nizam as well as against the French intruders. The providence also helped him and ultimately he was able to succeed in the same. He had acquired the state of Kernol with the help of the sword, along-with the title as Nawab. He had spent almost his entire life fighting the wars. He was a most trustworthy, reliable confidant of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو]. He was the only Nawab perhaps, to whom Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] had written several letters and he had communicated with him with full confidence. He was also involved in the entanglements with the British colonialists as well as, with Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی]. Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] was also a very religious person and a great patriot. He had lived a very hectic life. He died on 28th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1207 Higra. Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] had very good relations with the author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] namely, Shahnawaz Khan [شاہنواز خان] ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.6).***

Defenselessness and resilience [بے سروسامانی اور استقامت]:

When the unfortunate incident of Raichoti [رائچوٹی] had taken place, Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] was in the city of Mandeyal [مندیال] at Kernol. When he learnt about the death of his brother, he decided to take revenge without any delay. He was not in his fighting best spirits at that time and all of a sudden the Kernol city was also subjected to the looting and plundering by the enemy. They had also looted him. The looters and plunderers had massacred the innocent citizens mercilessly. The Pathans of Kernol defended their city however, against the intruders for a good two months. Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] had sought the military assistance in the wake of said situation from the ruler of Kerrpa [کڑپہ]. He failed to provide much assistance but he provided him the financial assistance against

all odds which helped Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] to integrate some of his troops. He had provided him three thousand cavalrymen as well as an equal number of infantrymen according to some historians. There were some historians who had maintained the view that he had provided him three hundred cavalrymen and seven hundred infantrymen. He had marched towards Kernol therefore, with said small battery of soldiers. Then he was able to challenge the enemy after setting up his camps outside the city. When the Palegah [پالیگا] (Nazim [نظام]) of Kernol fort learnt about the less number of troops, he decided to face them in the open field instead of going into a defensive mode and conduct the fight from inside the fort (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.236 Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.293).*** He was unmindful of the fact that Nawab had landed in the field with a new fervor. The very presence of Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] in the venue was a reminder of Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی].

دوش بر سوزِدل و سینہ براتم دادند
سرچوشمع ام ببریدندوحیاتم دادند

Pools of blood outside the Kernol fort [قلعہ کرنول کے باہر خون کا سیلاب]:

The Qaladar [قلعہ دار] of Kernol namely, Mirza Mohammed Khan [مرزامحمد خان] had literally looked down upon the lashker of Nawab [نواب] when he was able to make his entry in the field. Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] had fought against him with such bravery and ferociousness that he was able to decimate almost his entire army. Mirza Mohammed Khan [مرزامحمد خان] was able to escape from the battlefield after sustaining a massive financial loss as well as loss of soldiers. He was compelled to seek refuge with the landlord of Kudwal [کدوال] but his companion namely, Alam Naqeeb [عالم نقیب] who had maintained the entrenched position in the fort, was steadfast in his resolve. The victory was not the result of the military strength of Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] rather, the same was a result of a prayer of a Pir [پیر] (Saint) namely, Mastan Shah [مستان شاہ] according to the historian namely, Kirmani [کرمانی] (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.294).*** When Nizam learnt about the defeat in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد], he sent some reinforcement to Bakhsi Alam Naqeeb [بخشی عالم نقیب] through Muzzafer Khan Gardli [مظفر خان گاردلی]. The said reinforcement contingent reached Kernol but not a single person was able to reach Alam Naqeeb

[عالم نقیب] to give him any kind of assistance. The same was just due to the devastating and incessant attacks of Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی]. Thus all their efforts were rendered fruitless (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.23).*** Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ] had taken the permission from Nizam in the wake of said situation and then he arranged a formidable army along-with Muzzafer Khan Gardli [مظفر خان گاردلی]. He had moved out to reinforce the beleaguered people inside the fort and made some extraordinary moves in this regard and thus he was able to enter the fort. Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ] had moved out of said fort after making necessary defensive arrangements at site. The war was reinitiated thereafter, against Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] which lasted for a good six months. Then he had to ultimately succumb to the defeat. He was compelled to return thereafter in sheer desperation. Then Muzzafer Khan Gardli [مظفر خان گاردلی] deemed it essential to stay inside the fort. When he was about to run out of his reserves, he sent a message to Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ] for further assistance. Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ] sent seven thousand soldiers under the command of Khawaja Namat Ullah Khan [خواجہ نعمت اللہ خان]. He also decided to stay away from the venue because he failed to pick up the necessary courage to fight against the Panni Pathans (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.23).*** There was no need to mention that how much blood was shed in the streets of Kernol during said battle. The blurred eyes failed to see and withhold only the due praise to the Pathans and for their steadfastness in the battlefield. The historian Allama Najam-ul-Ghani [علامہ نجم الغنی] expressed his views in this regard in the manner that "The resolute defense of Pathans was praiseworthy". The upshot of the matter was that the land of Kernol was smitten all over with human blood.

بخوں آغشتہ دِل چنداں بزید خاک پنہاں شد
کہ بوئے خونِ دل ازخاکِ ایں ویرانہ می آید

The history of Kernatak which was about those battles was effaced and distorted in the contemporary books. The real characters who participated in the battles were denied seemingly, the due recognition. There were many historical realities which were resultantly put to obscurity.

Enemy request for truce was turned down [دشمن کی درخواست صلح ٹھکرادی]:

We have already mentioned above that Khawaja Namat Ullah Khan [خواجہ نعمت اللہ خان] had reached Kernol with a fresh reinforcement of seven thousand soldiers but he failed to have the requisite courage to enter the state. He opted to remain across River Kishna [دریائے کشنا] along-with his massive lashker. The same was within the jurisdictional limits of the Nizam and was also a dividing line between the two states. When he was able to reach said point, he sought further aid from Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ] and he initiated a dialogue simultaneously with Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] with regard to settle the issues. He did not agree however, to the same. Raja Raghonath Das [راجہ رگھو داس ناتھ] was murdered in the meantime, which left Khawaja Namat Ullah Khan [خواجہ نعمت اللہ خان] right in the middle of nowhere. When he was planning to return from the Kernol border then, Salabat Jung [صلابت جنگ] i.e. Nizam of Deccan had taken charge in the wake of said critical situation. Then he sent two thousand more troops along-with arms and ammunitions to Kernol as reinforcement for Muzzafer Khan Gardli [مظفر خان گاردلی] under the command of Abual-umer Khan [ابوالعمرخان]. He assigned the supervision of the same to commander Najaf Ali Khan [نجف علی خان], so as to organize the reinforcement process. Then they made a decision after due deliberations with regard to sending the reinforcement under the command of Munawer Hussain Khan Deccani [منور حسین خان دکنی]. They decided to send the same under the command of Abual-umer Khan [ابوالعمرخان] because he was comparatively more unyielding in nature (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.237).***

Nature had rescued Munawer Khan [منور خان کو غیبی امداد]

Since Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] was steadfast and resolute in the battle and against his enemy therefore, the same had worked up the blessing of nature in his favor. The situation had engulfed Nizam in such a manner that even his Nizamat was put at stake. The reason for the same was that he was up against two enemies i.e. one in the north and the other one in the south. The situation had unfolded itself in such a manner that the elder brother of Nizam and eldest son of Asif Jah-Awal [آصف جاہ اول] namely, Ghazi-ud-Din [غازی الدین] who was at Delhi as Ameer-ul-Umara [امیرالامراء] and was associated well with Durbar of Shah Alam Jalal-ud-Din [شاہ عالم جلال الدین], was appointed as Governor of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد]. The King had issued the royal decree in his favor. The new Governor had declared himself even previously as a successor of his late father for said area. Then he had moved towards Hyderabad

[حیدرآباد], pursuant to said decree to take charge of his appointment. When Nizam learnt about his arrival, it had disturbed him tremendously. Then according to the traditional practices, Ghazi-ud-Din [غازی الدین] was also making advancement along-with a lashker and the same had made Nizam a bit more panicky and was reluctant to confront him. The advisors of Nizam had advised him to enter into some kind of settlement with the Panni Pathans and to acknowledge even their rule on Kernol if it was also required. They advised him further that the option of confronting Ghazi-ud-Din [غازی الدین] may also be looked into after surrendering the control of Kernol fort to the Panni Pathans. They were of the opinion to assign the frontline position to the Panni Pathans in the ensuing battle. Nizam followed the advice and settled the terms of agreement with Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] through Khawaja Namat Ullah Khan [خواجہ نعمت اللہ خان]. The said settlement had also resulted in the release of detained Muzzafer Khan Gardli [مظفر خان گاردلی]. Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] was accepted as the Nawab of Kernol unconditionally on 7th Zil Hajj [ذی الحجہ] 1165 Higra (7th October 1751) (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.238).*** The nature had ordained on the contrary, the death of Ghazi-ud-Din [غازی الدین] during said journey. The cause of his death was diarrhea (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.246)*** which also relieved Nizam from the impending danger. Since Nizam was relieved from any threat to his Nizamat therefore, he opted to use the strength of the Panni Pathans after the death of Ghazi-ud-Din [غازی الدین]. He pitched them against the Merhattas and was able to conquer the Aaseer fort [قلعہ آسیر]. He had entered into a settlement agreement with them thereafter (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.65)***. The historians commented on the successive victories of Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] in the same that, those victories were not just because of his military strength rather they were a resultant answer of prayers of a Pir [پیر] (Saint) namely Mastan Shah [مستان شاہ] (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.294).*** Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] was able to take control of his ancestral state of Kernol in any case, just on the strength of his courageous nature and bravery. The said move had established the positive reputation of the Pathans in every nook and corner. The French and British colonialists were also impressed by those peculiar inherent and natural traits of the Pathans.

Wali-e-Deccan backed out from the agreement [والئ دکن کا معاہدہ سے انحراف]:

The two sides entered into an agreement yet, Nizam was convinced to change his mind after some time. He was perturbed on one hand due to the defeat at the hands of the Panni Pathans and on the other hand the Panni Nawab was unyielding and uncompromising. The fact of the matter was that the Panni Nawab had never bowed before the rulers of Deccan even previously. They had reckoned themselves always at par with them. The same was evident even from the aforementioned historical facts. Nizam had backed out from his past promises in the wake of said stance of Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی]. He had launched a fresh attack against Kernol. Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] in any case was able to assess the situation politically therefore he presented him the Nazerrana [نذرانہ] as a token to accept his suzerainty. Thus he was able to seclude himself from the rigmarole (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.294***). He was able to rule his state resultantly, without any interference. Shahnawaz Khan [شاہنواز خان] expressed his views in this regard in the manner that when he was compiling his book Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء], Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] popularly known as Runmust Khan [المعروف بہ رنمست خان], was enjoying the status of Fojdar [فوجدار] and was quite friendly with him ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.68).*** The same was the period when Shahnawaz Khan [خان شاہنواز] was victimized by the King therefore he was constrained to keep himself away from the main stream politics.

Brother of the Nizam under the protection of Munawer Khan [نظام کا بھائی منور خان کی پناہ میں]:

Shahnawaz Khan [شاہنواز خان] had taken a detour after receiving the Nazerrana [نذرانہ] (tribute money) from Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی]. Nawab had to face yet another problem which was the Panders [پنڈارے]. They were a group of bandits and mercenaries from different nations who had subjected the state of Kernol during the ensuing thirteen years to a constant hooliganism regarding which history was quiet. The Nawab was spotted manifestly in the history therefore, as up against the currents just because of the events of 1164 Higra 1764.

Nizam Ali Khan [نظام علی خان] deposed his elder brother Nawab Syed Mohammed Khan Salabat Jung [نواب سید محمد خان صلابت جنگ] in 1721. He had taken charge of Nizamat [نظامت] thereafter (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.113-114***). He put Salabat Jung [صلابت جنگ] in

confinement thereafter. The said incident frightened the other brother namely, Mohammed Sharif Khan Basalat Jung [محمد شریف خان بسالت جنگ]. The Panni Nawab of Kernol *idée reçue* made use of said opportunity and Basalat Jung [بسالت جنگ] was convinced that the opponents of Nawab Syed Mohammed Khan Salabat Jung [نواب سید محمد خان صلابت جنگ] had killed him in the confinement on the instigation of Nizam Ali Khan [نظام علی خان] according to a historian. Basalat Jung [بسالت جنگ] had to resultantly be more careful. He had revolted against his brother due to the incidents which had taken place on 27th Moherram-ul-Haram [محرم الحرام] 1178 Higra. Nizam Ali Khan [نظام علی خان] opted to lead the lashker personally to contain the revolt. When he was close to the state of Kernol, which was under Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] and he was just in the vicinity of the River Tang Bhadar [دریائے تنگ بھدار], Sharif Khan Basalat Jung [محمد شریف خان بسالت جنگ] had withdrawn from the battlefield and had sought refuge with the Nawab of Kernol. Then Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] made an intervention and was able to restore the normalcy in the relationship of the two brothers on 15th of Safer [صفر]. Basalat Jung [بسالت جنگ] was given the Talqdari [تعلقہ داری] of Adhoni [ادھونی] or Imtiaz Gherr [امتیاز گڑھ] in said process (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.16 315 Durbar Asif Gulzar-III Gul Awal*** [دربار آصف گلزارسوم گل اول] ***Page No.67)***. Those incidents signified the political importance of the Pathans in southern Hind.

Fight against the British [انگریزوں سے جنگ]:

Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] had joined hands with Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] in 1181 Higra (1727), just three years subsequent to aforementioned incidents. Nizam had participated in a historical battle. The facts of history had revealed that all three rulers had decided collectively to turn the British colonialists out of the Subcontinent. The British Raj was also cognizant of said fact. The deputed Colonel Smith was in Madraas [مدراس] to deal with the situation. He had about four thousand Indian soldiers, eight hundred British soldiers, one thousand cavalrymen and four thousand foot soldiers of Kernatak at his disposal. The Muslim soldiers tried to stop their advancement therefore they had confronted each other at Kawarie Patum [کاویری پٹم]. The renowned army General of the enemy namely, "Poonchi" was killed during said encounter. Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] was leading a Hyderabadi lashker at that time. The commander-in-chief of said army was Ruken-ud-Dolla [رکن الدولہ]. Then a head on collision of the two armies had taken place after a few skirmishes on 2nd Jamadi-ul-

Awal [جمادی الاول] 1181 Higra (September 1767). The artillery attack of the Nizam was not very strong whereas the artillery unit of Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] was very well organized. They had launched a massive artillery attack against the enemy. The polarization had perpetuated between Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] and Nizam subsequent to aforementioned forcible recovery of Nazerrana [نذرانہ]. Raja Ram Chander [راجہ رام چندر] and Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] had turned the guns collusively towards Nizam according to a historian (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.329)***. The deeper analysis of historical events revealed that the British colonialists targeted Nizam in the battle just because he was ill-equipped.

When Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] was able to assess the precariousness of the conditions properly, he sent all his cannons to Sankar Peath [شنکر پیتھ]. He retained only ten cannons in the battlefield. The British colonialists were focused on Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] because Nizam was almost uprooted by them. The three allies held a joint war conference on 17th Jamadi-ul-Awal [جمادی الاول] 1181 Higra (September 1767) and decided to send Nizam along-with his lashker to Baskona [بسکونہ]. Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] and Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Khan Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] were ready to form a joint front however, to fight against the British colonialists. The support of the Governor of Brar [برار] province namely, Ismaeel Khan Panni [اسماعیل خان پنّی] along-with about twenty thousand Merhattas was also at their disposal. Those two leaders encountered the British colonialists at the venue of Ternoply [ٹرنوپلی] and Chungama [چنگامہ] i.e. between Odchery [اوڈچری] and Baban Puli [بابن پلی]. The commander of Nizam namely, Ruken-ud-Dolla [رکن الدولہ] fled from the battlefield just after ducking a few cannon shots. Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] and Ismaeel Khan Panni [اسماعیل خان پنّی] continued however, the battle and they fought determinedly and resolutely against the British colonialists. When they were on the drift from Jungah [جنگاہ], they were also able to disparage the British platoon which had chased the lashker of Ruken-ud-Dolla [رکن الدولہ]. He was the commander of the Deccan army. Nizam and the British colonialists were able to sign a peace pact however on 22nd Shawal [شوال] 1181 Higra (26th February 1768). Nizam awarded thereafter, a Khilat [خلعت] along-with many jewels to Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.329 336)***. We may point out that Ruken-ud-Dolla [رکن الدولہ] had joined hands with the British colonialists. He was privy to their plan to ambush but, he did not disclose it to Nizam. Nizam had admonished him later on for his

mischievous conduct. The same was apparently due to the fact that Nizam Ali Khan [نظام علی خان] was not very militarily stable.

Defeat by Sultan Hayder [سلطان حیدر سےشکست]:

Nizam had convinced Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Khan Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] in 1189 Higra (1775) to take action against the Merhattas because he had captured Aaseer fort [قلعہ آسیر] which was under their occupation. Then he committed said fort under the control of Nizam after teaching them a proper lesson. The same was a political rigmarole which had exposed Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] to yet another dilemma which was Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی]. He used to be his very staunch ally. The mutual alliances as well as friendships were also used even in those days just for pivoting around and safeguarding the vested interests. Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] was inclined to expand his dominion but the Panni Nawab had started paying tax money to Nizam by that time. Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] had pressurized the Pathans of Kerrpa [کڑپہ], Shahnoor [شاہنور] and Bankapur [بانکاپور] on the other hand, who were allies of the Nawab of Kernol and he extracted the revenue from them under duress. When the said Panni Nawab learnt about the moves of Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] with regard to the affairs of Kernol, he decided to settle the account with him. Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] *idée reçue* was on his way at that time to see his spiritual mentor namely, Mastan Shah [مستان شاہ] and requested him to pray for him. Mastan Shah [مستان شاہ] had assured him all the success in his pursuits. When Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] landed in front of Kernol then the Nawab had no other option at that time but to confront him. The Nawab *idée reçue* walked side by side with Mastan Shah [مستان شاہ] bare headed and bare feet. The same was out of sheer respect and in the acknowledgement of his spiritual exaltation as his spiritual mentor. This gesture boosted the confidence level of his army as well. Then his soldiers faced the lashker of Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] with all the steadfastness. Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] was informed by his advisors about the presence of Mastan Shah [مستان شاہ]. They advised him to opt for a retreat because of his past spiritual charisma with regard to his well acclaimed achievements. They were expecting that the prayers of Mastan Shah [مستان شاہ] were likely go against Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی]. Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] had informed his advisors and officers that his family was also blessed with the presence of a Wali Allah [ولی اللہ] just like the state of Kernol and its ruler. What

Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] actually meant by saying "Wali Allah" [ولی اللہ] was the birth of Sultan Tipu Wali [سلطان ٹیپو ولی]. He was blessed with a son by Allah when he prayed at the mausoleum of a "Wali Allah" [ولی اللہ]. He named him as Fateh Ali Khan [فتح علی خان] subsequently and then he was known as Fateh Ali Khan Tipu [فتح علی ٹیپو] just by virtue of attribution of his name with said saintly person. We may point out that the word "Tipu" [ٹیپو] was taken from the Kernatak language. The meaning of the same was "Lion". The said advice was acceptable for all the soldiers of his lashker. Then Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] had also remarked that if the advisors had advised correctly then, he was ready to leave the matter to the two saints as well as to their spirituality. He had remarked further that he was not there at all to fight against Mastan Shah [مستان شاہ]. He was there however to straighten out the matters with Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی]. Then Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] opted to speedily move his lashker towards Kernol area. When Mastan Shah [مستان شاہ] witnessed that scene, he also opted to flee from the site. Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] tried to chase his Pir [پیر] (Saint) to bring him back but the Pir [پیر] advised him to settle the matter however, with the attacker even if he had to pay him something. Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] agreed to pay Rupees one hundred thousand to Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] under those circumstances. He agreed to pay some tribute money regularly, even in the future as well. Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] took a detour after receiving the payment (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.96 294 Sultanate Khudadad*** [سلطنت خداداد] ***Page No.129 Nishan Hiaderi*** [نشان حیدری] ***Page No.185 186***). Colonel Alex had expressed his views in the same context that Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] used to pay the tribute money to Nawab thereafter till 1790 Higra. When Nizam and the British colonialists attacked the state jointly later on, the elder son of Nawab namely, Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابرھیم خان پنّی] who was associated well with the Durbar of Nizam as a commander of his army, attacked Maysoor [میسور] against Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.96 296)***. The aforementioned incident revealed that Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] had a deep interest in religion just like Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی]. He had great respect for religious people but, there was a very unfortunate fact that Nizam of Deccan had the animosity against Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] which was based on safeguarding his vested interests. The British intruders were able to exploit said acrimonious situation even to the extent that they had started interfering in the national affairs.

Religion as a source of strength [مذہب قوت کا سرچشمہ]:

The writer Leo Tolstoy had expressed his views with reference to a scholar namely, Berthelot in his famous book which was captioned as "What is Religion" and were in the manner as below:

> "What had inspired the human thought most during the Middle Ages were two things among others i.e. capitalism and religion. The influence of capitalism was just limited whereas the influence of religion was immense. The human thought had susceptibility although to be overwhelmed yet, there was no thought which can sway the domain of the heart permanently. The religion had ruled the basic instincts of human nature where a thought process was formulated and where the human personality made its development"
>
> According to a western scholar namely, Carlyle if one had to infer from the crux of history of any person or a nation then, one may carry out the research on their respective religious beliefs and thoughts (***Heroes and Heroes Worship Page No.10***).

The contemporary scholars have carried out tremendous research and have thrown light on the subject from different angles with regard to the process of evolutionary chemistry as well as influences of religion. The nations which benefitted immensely from the same for a very longtime had analyzed the Muslims and the British intruders as well as those Hindu who were their biggest disciples. The British colonialists besides using said secret weapon against the Muslims successfully in the west and in Central Asia had used the same in the Subcontinent as well. The anecdote that religion is a power that applies to religion Islam very befittingly. The Muslims were very strong as long as they were associated with religion very deeply. The departure from the same had not only rendered them as weak Muslims rather, it had placed them at the mercy of the non-Muslim people.

Unholy tripartite alliance against Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو کے خلاف ناپاک اتحاد ثلاثہ]:

Sultan Hayder Ali [سلطان حیدر علی] died in 1197 Higra (1782) and then his son namely, Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] succeeded him. Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] Shaheed was a great man who was filled

with a great sense of patriotism and he was a true symbol of Islam. Allama Mohammed Iqbal had quoted a western scholar who uttered the words at the grave of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] that "Here lies the glory of the east and the west". The focal point of the internal and external policy of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] was Islam, as a religion. The British colonialists witnessed the strength of Islam in the plains of Europe. They were also familiar with the ever lasting impact of its teachings. The British intruders also initiated the anti-Sultan propaganda campaign abroad. They were able to have issued in this regard, various anti-Sultan statements even from the mouth of the Caliph of Turkey who was supported by the entire Muslim community in the Subcontinent. When the British, Merhattas and the Nizam formed an unholy alliance against Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو], they designated five British officers just as a precautionary measure and prior to imitating a *coup d'état*. They were assigned the duty to take his documents into official custody. The said very well hatched plan was to be executed in five different phases. The most important of all was to take the documents of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] into custody, especially his internal and external policies because he was an expert strategist. The objective of doing the same was to assess the ambitions and future programs of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] as well as to evaluate and weigh the overall future scope of the Muslims in the Subcontinent. The said grand agenda included besides that, a counter strategy to consolidate their own colonial reign. The aforementioned five officers included Captain Kirkpatrick who was subsequently promoted to the rank of Colonel. He was assigned the job in the wake of the coup d'état to seize all the official record and then preserve it. He accepted said responsibility quite willingly and sent the consent message to the Lord WolZai in the manner as below:

> "I accept hereby the responsibility as per instructions of your Lordship. I shall seize all those documents which we will recover from the palace of Tipu Sultan"

The task which was assigned to the aforementioned officer was based on the intentions to conclude the execution of conspiracy plan against Sultan Tipu without fail. Mr. Kirkpatrick had reported to the Governor General after concluding the aforementioned assignment in the manner as below:

> "The correspondence of Hyder Ali, which revealed his history, habits and the way of life, was taken into custody. The other correspondence which was exchanged with different Durbars as well as with leaders from Kabul to Constantinople was also seized"

When Lord WolZai was secretary of the state in England in 1811, he published the English translation of some letters under the caption as "Sultani Letters" [سلطانی خطوط]. The said book was also substantiated by Mr. Kirkpatrick with his personal comments ***(Saheefa Sultan Tipu*** [صحیفہ سلطان ٹیپو] ***Volume No.1 Page No.92. 105 106***).

Marriage of Kirkpatrick with Khyer-un-Nisa [خیرالنساء اور کرک پٹرک کی شادی]:

The said event had taken place after the fourth battle of Maysoor [میسور] in which, Sultan had embraced Shahdat [شہادت]. There were also two non-Muslim powers, including the Wali-e-Deccan [والیٔ دکن], who had also fought against the Sultan in said battle. We feel that it shall be appropriate to throw some light on the painful aspects of said incident before we return to the main treatise which will help the readers understand how badly the religious beliefs of the Muslim lords were deteriorated during said period which was a period of comedy of errors. Then they will also be able to imagine how very deeply the Muslims were sunk in the abysmal depths of degradation and squalor as well as what the situation was like which had engulfed Sultan Shaheed. Then if Sultan was in a frequent correspondence with someone, despite those deplorable circumstances and that said someone was his real confidant, with whom he had shared his very secret plans and had discussed the very nitty-gritty of the same then, he had often shared the same through his advocates and said person had also collaborated with him that Nawab had also deserved to be discussed thoroughly. There was however a very strange phenomenon that the historians had cast aside said luminary of Kernol namely, Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] without even acknowledging his contribution as well as his due status in history.

When the same enemy of Islam namely, Mr. Kirkpatrick had become the resident officer of Deccan in 1793 after lord Kenaway had developed friendly relations with Nizam Ali Khan i.e. Wali-e-Deccan [نظام علی خان والیٔ دکن] as well as with his Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] namely, Arastu Asif Jah [ارسطوآصف جاہ]. The cordiality of said relationship had gone even to the extent

that he was decorated with the title as “Hashmat Jung” [حشمت جنگ] by the Durbar of Nizam. He had lived with all the pomp and show just like other local Nawabs and modeled his life on the western style to a great extent. He used to interact with the Umera [امراء] and other leading people of the sultanate. The same had included a Muslim officer of the British army namely, Bakhashi [بخشی] who was from Iran. Mr. Kirkpatrick was a handsome and good looking man with all the manly features. The granddaughter of Bakhshi [بخشی] and daughter of Aqil-ud-Dolla [عاقل الدولہ] namely, Khyr-un-Nisa [خیرالنساء] were able to catch his eye somehow or the other at the house of their maternal grandfather. Then the Cupid arrow had struck her heart and her heart was filled with emotions of love. She sent him a love letter amidst all the emotions through an intermediary. Mr. Kirkpatrick was a true British by soul and he was committed professionally to achieve his national goals. He had refused straightaway to imbibe from the glass of philter. Then one night Khyer-un-Nisa [خیرالنساء] approached him after his refusal and she was able to prevail on him. The said event made the family of Khyer-un-Nisa [خیرالنساء] very upset for some time but they had succumbed to the selection of Khyer-un-Nisa [خیرالنساء] ultimately. Then one fine morning they solemnized her Nikah [نکاح] with Colonel Kirkpatrick in accordance with Islamic Shariat [شریعت]. We do not find however any nexus of Islam with said type of marriage. The same falls in any case within the ambit and scope of Islamic scholars for analysis in accordance with the principles of Sharait [شریعت]. Nizam [نظام] of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] had also permitted the solemnization of said Nikah and personally attended the wedding function. He had also presented some gifts to the groom and on said occasion he gave him the title of Ferzand-e-Mohabat Pawand [فرزند محبت پیوند] which made the name of the groom popular as “Hashmat Jung Ferzand-e-Mohabat Pawand Colonel Hennery Kirkpatrick” [حشمت جنگ فرزند محبت پیوند کرنل ہنری کرک پٹرک]. The said marriage created a kind of sectarian uprising in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد]. Then a report was sent to the Governor General with regard to the activities of Colonel Hennery Kirkpatrick. He suspended him forthwith for holding an inquiry against him. Then it had transpired afterwards that the entire Muslim elite of said era were completely insolvent in the religious matters because there was no serious cognizance at any level to rectify the anti-Shariat acts. Colonel Hennery Kirkpatrick was restored to his position *ante* after a perfunctory inquiry.

The painful reference in literature [ایک دل آزار ادبی یادگار]:

There was one more essential aspect of said issue. The aforementioned incident emerged as a very strong reference in English literature. The Residency building of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد], which still exists there and perhaps was used as a Womens College until recently, was built in 1800. The site plan of the same was prepared by colonel Kirkpatrick. The palatial house of Kirkpatrick was initially built on said site. He had also built a separate palace for his wife, which was decorated with very serene fountains, walkways and floral arcades as well as fruit trees. The name of said palace was also very romantic i.e. Rung Mahal [رنگ محل]. Colonel Kirkpatrick had two children (boy and girl) from his wedlock with Khyer-un-Nisa [خیرالنساء] who were sent to England for their education. Colonel Kirkpatrick died in 1805 in Calcutta. Then Khyer-un-Nisa [خیرالنساء] opted to go back to her relatives, after his death and the children never looked back towards their mother. Khyer-un-Nisa [خیرالنساء] had named her daughter as Sahib Bibi Begum [صاحب بی بی بیگم] but when she was in England she was known there as Catherine Arora Kirkpatrick. Then she was known as Kitty Kirkpatrick later on. The renowned English scholar and writer Carlyle eternalized the name of Kitty Kirkpatrick towards the end of nineteenth century. She died at the age of twenty seven. Mr. Carlyle praised her so much that as long as the people will read English literature, they will always find her name there. They will also talk about her charismatic beauty because she was an amalgam of east and west. Mr. Carlyle had referred to her in his writings very frequently just because of her beauty. There were two characters in his Novel i.e. “Kitty Kirkpatrick” and “Sartor Resartus”. The Novel was captioned as Reminiscences. The female characters in the same were daughter of “Hashmat Jung Ferzand-e-Mohabat Pawand Colonel Hennery Kirkpatrick” [حشمت جنگ فرزند محبت پیوند کرنل ہنری کرک پٹرک] and Khyer-un-Nisa [خیرالنساء]. Khyer-un-Nisa [خیرالنساء] was the same women who had a stealthy character as a romantic and distressing symbol in history during the decadence period of Islamic values in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد].

Decline of the Muslims [مسلمانوں کا ابتذال]:

The decadence of nations does not start abruptly. The decay and deterioration process gradually culminates. The incident of Khyer-un-Nisa [خیرالنساء] was not something unexpected in our opinion. The general study of said era had revealed that the Muslims of said period were pushed from all sides into decadence. The same was due to their inter se rivalries and their drifting away from Islamic values. The rampage of the Merhattas had reached almost the streets of Delhi

despite the fact that Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] was able to reduce them in size and shape at Pani Patt [پانی پت] in 1761. When Mr. Kirkpatrick was a Resident officer in Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] he had a well defined agenda against Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو]. Sultan had embraced Shahadat [شہادت] in 1799. The Sikhs were able to capture Punjab in 1801 soon thereafter his Shahadat [شہادت].

Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] carried out a well coordinated tour of various parts of the Subcontinent prior to initiating his Jihad from the frontier province in 1871. The primary objective of said Jihad was the restructuring of Muslim society. He was victimized through intrigues by his own people in 1831. He had sent some Muslim scholars to Bengal prior to that for restructuring the society in accordance with the Islamic values. Then some of them were sent to Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن]. He also encountered some Muslim ladies with the same mindset like Khyer-un-Nisa [خیرالنساء] during said tour. They were also married to British men as referred above. The scholars of said era had a general perception that the efforts of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] were the last resolute exercise to expel the foreigners from the Subcontinent by introducing the renaissance of Islam. The history had witnessed the fact that the circumstances had compelled even Ghulam Rasool Khan Panni [غلام رسول خان پنّی] to announce a Jihad movement around 1839 against the British colonialists. He was from amongst the ancestors of Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] i.e. Nawab of the state of Kernol in southern Hind. The British colonialists had murdered Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] due to the fact that he had initiated a movement for the Islamic renaissance. Then Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] was undoubtedly in correspondence with Nawab Runmust Khan [نواب رنمست خان] during said period of Muslim decline and while considering him as a real confidant, Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] was communicating with him through oral messages on the issues regarding which he had not considered it appropriate even to pen down the same. The level of understanding between the two had proved therefore, that they were all out for Islam and for the restoration of Islamic values. The patriotism of Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] was also unquestionable.

Letters of the Sultan addressed to the Nawab [سلطان کے نواب کے نام خطوط]:

Letter No.100:

To

Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] popularly known as Runmust Khan [رنمست خان] ruler of Kernol.

The letter which you had sent through Khawaja Lutf-ud-Dolla [خواجہ لطف الدولہ] was a source of happiness. The verbal message which you were able to pass on through our respected Khawaja was also received duly. There was a sum of Rupees eleven hundred thousand payable by you but for the sake of kindness and love which you have expressed, we have waived off a further sum of Rupees four hundred thousand. We hope that the remaining amount of Rupees seven hundred thousand shall be cleared soon. The same fact will further strengthen our friendship. The rest of the situation will be conveyed to you through the respected Khawaja.

Please keep me informed about your wellbeing because the same always brings a sense of comfort. May God always be pleased with you! (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.203***)

The bare reading of said letter had revealed the deep understanding between both rulers. The same was evident from the profound expression of love of Sultan which had also proved besides that, the confidential matters were discussed orally through their emissaries.

Letter No.194:

28th Taloie [طلوعی] 5th January 1786

To

Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] popularly known as Runmust Khan [رنمست خان] ruler of Kernol.

I have received your letter just a few days ago when we were on an inspection tour of the forts along-with a few soldiers in the area of Banglore [بنگلور] and its vicinity. We have received the news about the uprising in Korag [کورگ] area during our tour. The opportunist, but manageable traitors, had taken advantage of our absence. They had

wreaked havoc. We reached at the site very quickly on receiving said news and were able to arrest about fifty thousand traitors. The rest of the mutineers of Korag [کورگ] were able to disappear however, into the thick jungles after receiving the news of our arrival. The captives were brought over and were converted to Islam. Then they were trained to join the Ahmedi [احمدی] brigade.

The said good news was a source of joy for friends and hypocrites. The same must have sounded as a warning. We have passed on that information to you as a true friend as well as a friend of Islam. Now we have decided to meet our true friend (*Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni*) in Kernol along-with, our large army in order to materialize our old desire. We have already moved out Raja Dheram Das [راجہ دھرم داس] and Khawaja Lutf-ud-Dolla [خواجہ لطف الدولہ] (*Emissaries for Kernol*) towards our friend (*Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni*). We hope that you will remain in touch with the same kindness till we meet (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Page No.7 No.285***). The said letter was self explanatory.

Letter No.199:

7th-Yusufi [یوسفی], 13th January 1786

To

Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] popularly known as Runmust Khan [رنمست خان] ruler of Kernol.

The emissaries had disclosed your financial constraints therefore, a further sum of Rupees fifty thousand was waived off. We had already waived a sum of Rupees four hundred thousand out of Rupees eleven hundred thousand previously, which was due from you.

We have informed in writing to Dewan [دیوان] as well as Bakshi Faiz [بخشي], Hassar [حصار] (Goti [گوتی]) to handover the area to you which belonged to our friend (*Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni*) and over which we have control at present. The love

> and friendship had compelled the same. We hope that the amount which was due shall be sent in due course and the fountain of friendship shall keep flowing as usual. We are sending a silver Khilat [مہتابی خلعت] and an elephant for you as an expression of respect and admiration which we have in our heart for you. Please, always stay in touch (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.289***).

The said letter was a reflection of confidence and cordiality between two sides and it had deserved special attention.

Letter No.313:

4th-Deryaqi [دریاقی], 7th January 1786

To
Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] popularly known as Runmust Khan [رنمست خان] ruler of Kernol.

> We have not received any information about you. The same was against the principles of friendship. You were duty bound to inform us about your wellbeing. Since our camp was close to your area therefore, the cordiality had demanded that we must meet to enjoy our friendship so that it is further strengthened. The meeting will help resolve many outstanding issues as well (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.367***).

We may point out that the camp of Sultan was in Adhoni [ادھونی] at that time. The same was situated close to the state of Kernol.

Letter No.319:

12th Ramadan-ul-Mubarak [رمضان المبارک], 9th July 1786

To

Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] popularly known as Runmust Khan [رنمست خان] ruler of Kernol.

> You were informed that your emissary was handed over a leave letter so that he may abreast you about the prevalent conditions of cordiality and friendly relations between the two states and for further promoting and strengthening the same (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.371***).

Letter No.328:

12th-Ramadan-ul-Mubarak [رمضان المبارک], 1200 Higra 13th July 1786

To
Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] popularly known as Runmust Khan [رنمست خان] ruler of Kernol.

> You are hereby informed that Fojdari [فوجداری] of Adhoni [ادھونی] was awarded to Qutab-ud-Din Dolat Zai [دولت زئی] Panni (*Writer*). The Khan was assigned the duty through our orders for the enrollment of the cavalrymen in Qamer Nagger [قمرنگر] along-with one or two of his reliable officers. We expect, from the friendship of said Khan, to ensure an uninterrupted enrollment process through his reliable officers. They were supposed to help him out in all respect (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.380***).

The said letter was about the cooperation of Nawab as well as the military preparations of Sultan against the British colonialists.

Letter No.368:

22nd-Wasie [واسعی], 21st September 1786

To

Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] popularly known as Runmust Khan [رنمست خان] ruler of Kernol.

> The Fojdar [فوجدار] of Adhoni [ادھونی] was informed in time, in accordance with your approval to enroll the cavalrymen from your area quietly, for our army. We hope to get a similar cooperation from you even in the future (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.59***).

The said letter had revealed that Nawab had extended his cooperation through his approval to enroll the cavalrymen from his area.

The aforementioned letters which were addressed to Nawab were elaborative enough. The grand respect which was accorded to Sultan Shaheed [سلطان شہید] cannot conceal the truth from the eyes of any student of history. Since all the official record of Sultan was seized by British colonialists therefore, the same was never made accessible to the historians. The result of the same was that there was nothing in annuls of history with regard to the relationship between the Nawab and the Sultan. The author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء] had declared openly in this regard that, the Nawab was on board with regard to all the developments ***(Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.68)*** He was very quiet however on said relationship. The very obvious possibility was there that, there were a number of such unpublished manuscripts which were available in the India office library. The same were likely to reveal the nature as well as the depth of relations between the Nawab and the Sultan. There must have been some confidential letters of the Nawab which were addressed to the Sultan which were also likely to be an additional source of information for our study.

The aforementioned inferences which were drawn from the letters, the same had revealed that the economy of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] was totally paralyzed due to said notoriously prolonged battles of Kernatak. Those battles were fought against the French intruders. The death of the brother of Nawab namely the Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] in the battlefield and looting and plundering by the enemy and the genocide were the causes of the poor economy. Then the friends of Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] had also borrowed some huge sums from the state for their military preparations which

had prolonged the battles against the Waliyan-e-Deccan [والیانِ دکن]. Thus all the aforementioned reasons had hampered the process of payment to the Nawab. Then it was difficult for him to pay off even the stipulated sum of the revenue in time. The letters had revealed although, that a major portion of due revenue was waived off yet, the situation was not under the control of Nawab Runmust Khan Bahader [نواب رنمست خان خان بہادر]. The Sultan had tried to enquire through the abovementioned letters No. 1786 and 1792 respectively, from the Nawab of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] regarding the due amount. The meaning of the same was that he was paying the stipulated amount to the Sultan regularly. The dictates of time had demanded to pay off the due share to the Nizam in accordance with the then prevalent circumstances. The Nizam of Deccan had sent a letter to the Nawab in this regard. He demanded the due sum which was about Rupees two million and four hundred thousand in total. He had forwarded a copy of the letter of the Sultan to the Nizam in the wake of the then prevalent and compelling circumstances. He requested him to suggest an appropriate reaction. The Nizam had also informed Sir John Kenai i.e. Resident officer about the situation. He had referred the matter to the Viceroy Lord Carnowas after examining the certificates which were about the title of Nawab of Kernol. Then he had given his findings to the effect that Nizam had no right to receive the stipulated amount. The conditions which were imposed by the Nawab were such that, they had convinced the Viceroy to give the finding that the Nizam was planning to take away as a matter of fact, the Jagir of Kernol of Nawab Runmust Khan Bahader [نواب رنمست خان خان بہادر] in exchange with some other areas. The said matter was still under consideration, when on 28th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1207 Higra (1792) the honorable confidant of the great Sultan, a famous companion and the aide a brave friend and brother of the very gallant Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی] had died. He left behind the tales of his very brave and vibrant achievements in annuls of history.

RULER OF KERNOL, NAWAB ALAF KHAN BAHADER PANNI SANI

[حاکم کرنول نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی ثانی]

Forcible occupation of the state [ریاست پر بزور قبضہ]:

Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] had left behind two sons. The name of his elder son was Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Bahader Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی]

popularly known as Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان]. He was known by the title as Runmust Khan [رنمست خان]. The name of his younger son was Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی ثانی]. The former was in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] at the time when the respected Nawab passed away. He was associated with the Durbar of Asif Jah Sani Nawab Nizam Ali Khan Nizam Deccan [آصف جاہ ثانی نواب نظام علی خان نظام دکن]. He was entitled to become Nawab of Kernol after the death of his father in accordance with the conventional practices. The Nizam had sent him a black Doshala [سیاہ دوشالا] as a symbol of mourning at the death of his father which was a customary practice. He also sent a letter to the British Resident officer to commit two battalions of troops under his command in order to help him take charge. He had officially transferred besides that, all the Jagirs of the Nawab to Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان]. He directed him thereafter, to move out in the direction of Kernol. He had ordered him through Masheer-ul-Mulk Arastu Jah Wazir [مشیرالملک ارسطو جاہ وزیر] to instruct his advocate namely, Ameen Khan [امین خان] to receive him with all the standard protocols and then helping him takeover the office with all the ceremonious procedure (***Pictorial***). We have already explained under the caption of Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی] that they had family terms with the Sultan. The latter had reposed great faith and confidence in Nawab but, somehow or the other the history was quiet on said subject. The younger brother of Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] had also taken the Sultan into confidence to the effect that his father had appointed him as his successor during his lifetime. He had also disclosed the fact simultaneously that, he was privy to all the correspondence which was exchanged between him and his father and even the stipulated amount was also paid to the Sultan through him. He was able to win the confidence of the Nawab in this way. He had also acknowledged in the process, his formal right to rule Kernol (***Pictorial***).

Empty-handed return of the elder brother [بڑے بھائی کی بے نیل مرام واپسی]:

When Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Bahader Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی], popularly known as Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان], had reached Kernol with two battalions of army then, Ameen Khan [امین خان] had advised him to wait and consult Nizam for the implementation of his orders. He had passed specific instructions with regard to the implementation of his previous orders. The reason for the same was that the Pathans of the state of Kernol as well as from the adjoining areas, had vowed to be allies of Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب الف خان

بہادر پنّی ثانی] whereas, the implementation of the initial instructions of the Nawab were likely to push the situation into a big scale bloodshed. Then his personal opinion was in this regard that, the general public had already selected their ruler unanimously. The Nizam had sent a written message to Bala Gee Rao Merhatta Sardar [بالا جی راو مرہٹہ سردار] and Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] in the meantime to accept the succession of Nawab Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان]. The Merhatta Sardar [بالا جی راو مرہٹہ سردار] Bala Gee Rao had showed his willingness in this regard but, Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] had flatly refused. Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] was able to win the hearts of the general public in the meantime by spending lavishly. He had called back his negotiator namely, Bandola Khan [بندولہ خان] whom he had sent to Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] to conduct the negotiations with the Nizam prior to strengthening his hands practically. He returned on 12th October 1793 resultantly, without conducting any negotiations with the Nizam. He had not even made any offer for a payment of revenue which was due in accordance with the general practice. The Nizam had brought said anomaly into the notice of Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] but he had disregarded the same. The aforementioned incidents had taken place during the period of 1207 Higra (1793) when Lord Cornelius was Viceroy of Hindustan. Nawab Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] had opted to go back to Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] however, without achieving his objectives (***Pictorial)***. The said incident had divided the Nawab family of Kernol into two groups during the ensuing period. The Nizam of Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] had awarded him very valuable Jagirs on his return. He had promoted him in rank and file in order to alleviate him.

The history was taking a different turn parallel with aforementioned incidents. The third battle had taken place between the British colonialists and Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] in 1792 in which Sultan had to unfortunately face defeat. He had lost half of his country in the process and besides that his two sons had also become hostage and Nawab Ibrahim Khan Panni [نواب ابراہیم خان پنّی] was in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] at that time. He had represented the British colonialists in said battle and had fought against Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو]. The area which was lost by Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] also included the state of Kernol. The British Raj had assigned the area of Kernol apparently to the Nizam after the defeat of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] but Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی ثانی], in spite of that, had proved his loyalty for Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو]. He had defied the authority of the Nizam. He had denied him the payment of revenue ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.401 Saheefa Sultan Tipu*** [صحیفہ سلطان ٹیپو] ***Part-II Page No.97***

296). The state of Kernol was somewhat like a semi-autonomous or independent state due to said situation and he had to handle a very difficult situation during the years to follow.

DISPUTE BETWEEN THE NIZAM AND THE BRITISH COLONISTS REGARDING KERNOL

[کرنول کے مطلق نظام اور انگریزوں کے مابین نزاع]

The aforementioned area was an ancestral heritage of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] which he had lost to the Nizam. He was very keen to include the same in his dominion but, had failed to understand miserably the British political maneuvers and misdoings. He had also failed to understand that he was asking for something from a nation about which he had very little knowledge. Lord Cornelius was absolutely disinclined to accept his demand. There were some historians who had explained the situation in the manner that the differences had erupted between the Sultan and the Nizam with regard to the suzerainty of Kernol immediately after the end of the battle at Maysoor [میسور]. The Nizam relied on the strength of the army of the East India Company in order to resolve said dispute. The company was also subsidized by him. The administration of said company had refused to give however, the support of army under one pretext or the other. Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] had also presented the documentary evidence in support of his demand and with regard to his rights over Kernol. The resident officer Kennaway had replied however, in response to the same that, neither he had exercised his rights during the past twenty five years nor had he paid the stipulated revenue and if he had some rights, the same were deemed to have become extinct. The said stance was further substantiated with the fact that when the third battle of Kernol had taken place at Maysoor [میسور], the said state was a part of his dominion. The Nizam failed to agitate said issue at the time of the pact which had taken place at Serungapatum [سرنگا پٹم] on 24th February 1792. Then the matter was referred ultimately to the Viceroy of Hind namely Lord Cornelius. He had also endorsed the viewpoint of Lord Kennaway. The East India Company had turned down the request of the Nizam. Thus the former state of Kernol was kept away from the access of the Nizam (***Tareekh Deccan Ahad Halia*** [تاریخ دکن عہد حالیہ] ***Page No.154 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.401).*** The objective of the East India Company was achieved in other words because, the Nizam had failed to establish his claim over Kernol. The same was usurped from Sultan. Thus the same had remained under the control of the East India Company or the same was reserved perhaps for said company. The said cunning move and

strategy of the British rulers was not explained through any written treatise to Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو].

When Sir John Shor had become Viceroy (1793 to 1798) thereafter, then the Nizam had approached him with a similar request. He had denied him any assistance and refused flatly in the manner as below:

> "The resident officer was supposed to utilize the opportune moments to make clear the issue to the Nizam that, the availability of the army of the East India Company for him was just for his convenience. The same was not supposed to be used by the Nizam to extract the tribute money or to generate the revenue from his subjects" ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.401).***

The said stance with regard to the British politics was worthy of consideration because the categorical and emphatic reply was an eye opener for the Nizam. The same had made it very clear to him that the army of the East India Company was not at his disposal. The East India Company was rather maintaining the army at the expense of the Nizam just to consolidate their own stronghold in the Subcontinent. The Nizam was bewildered by said reply. He had decided to withhold the subsidy to the army of the East India Company and had decided to raise his own army instead and hired the services of a French officer namely, Monsieur Alimo in this regard. He was also known in the history as Mossy Rahmo [موسی رحمو]. He had raised the army from amongst the local people and the European personals who were under his administrative control. The Nizam had also hired the services of some American, French and Irish officers (***Tareekh Deccan Ahad Halia*** [تاریخ دکن عہد حالیہ] ***Page No.154).***

Offer of Kernol to Nizam in anticipation of Jihad [جہاد کی توقع پر نظام کو کرنول کی پیشکش]:

The British planners had translated every situation slowly and gradually in the manner which was suitable for them by using their superior skills. The reflection of the same was quite evident from the aforementioned two statements. Those colonialists had worked out their well defined goals and they had refused flatly, to comply with the demands of the Nizam. The East India Company had resultantly demanded the area of Kernol after sometime from the Sultan. Sultan

Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] had reached to the conclusion after examining the situation carefully that it was more appropriate to hand the control of the area of Kernol over to the state of Asfia [مملکتِ آصفیہ] in order to keep it under the control of a Muslim state than to relinquish it quietly in favor of the East India Company ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.401).*** The Nawab of Kernol, Alaf Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] had also subscribed to the plan. They were expecting the Nizam to join the Jihad [جہاد] against the British Raj by virtue of the amalgamation of the two states. The Nizam had also endorsed the planning and had proved to be the biggest turn in the history of Hindustan because the Panni Pathans of Kerrpa [کڑپہ], Shahnor [شاہنور] Anantpur [اننت پور] etc. and some other Pathan leaders were also likely to participate in the prospective Jihad [جہاد]. Those Pathans were very loyal friends of the Nawabs of Kernol and the Nizam had also endorsed the plan due to the same reasons. The Sultan was able to convince him by referring to various Quranic references. He was able to establish to the Nizam that he was bound to defend all those areas jointly, along-with his Muslim brothers. The same were previously declared as Dar-ul-Islam [دارالاسلام] (***Tareekh Deccan Ahad Halia*** [تاریخ دکن عہد حالیہ] ***Page No.154).*** Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] had executed said planning through the nephew of Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] namely, Imtiaz-ud-Dollah [امتیازالدولہ] (***Tareekh Deccan Ahad Halia*** [تاریخ دکن عہد حالیہ] ***Page No.161).***

Mischief of Mir Alam and Arustu Jah [میر عالم اورارسطو جاہ کی شرارت]:

The history of the Subcontinent was at a crossroad. The situation was normal apparently but, it was quite evident that the Pathans of Kerrpa [کڑپہ], Shahnor [شاہنور], Anantpur [اننت پور] and Kernol etc. who were at war since ages and for whom the battlefield was like a nursery, were expected to stand side by side with the lashkers of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] and Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] against the British colonialism. They were also expected to form a united front to expel the British colonialists from Hindustan. Then the hopes were pinned on them to create some new golden chapters of history. The providence had however worked out its plans differently. When the British colonialists came to know that Kernol was likely to be handed over to the Nizam, they decided to lay a new series of intrigues to win over the Nizam. The notorious military commanders of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] namely, Mir Alam [میرعالم] and Wazir Arustu Jah [وزیرارسطوجاہ] were both subjected to their intrigues. The British government was able to spread the disinformation that Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] was just pretending to be with the Nizam whereas,

he was all set in reality to take over the administrative control of the State of Kernol once again. Then his planning was to capture Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] in collaboration with the Nawab of Kernol namely, Alaf Khan Bahader Panni Sani [الف خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] along-with other Pathans subsequent to take control of the same. He was working on the plan to push the Nizam into some kind of well defined ploy. The Nizam had also bought said view of disinformation very naively ***(Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.437 Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.292).*** The fast forwarding flow of history of Hindustan, was given this way, a wrong direction. The British administration had instigated the brother of the Nizam namely, Mohammed Sharif Khan Basalat [محمد شریف خان بسالت] during the same period and in order to establish the truthfulness of said hypothetical situation. The said brother of the Nizam was made to revolt against the Nizam. They had disseminated the disinformation that the revolt was also backed by Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] as well as Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] ***(Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.297)***. The said disinformation had dazzled the Nizam and when he was able to realize that his own rule was at jeopardy, the same revealed on him the cunning moves of his friends namely, Mir Alam [میرعالم] and Wazir Arustu Jah [وزیرارسطوجاہ]. The history of Hindustan had taken a very painful turn ultimately. The mischief of the British administration was executed very well and the Nizam had not only refused to side with his other companions and patriot friends as a result of the same but, he had also launched an anti-Jihad [جہادمخالف] campaign. Then he had joined hands with the British administration in 1214 Higra (1799). He had fought fervently just five to six years thereafter, against Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] in the fourth battle at Maysoor [میسور]. The said battle had resulted in the Shahadat [شہادت] of the Sultan. The same had also brought an end to the Sultanat-e-Khudadad [سلطنتِ خداداد]. The Nizam had also decided to settle the account against Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] for backing out from the Jihad [جہاد] movement. The state of Kernol had remained however, under the influence of the Panni Nawabs for many years even after the Shahadat [شہادت] of the Sultan ***(Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.298)***. The Sultanate was divided into many parts, except the state of Kernol pursuant to fourth battle at Maysoor [میسور]. The other states were subjected to the rule of the Nizam after the Shahadat [شہادت] of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو].

Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] died in 1239 Higra (1822) during the reign of Mir Akber Ali Khan Folad Jung Skinder Jah Salas [میراکبرعلی خان فولادجنگ سکندرجاہ ثالث]. He had lived a very hectic life and had left behind five sons namely, Nawab

Muzaffer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب مظفر خان بہادر پنّی], Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی ثانی], Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی], Nawabzada Yaqoob Khan Panni [نواب زادہ یعقوب خان بہادر پنّی] and Nawabzada Akber Khan Bahader Panni [نواب زادہ اکبر خان بہادر پنّی] (***Genealogical Tree by Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Bahader Panni Published in India***).

Nawab Muzaffer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب مظفر خان بہادر پنّی]:

Nawab Muzaffer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب مظفر خان بہادر پنّی] was the second son of Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی ثانی]. He succeeded his father in the order of linage. We have not been able to trace out his life history. The historical chain of events had revealed that he died at an early age.

Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی ثانی]:

Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] had to become the Nawab of Kernol after his brother namely, Nawab Muzaffer Khan Bahader Panni [نواب مظفر خان بہادر پنّی]. The history was quiet somehow or the other about him. He also died presumably, at an early age. We have also not been able to trace out the history of his other two brothers. Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] had ruled the state of Kernol after Nawab Munawer Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب منور خان بہادر پنّی ثانی].

NAWAB GHULAM RASOOL KHAN BAHADER PANNI SHAHEED
LAST BUT UNKNOWN MUJAHID OF KERNOL

[کرنول کا آخری اور گمنام مجاہد نواب غلام رسول خان پنّی شہید]:

Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] was the last Nawab in the chain of the Panni Nawabs of Kernol and his reigning period started in 1733 and was during the reign of Akber Sani [اکبرثانی] (***Imperial Volume No.21 Page No.33-34***). The period of said Nawab had also included some reigning period of Seraj-ud-Din Bahader Shah Zafer [سراج الدین بہادرشاہ ظفر] (1253 to 1275 Higra) (1837 to 1858). The period in question was during Nizamat of Ferkhanda Ali Khan Nasir-ud-Dolla Jah Rabae [فرخندہ علی خان ناصر الدولہ جاہ رابع] (17th Zeqad

[ذیقعد] 1244 Higra to 22nd Ramadan-ul-Mubarak [رمضان المبارک] 1273 Higra). The same had also included four to five years of rule of Mir Akber Ali Khan [میر اکبر علی خان] who was his predecessor. The same was the period when the tenure of Viceroy Lord Hettinger was about to come to an end in Hindustan (1813 to 1823). The Lord Emerest had become the Viceroy (1823 to 1828) thereafter. Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] was a brave soldier. He was among those who had sacrificed their lives for Islam. He was a real patriot and a fearless person. He had practically participated in the renaissance of Islam movement which was initiated by Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. He worked very hard for the banishment of the British colonialists from the Subcontinent. He had not only given away the Jagir which was yielding lacs of Rupees as an income rather, he had returned his title of Nawab and then he had opted to step down from the rule of a very large state. Thus he had lost the rule of state which had travelled down to him from his ancestors after the journey of about two hundred years. He had also sacrificed his life during said very complex state of affairs.

Plight of Muslims in the Subcontinent [برصغیر کے مسلمانوں کی زبوں حالی]:

The same was a period in history when Delhi had no control in the remote parts. There was a dichotomic state of affairs in the country. The province of Deccan was known as Dolat-e-Asfia [دولتِ آصفیہ] and the rampage of the Sikhs had also brought about topsy-turvy conditions in the Punjab areas. The British rulers were able to beat their rival European forces all ends up i.e. both French and Dutch in the Subcontinent. The gallant Mujahid [مجاہد], Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] had embraced Shahadat [شہادت] and the British imperialism was able to consolidate itself after penetrating very deep into the remote areas. The British resident officer had taken over the Muslim Durbar in Deccan. Then a fully equipped regiment was placed at Skinderabad [سکندر آباد] without any ally just to fight independently. The British resident officer had taken charge of Dolat-e-Asfia [دولتِ آصفیہ] by force. The British administration had established their exclusive suzerainty under the pretense of “Subsidiary Control” in the southern part of the Subcontinent. They had moved towards the north gradually, after consolidating their control in said part of the country. They started interacting through their Christian missionaries and with local war lords without any hesitation. The same was with the objective to win them over. They had unfolded their hegemonic designs through said process. The Muslims were targeted mostly through said strategy. The overall Muslim population was overawed by those moves. They had not lacked the

internal unity only and the spirit of mutual cooperation but, there was not even a semblance of cohesion in their overall communal discipline. There was not even a single recognized leader in the field to represent them because there was no well defined agenda in the political life. Those indicators had proved the fact that the Muslims were at the verge of disintegrating as a community. The un-Islamic norms and traditions were very much in practice instead of the Islamic way of life. The sense of worthlessness had bewildered the Muslims everywhere. The departure from the Islamic principles was of such a magnitude that a Muslim lady by the name of Khyr-un-Nisa [خیرالنساء] had picked up the courage to marry Colonel Kirkpatrick by casting aside all the Islamic values. She had given birth even to two children in the process. Colonel Kirkpatrick was such a loudly pronounced enemy of the Muslims that he was instrumental in executing the assignment to seize all the official record of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] after his Shahadat [شہادت]. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] and his comrades had launched a revolutionary movement with the intention to stabilize the imploding edifice of national prestige and pride of the Muslims in the backdrop of those deplorable circumstances. They had initiated Jihad Bis Saif [جہاد بالسیف] in the extreme end of the northern frontier of the Subcontinent. The said movement was welcomed by thousands of enlightened Muslims, both male and female. They used to participate readily in Jihad Fee Sabbeel Allah [جہاد فی سبیل اللہ]. The Jihad was also duly supported and executed by Nawab of Tonkraj [ٹونک راج] (Rajpotana [راجپوتانہ]) namely, Ameer Mohammed Khan Panni [امیرمحمد خان پنّی]. He was very well in coordination with Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had established in fact his main office in the Frontier province which was away from center. He was unaware resultantly, with regard to the conditions of the people in the center. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had stepped out in fact to revolutionize the minds of the society through his preachers as well as through his campaigners. He was on a mission to prepare them for future events. The entire effort on his part was to achieve the noble objectives through a peaceful revolution in the country just by introducing the renaissance of Islam (***Frazer Page No.37 38***).

Arrival of the preachers of Syed Ahmed Shaheed to Deccan [دکن میں سید احمد شہید کے مبلغین کی رسائی]:

The great Mujahid Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] sent his preachers in the remotest parts of southern Hind. They were performing their duties in accordance with the directions of central

directorate and were also giving away their dear lives in the process. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] in the meantime and prior to his embracing Shahadat [شہادت], had already sent Mollana Mohammed Ali Rampori [مولانا محمد علی رامپوری], Mollana Walayat Ali Sahib Azeem Abadi [مولانا ولایت علی صاحب عظیم آبادی] and Mollana Saleem Sahib [مولانا سلیم صاحب] on 24th Zeqad [ذیقعد] 1246 Higra (Friday 2nd May 1831) to preach the Islamic teachings in southern Hind. Mollana Walayat Ali Sahib Azeem Abadi [مولانا ولایت علی صاحب عظیم آبادی] was in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] during the Nizamat of Ferkhanda Ali Khan Nasir-ud-Dolla Jah Rabae [فرخندہ علی خان ناصر الدولہ جاہ رابع] 1246 Higra (1830) when, Mir Akber Ali Khan Folad Jung Skinder Jah Salas [میراکبرعلی خان فولادجنگ سکندرجاہ ثالث] was holding the reins of power in Delhi. He also came to know about the incident of Balakot [بالاکوٹ] while he was still there. The names of Mollana Walayat Ali Sahib Azeem Abadi [مولانا ولایت علی صاحب عظیم آبادی] and Mollana Mohammed Ali Rampori [مولانا محمد علی رامپوری] had emerged as second-in-command caliphs after the Shahadat [شہادت] of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. The latter was engaged at that time in preaching Islam through Madaris [مدارس] (***Serat Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سیرت سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.272 Pahli Islami Tahreek*** [پہلی اسلامی تحریک] ***Page No.67 Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.140***).

Results of brilliant oratory by the preachers [مبلغین کی سحر بیانی کے نتائج]:

The volatile and complex situation had created such suffocating circumstances in the country that even a carrier pigeon was not allowed to reach the Walyan-e-Reyasat [والیان ریاست]. Those preachers were able to invigorate however, the mundane minds just by virtue of their untiring Messianic nature and ability to preach Islam. They were also able to enliven the Muslims spiritually. Mollana Walayat Ali Sahib Azeem Abadi [مولانا ولایت علی صاحب عظیم آبادی] had not spent much time after reaching Deccan, when the general public as well as the elite and renowned Lords pledged their *en bloc* support through the Bait [بعیت] (avow) among other throngs of people (***Serat Syed Ahmed Shaheed*** [سیرت سید احمد شہید] ***Page No.364 Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.147***). The entire charismatic entourage of those people was able to approach the brave and gallant soldiers of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] as well as other leading members of the elite who were totally inaccessible in the wake of the then prevalent political conditions. The said group of people also joined the Mujahedeen of Islam fervently, despite their worldly aggrandizement and grandeur. They started performing the Islamic rituals just like other practicing Muslims. They started making an all out effort with a missionary spirit of Jihad [جہاد].

The underlying objective of the same was to revive the patriotism and to ensure the renaissance of Islam. Mollana Walayat Ali Sahib Azeem Abadi [مولانا ولایت علی صاحب عظیم آبادی] was also a man of high stature. He was a Raees zada [رئیس زادہ] of Behar [بہار] and was the grandson of the Nazim of Behar [ناظم بہار] (***Pahli Islami Tahreek*** [پہلی اسلامی تحریک] ***Page No.31***). The oratory of the preachers was able to bring about mesmerizing effects. The leading personalities of Deccan, as well as from its vicinity, had also given their vocal support to those champions of Islam in 1255 Higra (1839) which helped revolutionize the whole country and their names will always be remembered in history with respect. The name of Mollana Saleem Sahib [مولانا سلیم صاحب] was among those who were able to change the hearts and minds of the brother of Ferkhanda Ali Khan [فرخندہ علی خان] Wale-e-Deccan and Hyderabad [والئ دکن] namely, Nawab Mubaraz-ud-Dolla [نواب مبارزالدولہ] with their charm and personal efforts (***Durbar Asif Gulzar-III Gul Chaharam*** [دربار آصف گلزارسوم گل چہارم] ***Page No.484 Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 364 Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.147 Frazer Page No.56***). Then it was an unforgettable contribution of Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] who was the last Nawab of Kernol (***Imperial Volume No.24 Page No.497 Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.140***). They always deserved very rich tributes for their contribution in the history of the Subcontinent after Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] and Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. The historians had failed somehow or the other to give due recognition to their contribution.

Objective of the preachers and strategy [مبلغوں کا مقصداور لائحہ عمل]:

The Walyan-e-Reyasat [والیان ریاست] who had opted to sacrifice their lives to achieve the objectives of Jihad [جہاد], included Nawab Rampur [نواب رامپور] and Ameer-ud-Dolla Ameer Khan Panni [امیرالدولہ امیر خان پنّی], Nawab of Tonk [نواب ٹونک]. There was an express understanding seemingly that, if the respected freedom fighters succeeded in achieving their goals then, Ameer-ud-Dolla Ameer Khan Panni [امیرالدولہ امیر خان پنّی] Nawab of Tonk [نواب ٹونک], was supposed to be appointed from Peshawar as head of organization in Madraas [مدراس] with the title as Hami-e-Din [حامئ دین] and Ameer-ul-Momaneen [امیرالمومنین] (***Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 595***). The similar type of arrangement was also agreed upon with the brother of the Nizam of Deccan [نظام دکن] namely, Mubaraz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] according to the author of Gulzar Asfia [گلزار آصفیہ] (***Page No.148***). There were even two stamps which were also prepared in this regard. The words Umer Bin Abdul Aziz Raees-ul-Muslameen Mubaraz-ud-Dolla Caliph Syed

Ahmed Shaheed [عمربن عبدالعزیز رئیس المسلمین خلیفہ سید احمد شہید] were inscribed on one of the stamps. We also endorse the view of the latter because it was the earnest desire of Nawab Mubaraz-ud-Dolla [نواب مبارزالدولہ] to relieve his brother namely, Ferkhanda Ali Khan [فرخندہ علی خان] from the official charge. *The detail account of the same will be given later*. The British administration was using him like a puppet. He was only concerned with his own personal aggrandizement and status. Thus whosoever was aspirant to be a part of said arrangement was also supposed to be commander-in-chief of all the military forces and battalions along-with all the administrative control of the country etc. They had also decided that all the disputes were supposed to be decided in the country on the basis of precedents, which were compiled by the Islamic scholars in the light of Shariat [شریعت] of the Prophet Mohammed [محمد ﷺ]. They had also decided that all the directors were duty bound to ensure compliance of the orders of Ameer [امیر], even at the cost of their lives. Then most of the soldiers of the platoons who were serving in British army, had also given assurance to make the prospective revolution a great success. The Mujahedeen [مجاہدین] and their representatives used to disguise as beggars, hawkers and fruit sellers in order to establish their liaison with those soldiers whereas, occasionally, most of them also used to stay with them. The Mujahedeen [مجاہدین] used to instigate the Muslims of Madraas [مدراس] especially because, they were more in number as compared with the Bengali [بنگالی] and the Muslim soldiers of Bombay [بمبئ]. Thus they were more dominant (***Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 595 Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.147-148 Frazer Page No.63***).

The preachers used to utilize the mosques as a rendezvous for their campaign (***Durbar Asif Gulzar-IV Gul Chaharam*** [دربار آصف گلزار چہارم گل چہارم] ***Page No.95***). The leading preachers and campaigners were in this regard Mollana Walayat Ali Sahib Azeem Abadi [مولانا ولایت علی صاحب عظیم آبادی] and Mollana Saleem Sahib [مولانا سلیم صاحب]. They gradually started conducting public rallies as well. Thus they were able to integrate the general public through their oratorical skills. They also used to circulate pamphlets and leaflets from time to time. Then the same was followed by some organized rallies and congregational speeches in different cities on the dates which used to be announced well before time. The movement started achieving its objectives slowly and gradually because the process of interaction was helpful in promoting the mindset on the basis of books and periodicals. Then the absolute culmination of gradually entire campaign of preaching was attained when a slogan had become a cliché that “Force must be met with force” (***Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.148***). Thus the sentiment of the revolution was set

apace to brew latently and gradually. The same had also given a direction to everything into an appropriate course without much ado. Then there was a stage to initiate much awaited Jihad [جہاد] in the battlefield. The same was a situation subsequent to the martyrdom of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] which had taken place in 1831.

Mr. Stewart had worked as a British resident officer of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] till 1838. The aforementioned situation was very much in progress when General J.S Frazer had replaced him. He was appointed as a resident officer from 1838 to 1852. The "Whabi [وہابی] Conspiracy" had already engulfed Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] when he had assumed office. The date of his arrival was 21st July 1838 and probably all the members of the elite of the city along-with other *noblesse* had boycotted the Residency socially, by that time. The same was in pursuance of the movement by Shams-ul-Umera Nawab Bahader-ud-Dolla [شمس الامراء نواب بہادرالدولہ] and Siraj-ul-Mulk [سراج الملک]. The situation was very tense and Mr. Stewart was unaware about it. The Wahabi [وہابی] belief was very popular and according to Frazer, even the soldiers were inspired by it. They were more motivated by the same as compared with other prevalent general beliefs, according to his analysis. Mr. Frazer was really perturbed with regard to the social boycott of Residency by each and every strata of society. He had notified the situation to the Governor General after examining all the aspects of said situation and informed him that in order to retain control of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] and to establish such Government which was supportive and subservient to the British designs which was possible only if the ministry was placed under the control of Chanderpal [چندرپال]. He was likely to have a friendly working relationship with the local residents. The said letter was sent by Frazer to the Governor General on 2nd April 1839.

Disclosure of the conspiracy against the British administration [انگریزوں کے خلاف شازش کا انکشاف]:

The factors which had necessitated writing a threat letter were due to a leaked out news regarding Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی]. He had allegedly taken the responsibility to provide necessary ammunition in order to make the revolt a real success. The war equipment which he had accumulated consisted of eleven hundred cannons and a big stock of ammunition etc. Then there were four hundred soldiers who were placed under the command of Nawab Mubaraz-ud-Dolla [نواب مبارزالدولہ] for an anticipated attack. He placed

orders for the purchase of bullets worth Rupees one hundred thousand. The said Panni Nawab had also refurbished his fort in this regard (***Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 595 Frazer Page No.55-57***). The aforesaid news leak-out was communicated to Hussain Sager [حسین ساگر] cantonment in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] directly by Bombay administration and thus the British rulers came to know about said situation. Then all the latent objectives and preparedness of said Whabi [وہابی] conspiracy was made public during the tenure of General Frazer in 1254 Higra (1838). *Idée reçue* if eight to ten more days had elapsed, the prospective revolutionary program would have definitely assumed a practical shape. Then the history of the Subcontinent would have certainly taken a different turn (***Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.149 Imperial Volume No.24 Page No.430***).

Unprecedented Preparations by the Nawab [نواب کی حیرت انگیزتیاریاں]:

Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] had made an unprecedented preparation in this regard. He had also refurbished his fort, which was in Kernol. We have gathered all the information pertaining to the war equipments and preparations from a letter of Captain Adward Armstrong of 34 Light Infantry of Madraas [مدراس]. The said letter was sent from Kernol. He had sent said letter to resident officer i.e. General Frazer on 10th October 1839 immediately, after the fall of Kernol. He had expressed his views in the same in the manner as below:

> "The preparations which were made by the Nawab were not supposed to be described in words. He had a very large store which was full of all types of war equipment and arsenals. What we had witnessed there had really surprised us all. The Nawab had made gardens and lady-chambers alongside the furnace for wrought ironing the cannon shells and a bullet factory. There were a number of finished and unfinished products. The cannons which were made of bronze were in different sizes and shapes which were very beautiful. Those cannons had no parallel in the entire world. The diameter of one of the cannon barrels was twenty six inches. The other one had a diameter of thirty inches. The thickness of the cannon barrel at the opening was nine inches. There were a number of unique cannonballs which were supposed to be used through those giant cannons. The palace of the Nawab and other buildings along-with the lady-chambers were packed up to

the brim with such type of ammunition. The big number and massive quantity of the same was unimaginable. The range of said war equipment was from heavy artillery equipment to a pocket size double barrel pistol. The entrance of the ammunition depot was sealed with bricks in such a manner that, the same was giving an impression as if it was the last wall of the building. We had found about forty five bronze cannons behind the wall. Those cannons had the capability to fire a cannon-ball weighing from two to six pounds. Those arsenals were loaded on new carts *fourgons* and we had found about seventy to eighty similar wooden carts *fourgons* at said place. The same were placed in a standby position for loading in the cannons which were buried in the ground close to the depots. We had faced difficulty even in counting those cannons which we had already discovered. The tentative number of the same was however, more than six hundred. There were some of them which were totally brand new. There were some cannons which had the capability of firing the cannonball of more than six pounds in weight. The name of the manufacturing company was inscribed on each one of them. Those cannons were either buried in the ground or were in the depots, except fifty to sixty of them. The desertion of one of the servants of the Nawab had divulged the information else everything would have remained out of our sight for a very long time. The said deserter had also unveiled the secret with regard to some camouflaged cannons.

We have also found a number of armor vans and *fourgons* which were loaded with ammunition which had included the bullets. The cannonballs were ready to be fired. There were several head sealed canisters which were also filled with similar ammunition which were just ready to be transported to the battlefield. The chain of many go-downs was full of gunpowder, sulfur and saltpetre along-with other warfare essentials. The very spectacle of the same had revealed that said Nawab had spent his entire life either in collecting the raw material or in manufacturing the ammunition. The income of the state was also earmarked for a very long time in achieving those objectives. There was no possible sign that he was able to amass all the arsenals on his own resources and without any foreign help or aid. I was convinced at heart that I had unveiled a big secret. The state of Kernol was deemed to be a safe place for the resistance movement. When we were inspecting and examining the aforementioned arsenals, the Wazir of Nawab namely, Nadir Khan [نامدارخان] was with us. We arrested him on the spot. The said Nawab was also under

arrest. I had very serious doubts with regard to the allegiance of one thousand Rohelas [روہیلہ]. They had their base camp just one or two miles away from said site. The commander of the same namely, Shah Wali Khan [شاہ ولی خان] was your good friend. He was required to be taken into custody whether dead or alive (***Frazer Page No.57***).

The eleven hundred new cannons which Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] had lined up were an undisclosed second line of defense. Those cannons were other than the declared state owned cannons. The services of Sardar Shah Wali Ullah [شاہ ولی اللہ] through Mubarz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] were also at his disposal. He also had a special commando force of about four hundred troops at his disposal just because of him. The opponents of the Nawab had also hatched a very shrewd counter plan in order to out-maneuver the Nawab despite his massive and large scale preparations. The said Nawab was unaware about the same. They had taken about two months to deliberate, prior to his arrest. Then a very well coordinated set of intrigues was subsequently set afloat (***Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.150 Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 595***). There was an amazing fact that our neighboring country (India) was able to learn all the tricks of the trade from the British rulers but the elixir of giving the toughness of a hard stone to the chemistry of the glass which Allama Iqbal had provided the Muslims of Pakistan had not adopted the same, somehow or the other. The upshot of the narrative was that, how very cunning it was on the part of the British colonialists that they were able to disrupt the massive preparations of the Nawab squarely (*Detail account of the same will be given later. The same will also explain the epoch making efforts of the Panni Pathans in the Subcontinent*).

Confirmation by the Magistrate of Nilor [نلورکے مجسڑیٹ کی تصدیق]:

When the news regarding the preparations of the Mujahedeen [مجاہدین] of Bombay had travelled from the cantonment of Hussain Sager [حسین ساگر] to the British Resident officer General Frazer in 1255 Higra (1839), he deputed a Magistrate for probe and investigation with regard to the alleged conspiracy. The said Magistrate had sent a confirmatory report after conducting a formal inquiry. He had captioned the report as the Wahabi Movement [وہابی تحریک]. He had accused Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] and Mubarz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] as the main culprits in his report. The British spies were able to have access to one of the letters of the Panni Nawab along-with some other documents. The letter was addressed to the

Nawab of Tonk *who was also from Panni nation* (***Imperial Volume No.16 Page No.34 Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 595 Frazer Page No.56).*** The Resident officer General Frazer approached the Durbar of Ferkhanda Ali Khan Nasir-ud-Dolla Jah Rabae [فرخندہ علی خان ناصر الدولہ جاہ رابع] and placed all those documents before him and then he criticized him for his unawareness with regard to those activities. We may point out that said Nawab of Tonk was the same person who was an ally supporter and a helper of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید]. He was son of Nawab Ameer Khan [نواب امیر خان] and his name was Wazir Khan Panni [وزیر خان پنّی]. The Nizam was taken aback by the presence and presentation of the facts by Frazer. The Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] of the Nizam namely, Chanderpal [چندرپال] was also present during said meeting. Frazer and the Nizam resultantly decided to crush the movement and also decided to sort out their leaders. The Nizam was supposed to order the Raja to initiate some new measures forthwith, according to their decision. We may further point out that General Frazer had already requested his higher authorities that the continuance of Chanderpal [چندرپال] in his office was supposed to be subservient to their objectives. Chanderpal [چندرپال], Wazir of Deccan, was in other words their *eminence grise* reliable man. Then the orders were issued on 12th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1155 Higra (26th May 1839) for the arrest of those two Mujahid Nawabs and the leaders of the movement i.e. Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] and Mubarz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] along-with ten others. Mollana Saleem Sahib [مولانا سلیم صاحب] was also among those ten people (***Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.149 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.497 Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 595 Durbar Asif Gulzar-IV Gul Chaharam*** [دربار آصف گلزارسوم گل چہارم] ***Page No.96***). There were altogether thirty six preachers and campaigners who were arrested (***Frazer Page No.61***). Mudaber Jung Abdulla Bin Ali [مدبر جنگ عبداللہ بن علی] and Delawer Nawaz Jung Mohammed Khan Qaim Khani Rasaldar [دلاورنوازجنگ محمد خان قائم خانی رسالدار] along-with a group of soldiers had moved out on their horses pursuant to the issuance of said orders. They had surrounded the Hawaili [حویلی] of Mubarz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] (***Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 595***). The Nawab had kept them away however, from his Hawaili [حویلی] for two days. The imminent danger of bloodshed was there during said period (***Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.149***). We were not supposed to cover the history of said Nawab in instant topic yet the way said Mujahid [مجاہد] Nawab had demonstrated his patriotism and love for Islam so fervently, we feel inclined to dilate on his history in commemoration of his efforts.

The arrest of Nawab Mubarz-ud-Dolla [نواب مبارزالدولہ کی گرفتاری]:

When the Hawaili [حویلی] of the Nawab was surrounded by the troops all of a sudden, the doors of his Dolat Serai [دولت سرائے] were closed immediately. There were fifty to sixty soldiers who were present and they were put on alert for an imminent fight. The messages were exchanged between two sides for about four days and no soldier was allowed to enter the Hawaili [حویلی] in the meantime. Then Mohammed Khan Qaim Khani [محمد خان قائم خانی] was able to climb up the wall with the help of a ladder on the fifth day and opened the door after jumping in. The British troops had also moved in when the doors were thrown open. Abdullah Khan [عبداللہ خان] had made the soldiers surrender and he had given the choice to the Nawab for the selection of the fort as his detention place after the arrest. He had promised to provide him the same facilities without fail which he was accustomed to enjoy in his Hawaili [حویلی]. The Nawab was seated in a chair and he had asked him to disclose the charges against him which had necessitated his detention. The time for Mugherib [مغرب] prayer had approached in the meanwhile and the Nawab had opted to lead the prayer. The Arab as well as other soldiers who were present there had also offered the prayer under his Imamat [امامت]. The Nawab was arrested on the following day i.e. on 13th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1155 Higra (7th June 1839) and he was sent to Golconda [گولکنڈہ] fort. He had already served the detention there for some days (***Frazer Page No.59 Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 595)***. The said Nawab had spent the remaining part of his life in detention and died a natural death in the fort (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.90 Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 597 Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.149-151***). The author of Gulzar Asfia [گلزار آصفیہ] and the compiler of Tareekh Rasheed-ud-Din Khani [رشیدالدین خانی] has expressed his views that when he was compiling his books (*References of which have already been given, Writer*), there was no hope for the release of those two Mujahedeen [مجاہدین] who were going through the rigors of detention (***Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.149-151 Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 597-599***). The aforementioned statements were based on reality. There were about forty six preachers of the Wahabi [وہابی] group besides the Nawab, who were also subjected to the rigors of detention.

Setting-up of the investigation commission [کمشن کا تقرر]:

Those who had harbored some bias had opted to side with the Prince, according to Frazer. Those people also included a section of the British general public. General Frazer had proposed to the Nizam to constitute a regular investigation commission in order to probe into the alleged

conspiracy. The proposed commission was supposed to consist of the Muslim Umera besides some British officers. The Government of Hind had accepted the proposal and the resident officer Frazer had constituted a commission on 19th June 1839 to investigate the alleged conspiracy. They had the mandate to gather even the hearsay evidence.

The elder brother of Nawab Mubarz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] was the main person who was instrumental behind said conspiracy. The investigation process had demanded extra care because most of the accused people were from the general public of Deccan. Thus, extraordinary care was also ensured (***Frazer Page No.16***). The members of the commission, other than the British officers, consisted of Ferkhanda Ali Khan Nasir-ud-Dolla Jah Rabae [فرخندہ علی خان ناصر الدولہ جاہ رابع], the Nizam of Deccan Rasheed-ul-Mulk Bahader [رشید الملک بہادر], Munshi Ejaz-ud-Dolla Bahader [منشی اعجاز الدولہ بہادر], Khursheed Jung Bahader [خورشید جنگ بہادر], Bay Nazeer Jung Bahader [بے نظیر جنگ بہادر]. Then a court was setup in the cantonment of Hussain Sager [حسین ساگر]

The allegation was proved [الزام ثابت ہو گیا]:

The commission carried out a thorough investigation and resultantly, it was proved that Nawab Mubarz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] was very much involved with the Nawab of Kernol for hatching said conspiracy. He was also found engaged in correspondence with the Nawab of Tonk. He also had connections with Nawab Rampur [نواب رامپور] as well as with other Muslim Nawabs. Nawab Mubarz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] had also created two new stamps. He had assumed the name for himself as "Umer Bin Abdul Aziz [عمربن عبدالعزیز]". The same was evident from one of those stamps. He had assumed the title for himself as "Raees-ul-Muslemeen Mubaraz-ud-Dolla Caliph of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [رئیس المسلمین مبارزالدولہ خلیفہ سیداحمدشہید]. The other stamp contained the inscription as "Muhaif-e-Din-ul-Muslemeen Mubarz-ud-Dolla [محا فظِ دین المسلمین مبارزالدولہ]". There were some more discoveries during the investigation and according to which, Nawab Mubarz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] had approached the soldiers of his regiments as a disguised beggar in Skinderabad [سکندرآباد] with the help of his Molvi [مولوی] and some members of the Wahabi [وہابی] sect and he even stayed there at times, according to Frazer. They were found guilty of inciting the revolt among the soldiers in this way. They had instigated the soldiers of Madraas [مدراس] more aggressively because they were more dominant as compared to the soldiers of

Bombay and Bengal. The commission had awarded the judgment that Nawab Mubarz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] and his comrade Molvies were supposed to be detained as royal prisoners (***Frazer Page No.61 63 64***).

Articles of disclosure by General Frazer [جنرل فریزر کے انکشافی مراسلے]:

Nawab Mubarz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] was arrested after the siege of a few days of his Hawaili [حویلی]. Then he was cast in the abysmal and somber well of detention. The group of preaching campaigners were also taken in custody but, it was not all that easy to arrest the Nawab of Kernol i.e. Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی]. The reason for the same was that when the discovery of arms and ammunition was made, he was present in his own state at Kernol which was located in the southwest of the former state of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد]. He was the head of said semi-autonomous state at that time and was also loaded with all types of equipment and ammunition. The British administration and the Nizam were also fully aware of the battlefield achievements of his brave and gallant ancestors like Nawab Munawer Khan [نواب منور خان] and Nawab Himat Bahader Khan Panni [نواب ہمت بہادر خان بہادر پنّی]. They had fought some pitched battles one after the other in Kernatak during the office tenure of the three Nizams. They defeated them along-with their French allies. The Nawab had also refurbished his fort besides that and he had made all the necessary preparations. The Governor General Lord Claind had sent a letter to General Frazer in Simla [شملہ] (India) on 13th September 1839 in the wake of said situation which was to the effect that he had waited for the report of his investigation commission and he had reiterated in this regard that it was not supposed to take such long time. He had reiterated further that the arrest of a conspirator like Nawab Mubarz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] was a sufficient cause because he was head of the conspirators and whatever had happened in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] was a sufficient charge against him and the events had unfolded in Kernol were also a good ground (***Frazer Page No.54***). Frazer had expressed his views in his book that the Nawab of Kernol was fully trapped militarily at said critical juncture with regard to amassing arms and ammunition. Then it was also an established fact that he was also in league with the Wahabi [وہابی] leaders for connivance. He had similar arrangements with other protagonists of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] as well. He was also in communication on the similar lines with a number of other people at Kernatak as well as in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد]. The Lord Unfasten sought an explanation from Frazer with regard to a

supportive investigation commission in Kernol and the minimum army required to wage a war against the Sultan (***Frazer Page No.514***). The General replied in this regard vide letter Dated 12th July 1839 in the manner as below:

> "My Lord there was a mark difference in my opinion and Sir Hennery Montgomery with regard to the military strength of the troops in Kernol. If he was of the opinion that only half of the regiment with a company of artillery was sufficient to capture the area then, my assessment was perhaps incorrect and it was my firm opinion that Kernol fort in said area was among the strongest forts of the country. The factual position was in the light of the proofs which were made available to me that there were about four thousand fighter soldiers who were well equipped with the most modern warfare equipment. I may well not be in a position to comment further on the issue unless I manage to discover some new evidence" (***Frazer Page No.55***). We may point out that Montgomery was from Madraas [مدراس] civil service.

General Frazer was able to gather the confidential information through his secret department with regard to Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] and sent it to the Madraas [مدراس] Government. They were really thankful to receive the same. The Government was also thankful besides that, for receiving the correspondence which had taken place between Nawab Mubarz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] and Nawab of Kernol. The reference of the same was made through a letter Dated 6th April 1839 which was addressed to the Governor General in the manner as below:

> "Wahabi [وہابی] school of thought was gaining roots in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] and so much so that even our soldiers were influenced by the same. The followers of the Wahabi [وہابی] school practiced and preached their belief more fervently as compared with other Muslims. The said movement should be studied quietly according to my opinion. The same was exactly what I was doing. The Muslims have no suspicions generally about me and I have full awareness regarding the current events. I am hopeful to gather more information within a few days which shall be passed on to the central Government as well. I am hopeful to get the written material with regard to said movement which was sent to Nawab Mubarz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ]. The same was sent by Ameer of Sindh

through a Bloch Sardar. The material in question was addressed to the Sardar of Tonk, son of Sardar Ameer Khan [سردارامیرخان] i.e. Mubarz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] (Nawab Wazir-ud-Dolla [وزیرالدولہ], *Writer*) (***Frazer Page No.47***).

Attempt to capture the Kernol fort [قلعہ کرنول پر قبضے کی کوشش]:

We have not been able to trace out the whereabouts of Ameer of Sindh as well as said Bloch Sardar and what exactly they had intended to achieve to render the services or to act like traitors against their country. The way General Frazer had proved his broadmindedness and foresightedness and an unflinching loyalty to his own nation had really impressed the central Government. The congeniality of the circumstances had given a boost to his confidence even otherwise. The Muslim Government of Hyderabad was also all-out to crush all those supporters of the movement who were all-out for the renaissance of Islam. The supporting army of the Nizam of Deccan as well as the British field force was sent for a military action in Kernol resultantly, under the command of Colonel Dyce. The army of the state of Kerrpa [کڑپہ] was also included in the same which was under the control of the rulers of Kernol at some point of time and was their allied force. The said army was divided into five groups and one of the platoons was an artillery unit whereas two platoons were supported by a British contingent Rasala Swar [رسالہ سوار]. They had carried out some sudden and surprise raids against Kernol fort and had sent the message to the Nawab very blatantly and defiantly after reaching there and had declared that they were visitors in the country and were interested to visit the fort from the inside therefore, the habitants were expected to vacate the fort. Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] was in fact well aware of their intentions therefore, he refused to vacate the fort and instead posted his eight hundred soldiers at a short distance outside the fort. The enemy was however persistent very adamantly and defiantly to meet their latent objectives. Then the Nawab was left with no other option and he opened cannon fire against the enemy from inside the fort on 6th of Rajab [رجب] 1655 Higra (15th September 1839). Then there was a thoroughgoing battle between the two sides and there were a number of soldiers from both sides who were killed. The soldiers of the Nawab were less in number yet, they were able to fight very resolutely. Thus they had denied the enemy a free access to the fort (***Frazer Page No.56 Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.140 Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 597).***

Cowardly moves by the enemy [دشمن کی بزدلانہ چالیں]:

The enemy realized after a bloody battle of a few days that the victory was not in sight through said war and started making cunning moves. They sent a message to the Nawab for a truce and thus the famous proverb was followed actively that "Everything is fare in love and war". The British administration had entrapped the Nawab through said move. They made him agree for negotiations and the Nawab was unaware of the fact that deception was the deadliest weapon in any war. The Nawab was motivated by said message and he opted to send his Dewan namely, Namdar Khan [نامدارخان] outside the fort to conduct negotiations. We have not been able to trace out what had transpired then in that meeting with Namdar Khan [نامدارخان]. The subsequent events had revealed that either the Dewan himself had become a part of the ploy against the Nawab or he was also allured with some other enemy temptation. He had not cheated his master probably because he was very much aware of all the events just like the Nawab. He was also pushed into some kind of trap but he had opted to go back and cleared the apprehensions of the Nawab after concluding his meeting with the British administration. He had also assured him that there was no need to continue the war and also assured that the enemy was supposed to visit the fort and they had agreed to vacate the fort after the visit. The enemy was supposed to vacate the fort after having a lunch party. Thus he was able to convince him to step out of the fort (***Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.150 Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 597).*** Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] had great confidence in his Dewan. He was convinced one way or the other and then he had decided to step out of the fort and move into his camp which was set up under the cluster of trees near the River Tangbadar [دریائے تنگ بھدار]. The said river was a hub of two rivers i.e. Tung [تنگ] and Bhadar [بھدار]. The point where the rivers used to amalgamate into each other was known as River Tangbadar [دریائے تنگ بھدار] which was also a divider between the state of Kernol and Hyderabad Deccan. The river course used to go past the capital of Kernol which was also known as Kernol (***Tareekh Janoobi Hind*** [تاریخ جنوبی ہند] ***Page No.420***).

More mischievous moves [اگلے شرانگیز اقدام]:

When Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] had left the fort, the enemy had opted to initiate their more mischievous moves. They had disseminated the rumor

that the Nawab had entered into a truce with the British administration and he had agreed to handover the fort to them. The second rumor they had succeeded to spread around was that the Nawab had insufficient reserves for the payment of the salaries to his soldiers. The soldiers had believed the same because the Nawab had actually vacated the fort. The said move of the British administration had worked well and the soldiers of the Nawab had started demanding their salaries. Thus the British administration was able to execute the policy of divide and rule very successfully. We may point out that the mercenaries also used to be hired in those days and if those mercenaries were not paid adequately, they used to exercise the option of switching their loyalties. Then in case the master used to fail to pay the salaries in time then, even the soldiers of the lashker used to disobey him as a matter of right. The Nawab had passed the orders however, for the payment of the salaries immediately pursuant to the spread of aforesaid rumor. When the salaries were distributed duly and the soldiers were satisfied apparently, the same had bamboozled the enemy because their attempt to divide and rule was foiled practically (***Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 597***). The enemy had planned that if the Nawab had deferred the payment of salaries then, they had the plan to pay the salaries to the soldiers of the Nawab directly from their own resources to win over their loyalty. They had the planning to issue even the Pass-Ports to them as non-resident servants. There was another fact which had also emerged that the British administration had written a very misleading and confusing letter to the other servants of the Nawab. Thus they were able to establish that the Dewan of the Nawab i.e. Namdar Khan [نامدارخان] had disregarded all the proposals of the British administration. He was also able to win the support of his comrades. Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] had also made it clear against the letter of Armstrong that he had never trusted the British people (*Detail account about of the same will be given later)*. He was fully aware of the state of affairs which were replete with intrigues (***Frazer Page No.58***).

The British people today enjoy a distinct reputation as a very cool and calm nation and used to enjoy the same poise even in those days. They have the quality to show some restraint in a state of panic. They prefer to resolve the crises with a pragmatic approach. The whole gimmickry and all their moves were foiled in those days yet they had maintained their innate poise very defiantly.

The army was stopped from executing any plan [فوج کوکاروائی سے روک دیا]:

When the issue of payment of salaries was under discussion between Dewan Namdar Khan [نامدارخان] and the British administration, the latter was able to convince the Dewan very cunningly that the troops of the Nawab which were inside the fort were not supposed to execute any surprise move. Dewan Namdar Khan [نامدارخان] had sent one of his employees inside the fort with regard to pre-empting any tactical plan. He had a white handkerchief with him to inform the soldiers which were based inside the fort. The objective of waving said handkerchief from one of the Burjs [برج] of the fort was to convey the message to Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] that his message was duly communicated inside the fort (***Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 57-59***). The mystery had remained unresolved that how the Dewan had agreed to accept that condition under the instructions of the British administration. He had thought probably that the situation was leading to some kind of rationale but, he had failed to appreciate the enigmatic nature of the situation. The British tacticians deserved however, a word of appreciation for their maneuvers through which they were able to mentally outclass the officials of the Nawab. They were also able to outmaneuver them even otherwise despite their best military preparation and the strategic strength. The proposal was advanced by them and the same was accepted duly. The army inside the fort as a result, was automatically placed after the same in a state of suspense. General Dyce and General Lane had ordered their troops to hold on to their positions thereafter (***Frazer Page No.58***). The eight hundred soldiers of the Nawab were based at Zohra Peath [زہرہ پیٹھ] which was close to the Khankah [خانقاہ] near a stone wall. They were unaware about the situation. The rumor of truce by the Nawab was already in circulation and the same had travelled very fast in the lashker. Thus every soldier was caught in two minds in the wake of said unpredictable situation. The Nawab had continued the salary distribution in the meantime. Then Shah Wali Khan [شاہ ولی خان], who was given the command of four hundred soldiers of Mubarz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ], had approached the Nawab in a state of panic after receiving his salary. He had pointed out that the seize fire against the British administration was a tactical mistake and despite repeated assurances by the Nawab, the said commander was convinced at heart that the same was a blatant mistake. He was ready to go for a fight in a state of total exasperation. He had pulled out his sword with the same sentiment and then cut one passing by British soldier into many pieces. The bugle was blown to initiate the war no sooner, the news with regard to said incident had travelled to the British troops. The enemy lashker which was in an entrenched position on hearing the bugle sound had opened an abrupt attack

against the contingent of eight hundred soldiers of the Nawab. Then they had mercilessly massacred the Pathans ***(Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 599 Frazer Page No.58)***.

Fierce battle and arrest of the Nawab [بیہمانہ کشت و خون کی گرم بازاری اور نواب کی گرفتاری]

The kind of treatment which was meted out to the Mujahidin [مجاہد] of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] namely, Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] and his eight hundred soldiers was like hunting rabbits in a jungle. Our renowned historians were unfamiliar about the historical facts in this regard. The letter of Armstrong Dated 18th October 1839 was self-explanatory. He had expressed his views in the manner as below:

> "The Government of Madraas [مدراس] i.e. Viceroy Auckland (1836 to 1846), *Writer*)
>
> The much expected order was received yesterday i.e. that the Nawab had to surrender and he had to also hand himself over to the British authority unconditionally. The expatriate soldiers whom he had hired were paid the salary. They were encouraged to get the Pass-Ports to leave the country safely. They were given the assurances for the safety of their lives and property. There were some who had already accepted those terms and conditions but our friend Shah Wali Ullah Roheela along-with other Sardars had showed the defiance. They had refused to accept the letter which was addressed to Shah Wali Ullah Roheela. He was also not ready to accept the surrender of the Nawab till the overdue amount of salary was paid without any further probe and investigation. The promises by the British administration were just nothing but a hoax according to him. When he had made up his mind to that extent then, it was just a futile effort to give him any further incentive. Colonel Dyce had ordered his troops to hold on to their positions. The said army unit consisted of an infantry contingent of her Majesty. The artillery unit consisted of four hundred soldiers whereas 75 of them were Europeans and 34 were from the Merry Regiment which was equipped with cannons. They were capable of shooting six pound cannonballs. He had ordered to launch an attack thereafter on the Arab and Roheela soldiers. They were within the stone wall premises of a Dergah [درگاہ], or a mosque. He had ordered the squad of 13th Dragon (Rasaldar Swar) and 7th Light Cavalry

simultaneously, to move from the right side of the attacking army in order to assist in preventing the escape of the soldiers of the Roheela army.

Our soldiers had moved forward gracefully, after firing some shots on the soldiers. Thus they were able to bring all of them within their range of fire and had caused a tremendous loss of life to the enemy. When they were constrained to leave their protective shelter, our artillery was able to target them effectively. We were able to arrest a number of enemy soldiers in the process which had included Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی]. We were able to put him in safe custody luckily, without much hassle or any major battle. The arrangement of Colonel Dyce was really commendable. Our loss was just negligible during the advancement while the barrage of fire was in progress. The performance and awareness of the soldiers was also highly commendable on said occasion particularly when they were pitched against the Arab and the Roheela army. They were ten times larger in size and were placed safely behind protective stone walls.

Our soldiers had given such a display of bayonet-fight that the same was never witnessed before but, it was difficult to give the number of enemy causalities. We were able to arrest a number of prisoners and we were able to also injure many soldiers in the battlefield. I would like to mention the fact with a sense of sorrow that we had also lost thirty nine white soldiers along-with Sheriff of thirty four Yates and young Byame who had succumbed to deadly injuries. The chances of his survival were very remote because he had sustained injuries in his stomach according to his Doctors which had occurred due to bayonet or dagger stabbing. Major White of 39th Brigade and Lieutenant Ouchterlony (*Known in the books of history as Akhterloni* [اخترلونی], *Writer*) were also injured. There was a regrettable fact however, that Shah Wali Khan [شاہ ولی خان] was able to escape from the noose of gallows for which he was destined since long. There were a number of other prisoners. We may well have to retain the services of Blair's Horse group for some time. The same was hired from a distance of twenty five miles which was due to the fact, according to my mind, that those who were able to escape from the battlefield were bound to exploit every opportunity to move into your city, Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] (***Frazer Page No.58***).

> We had withdrawn the title Nawab of Kernol from Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] on receiving many proofs of his treason. We had sent him into exile and his Madraas [مدراس] state was committed under the Residency" (***Frazer Page No.59***).

The shrewd strategy of General Armstrong, who was a British commander, was explicit in his own expression through his letter. The same was addressed to General Frazer, resident officer Hyderabad [حیدرآباد], as mentioned above. The aforementioned action was initiated on 17th October 1839, according to said letter. The Nawab and his eight hundred soldiers were based at some Khankah [خانکاہ] (Tomb) at that time. He reported to General Frazer about the outcome of his military action on the following morning i.e. on 18th October 1839. He disclosed the fact that he had arrested the Nawab without any resistance or injury and had committed him into safe custody. The same had also proved the fact that they had won the battle by outmaneuvering the enemy through their shrewd tactical moves instead of getting engaged into a long drawn battle. They had massacred, besides that, the army of the Nawab mercilessly and barbarously. The same was based at Dergah [درگاہ] (Tomb). He had taken pride rather in subjecting those soldiers to his brutality. When the high rank Pathan officers were in a position to protect themselves against the enemy, it was quite obvious that the genocide of the soldiers must have been carried out indiscriminately. The surrounding area of the Nawab was stacked with dead bodies of his very staunch allies according to the historians. He was arrested thereafter and was confined in the governess-cart and he was exiled thereafter to Chinapattan Madraas [چیناپٹن مدراس]. Shah Wali Khan [شاہ ولی خان] along-with his number of soldiers had embraced Shahadat [شہادت] in the battlefield (***Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 599 Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.150 Frazer Page No.58-59***). That was exactly how Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] i.e. a staunch supporter of Islamic renaissance movement as well as a loyal and patriot soldier of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید], was not only deprived of his state, which had yielded income of lacs of Rupees and which had travelled down to him from his family during the preceding two hundred years rather, he was committed into perpetual exile. The same was after eight years of the Shahadat [شہادت] of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] which had taken place in October 1839. Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان

بہادر پنّی] was distanced away from his kith and kin because of the conspiracy of Ferkhanda Ali Khan Nasir-ud-Dolla Jah Rabae [فرخندہ علی خان ناصر الدولہ جاہ رابع].

بجرمِ عشقِ توام می کشندوغوغا ایست
تونیزبرسرِ بام آ کہ خوش تماشا ایست

The monthly stipend of Rupees two hundred was fixed for Namdar Khan [نامدارخان] along-with allocation of funds for the administrators of the Nawab and his son namely, Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی]. The Jagirs of all the Umera [امراء] were confiscated and their pensions were fixed (***Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 599 Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.61 Page No.34***).

British shelling on the Kernol fort and its capture [قلعہ کرنول پر انگریزوں کی گولہ باری اور قبضہ]:

The British colonialists had launched a massive attack against the Kernol fort after sending the Nawab into exile. They had continued said exercise from dawn to dusk, but the lashker which was already based in the fort was under the impression that their rulers and administrators had entered into some kind of truce. The lashker was not taken into confidence. They were not in a position besides that, to take any decisive action in the absence of their leadership. The British artillery had continued the attack till late in the evening. The natural reaction of the same was that the retaliatory fire attack had also remained constant from inside the fort. The British troops were able to breach the wall of the fort however, by late evening and their soldiers were able to creep into the fort. The people of Kernol had witnessed the fluttering Union Jack on Kernol fort on the following morning instead of the flag of the Nawab. Since General Armstrong had received the orders on 17th October from Lord Auckland therefore, the enemy had announced to take charge of the state in compliance and had divided the state which was annexed with the state of the Nizam partially, in the province of Madraas. The lifetime stipend was fixed for all the dependants of the Nawab. They were given the permission to live with other relatives wherever it was convenient for them. There were a number of Panni families of Kernol which had migrated to Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] as well as to some other places. We (*writer*) know of one of the Bungalows, which was owned by one of the ancestors of the Panni families, namely Talat Ullah Khan Panni [طلعت اللہ خان پنّی] and was constructed on the historical ruins of a fort. The son of the

Nawab namely, Nawab Alaf Khan Panni [نواب الف خان پنّی] had opted to stay in Kernol for some years with the expectations to see the restoration of *status ante* with regard to the state. The British colonialists had confiscated all the treasures, jewels and gold of the Nawab and had declared the same as state property. They had transported all the portraits and other inscriptions of Shah Wali Khan [شاہ ولی خان] to London (***Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 599 Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.151***). The aforementioned portraits and other documents of the Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی], are likely to be in London Museum or India office Library along-with some other worthy proofs. There were a number of chapters of our history which were preserved in London Museum or in India office Library. The same had invited openly for further research but, there was neither any student of history who was able to concentrate on said aspect nor was there any government which had deemed it appropriate to focus on this issue.

The British were the enemy of the Muslims only [انگریز صرف مسلمان کا دشمن تھا]:

The patriotism of the British colonialists was commendable. They had always held dear the British nationalism even if they were at the abysmal of profanity in personal indulgences. The aforementioned facts were a practical depiction of the same. The British people were a best nation with regard to their national pride and prestige. There was also a quite evident fact from the study of the aforementioned pages that the British officers had a number of opportunities to enter into bargains but every officer had preferred his national interest over his personal gain. The firmness with which they had adopted the Quranic principle like equality and brotherhood was unexplainable in words. They must have covered many extra miles in order to implement their planning, because whatever was written as a matter of policy with regard to warding against the Muslims of southern Hind in the letter Dated 10th October 1840 was factual evidence. The period of the same was just one year after the fall of Kernol. The said letter was addressed to General Frazer Anfeston i.e. resident officer of Hyderabad. The maturity with which they had tried to understand the Muslims and were able to defeat them was described in the manner as below:

> “My Lord, I had received your letter and with that I had received the direction to proceed against Kernol. I intend to reply to the letter. I was hopeful that the same shall prove to be

an eye opener for our supreme Government. They will also come to know how the minds of the Muslims of southern Hind were at work against us. Our Government had taken said decision while keeping in view the Muslims of northern Hind, according to my assessment. They were very civilized people as compared with the Muslims of southern Hind. They were less aggrieved by the acts of Government. Had we understood the mentality of Triplikain (Muslim populated areas of Madraas *Writer*) i.e. Terchana Pali [ترچنا پلی], Arkaat [ارکاٹ], Wylore [ویلور], Banglore [بنگلور] and other areas of southern Hind [جنوبی ہند] then, the situation certainly would have been different according to my opinion (***Frazer Page No.59***). This is my firm belief that except our own soldiers, the Muslims of southern Hind were bound to celebrate the demise of the British rule and if they manage to have sufficient power, they may well also enjoy killing every British colonialist who was based in Hindustan. There was no likely negative comment on the mannerism with which you were able to handle the Kernol issue. We should create maximum number of jobs, as compared with the jobs created by the present Muslim Umera, according to my mind. Those people will not be loyal to us without due compensation (***Frazer Page No.59-65***).

Shahadat of the Nawab in the Madraas Church [مدراس کے گرجے کے اندر نواب کی شہادت]:

The Nawab had opted to live in Terchana Pali [ترچنا پلی], subsequent to his exile and was murdered there in broad daylight in a Church. There was more than one version in history in this regard which were cooked and baked apparently, by the British writers. The same were self-contradictory in nature and substance. The allegations were leveled mostly, against the Nawab according to those versions. The same had revealed the mindset of the British Raj which was operative at that time and was also directed to malign the Muslim history as well as the prestige of Nawab Shaheed [نواب شہید]. Those versions were in the manner as below:

1. The Nawab used to travel from his residence up to the Church frequently. One day one Hajji Sahib [حاجی صاحب] had thought that the Nawab had developed some inclination to accept Christianity therefore, he had murdered him.
2. When the Nawab was on his way to Chinapattan Madraas [چیناپٹن مدراس], he had revealed his mind to one of the servants with regard to switching over his faith to Christianity. The

same was with the intention to be released from captivity. When said servant had criticized him for his apostasy, the Nawab had abused him profusely. The Nawab had also developed illicit relations with the wife of said servant. The servant had murdered him in order to satisfy his grudge (***Gulzar Asfia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.156***).

3. When the Nawab was carried to Chinapattan Madraas [چیناپٹن مدراس], one of his servants had murdered him which was out of sudden provocation just because of his abusive language (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.197 Durbar Asif Gulzarm Gul Chaharam*** [دربار آصف گلزارم گل چہارم] ***Page No.96).***
4. The Nawab was sent to Terchana Pali [ترچنا پلی] after his arrest, where his servant had killed him (***Imperial Volume No.61 Page No.34***).

The aforementioned contradictory statements had demanded the analysis to highlight the factual position. Those statements were purposely set afloat in order to curb the allegations against the British colonialists. The same were with regard to the murder of the Nawab. There was one fact which was established from the bare reading of the same that, the honorable Nawab was a staunch Muslim and he was a true patriot. He was very keen to see his country free from the satanic presence of the British colonialists. He was a true follower of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] with regard to the movement for the renaissance of Islam. He was ready in this regard to render every possible sacrifice fearlessly. Then there was a question that under what charge he was arrested and then he was sent into exile? Then what was the outcome of the investigation by Magistrate of Wylore [ویلور]? Why said movement was named as the Wahabi Movement [وہابی تحریک]? What was the nature of the complaint when the British General Frazer had opted to see the Nizam? What were the contents of the documents which he had placed in front of the Nizam and why he had expressed his displeasure regarding the same? Why the Nawab Mubaraz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] was arrested, along-with a group of Ulima. He was the brother of the Nizam. Then he was also jailed? Why the state of the Panni Nawab was captured?

We have already explained above that the factual unrest in the country was due to unnecessary interference in the national affairs by the British colonialists. Then it was the Christian missionaries besides that, who were active under the pretext of preaching Christianity. They were actually destabilizing the people and thus they were decentralizing the power. The way the history had unfolded itself, the missionaries had launched their subtle activities even in Kernol

subsequent to the arrest of the Nawab. The area of Madraas was under complete control of the British colonialists since a very long time. Those missionaries were able to perform their job very effectively. The honorable Nawab was an honest and a religious person. The said aspect of his personality was endorsed on various occasions even by the British colonialists through their statements. He had barged into a Church presumably with the drive of a staunch religious person to settle some kind of squabble with the Christian preachers. He was a Pathan and he was a descendant from the chain of very brave people. He was a fearless person and very persuasive in his approach, according to the historians. He must have interfered very courageously into the affairs of the missionaries and the other Christians along-with the British officers. They had him murdered ultimately, through some Christian fundamentalist, right at the Church premises. The British colonialists had not carried out any legal investigation thereafter, with regard to his killing. There was another historical version and according to which, one day somebody had stabbed him in the stomach with a dagger and the bunch of his intestines had fallen out. He had tied up his stomach with a handkerchief and thus he was able to push back his intestines into the stomach. Then he had tried to walk out of the main door of the Church with the support of his servant. He was a tall and powerful man therefore he was able walk only a few steps towards the door and had fallen to the ground. He had shivered his body for sometime then after a scream of the Nawab, his soul had departed for its eternal abode (***Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 599***).

چہ خوش رقصید عرفی بردرِ کاشانۂ وحدت
براہمن گفت ایں کافر چہ استادانہ می رقصد

The dead body of the honorable Nawab was laid to rest thereafter, somewhere in Terchana Pali [ترچنا پلی]. The last resting place of the Nawab was never identified by any historian.

بِنا کردند خوش رسمے بخاک و خوں غلطیدن
خدا رحمت کند ایں عاشقانِ پاک طینت را

Opinion of the secularists [دنیا پرستوں کی رائے]:

We have already explained above the fate of the respected Nawab and his noble objectives as well as his relatives and his state. Those who were responsible for his unfortunate end included

the British colonialists, the state of Kerrpa [ریاست کڑپہ], the Nizam of Deccan, Mir Ferkhanda Ali Khan Nasir-ud-Dolla Jah Rabae [میر فرخندہ علی خان ناصر الدولہ جاہ رابع] and his troops. The irony of the fate was that the state of Kerrpa [ریاست کڑپہ] was the same place which had enjoyed the blessings as well as the patronage of the ancestors of the Nawab at some point of time. He had defeated the Nizam and his nephew (*Who had assumed Nizamat on his own*). He had killed them both right in the battlefield during the course of two battles. Thus they were able to teach a lesson to the French aides and allies as well. The state of Kerrpa [ریاست کڑپہ] was made available to the British colonialist with the passage of time just due to lack of brotherhood among the Muslims as well as due to their constant drift away from the teachings of Islam. The blood of the Muslims was shed like water as a result and it was a period when the downfall of the Muslims was approaching fast in the Subcontinent. Then there were many able politicians and experts as well as champions of the Islamic renaissance who were able to make their simultaneous emergence during the same period. They had also experienced bad luck just due to the complacent attitude of their own people. Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] had fought the fourth battle of Maysoor [میسور] in 1799 and then he had embraced Shahdat [شہادت]. Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید] had also embraced the Shahdat [شہادت] in the northern areas of Pakistan in 1831 which was due to the deceitfulness of his people. Then Mubaraz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] and Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] were victimized in 1831 just due to the inert approach of their own people. There were even some Muslim ladies, in the families of the Umera during said era, who were married to some anti-Islam British officers. The practice of non-Islamic traditions, the unawareness about the basic tenets of Islam and the absence of real practice of Islam among general masses had also overpowered the society. The non-Muslims were bound to overwhelm the Muslim population in such circumstances. The state of complacency was such that even the scholars and learned people were totally off track. The author of Gulzar Asfia [گلزار آصفیہ], who was a stooge of the Nizam of Deccan [نظام دکن], had given his own opinion after narrating the events about the life of the Nawab in the manner that "Just because of the lack of foresightedness, the income of Rupees Eighteen Lac from a state was lost" (***Page No.15***). There was no one to tell him that Shaheed Nawab [نواب شہید] had earned some immeasurable wealth by winning the goodwill of Allah Almighty as well as the blessings of his Prophet Mohammed [محمد ﷺ].

اے کہ می گوئی چراجامے بجانے می خَری

ایں سخن از ساقئ ما گو کہ ارزاں کردہ است

We may point out that the annual income of the state of Kernol was about thirty six lacs in those days. The British colonialists used to take Rupees one million eight hundred thousand out of the same through the Nizam of Deccan under "Subsidiary System". They used to invest the money to support the army which was used ultimately against the Nawab. The Nawab used to pay Rupees one hundred thousand only, according to the Imperial Gazetteer Volume No. 16. The history of Kernol had taken a new turn after the death of the Nawab yet the people of said state had always harbored the anti-British sentiment in their hearts. There was a revolt in the capital of the State once again in 1846. They were able to crush said revolt and had crucified the Palegar [پالیگار] (Custodian) of the fort publically and they were able to demoralize the general public (***Imperial Volume No. 16 Page No.33-34***).

Name of the Nawab Ghulam Rasool is still alive [نواب غلام رسول کا نام اب بھی زندہ ہے]:

The Nawab was arrested in 1839 and he had embraced Shahdat [شہادت] in 1263 Higra 1847. The historical fort which was rebuilt with stone by one of his ancestors namely, Mir Shamsheer Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [میر شمشیر ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] was turned into rubble with the passage of time. There were many new residential houses and bungalows on said site. There was one Burj [برج] among the ruins which was used until recently by the local police as an ammunition depot. The British colonialism was eliminated from the Subcontinent along-with the State of Asfia [مملکتِ آصفیہ] and many other states which had played a vibrant role in history including the state of Kerrpa [کڑپہ]. The same are no more there. There was a stanza on a plaque on a mosque which still exists in the former state of the Nawab of Kernol which was in the manner as below:

چو در زمانِ غلام رسول نواب　　بِناے مسجد شُدہ بہ بسم اللہ
کہ ہست مسجد الطیب نمونۂ بیت اللہ　　بگفت ہاتفِ غیبی بِنائے تاریخش

The aforementioned chapter was definitely a missing link in the ongoing history of the Subcontinent. The efforts of Nawab Ghulam Rasool Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام رسول خان بہادر پنّی] and his comrades, with regard to the renaissance of Islam and liberation movement of the

country along-with the restoration of the Muslim rule, had deserved the same recognition which was accorded normally to Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سید احمد شہید], Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] and to their other companions. The said deficiency was never filled up somehow or the other while writing the history.

Nawabzada Alaf Khan Panni Salus [نواب زادہ الف خان پنّی ثالث]:

Nawabzada Alaf Khan Panni Salus [نواب زادہ الف خان پنّی ثالث] had stayed in Kernol for ten years with the expectation to see the restoration *status ante* of the state. He was hopeful to get back the state, as well as the status of his father, but when he was able to assess the situation properly after the Shahdat [شہادت] of his father, he had given up hope. He had then opted to migrate to Hyderabad [حیدرآباد]. Then one fine morning and prior to bidding farewell to Kernol, he gathered all his relatives in a garden including the ladies who had also lived with him. Then he divided and distributed among them whatever valuables, including the jewelry and the cash etc. after which he was left with the looting and plundering of the British colonialists. He had not kept anything for his family, except a white sheet. Then he left for Hussain Sager [حسین ساگر] (Hyderabad [حیدرآباد]) on the following morning after doing the needful. Thus he had left behind the state of Kernol which was owned and ruled by his ancestors for about two centuries. He had lived in Hussain Sager [حسین ساگر] on permanent basis thereafter. He was thirty six at the time of his migration. He had stayed at Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] till 1265 Higra (1850) and his source of income was pension only. He had suffered from some fever and then he passed away. The cause of his death was small pox (***Rasheed*** [**رشید**] ***Page No. 399***).

Descendants of Nawabzada [نواب زادہ کی اولاد]:

Nawabzada Alaf Khan Panni Salus [نواب زادہ الف خان پنّی ثالث] was victimized by the British colonialists as well as by the Nizam yet his children were able to progress socially despite his abject conditions. They had earned the titles like Nawabzada [نواب زادہ] and Khan Bahader [خان بہادر]. They had also held very important government posts. The leading figures of said family were among the elite in the State of Asfia [مملکتِ آصفیہ] just within no time. They were decorated with the coveted titles like Nawab [نواب], Ameer-ul-umera Bahader [امیرالامراء بہانر], Nawab Rafi-ul-Mulk Bahader [نواب رفیع الملک بہادر] and Nawab Shujja-ul-Mulk Bahader [نواب شجاع الملک بہادر].

They were also awarded Jagirs among other bestowals. The descendants of said family still live there even today.

PANNI PATHAN

Chapter-XI

THE OTHER PANNI NAWABS OF HYDERABAD DECCAN AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION IN THE HISTORY OF THE SUBCONTINENT

Saif-ul-Mulk, Ameen-ud-Dolla, Roshan Jung

Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Bahader Panni

[سیف الملک، امین الدولہ، روشن جنگ نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی]

[المعروف بہ محمد ابراہیم خان]

Popularly known as Bahader Khan Panni

And Runmust Khan Panni [رنمست خان پنّی] **with his Descendants.**

Abundant intelligence and affluence [ذہانت اور مال واموال کی فراوانی]:

We have already explained that when the ruler of Kernol [کرنول] namely, Munawer Khan Panni [منور خان خان پنّی] died, his younger son namely, Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی] stripped off his elder brother Mohammed Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [محمد ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] from the title as Nawab [نواب] and assigned it to himself unilaterally. The incident in question divided the Panni Nawabs of Kernol into two groups. There was one group which represented Nawab Alaf Khan Bahader Panni [نواب الف خان بہادر پنّی], who had used the title as "Nawab" in Kernol. Then there was another group which surfaced from among the descendants of his brother in Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] and they reverted back to the Durbar of Nizam Ali Khan [نظام علی خان] due to the confiscation of the title "Nawab" from them. The descendants of his brother also had many achievements to their credit. There were some worthy aspects of social life of the Panni Umera [پنّی امراء] of said era which we intend to narrate in the manner as hereunder:

The actual name of Mohammed Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [محمد ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] was Azam Khan [اعظم خان]. When he returned to Kernol after the confiscation of the title as Nawab, the Wali-e-Deccan [والیٔ دکن], Nizam Ali Khan, had taken care of him. They had granted him his

ancestral Jagirs [جاگیرات] and Mahal [محال] which were at Jafferabad [جعفرآباد], Shahgherr [شاہ گڑھ] and Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد]. He was awarded besides that, a regiment of cavalry and infantry troops [جمعیت سواران وپیادہ] along-with the bestowal of other titles. He was able to earn them just because of his natural qualities, as well as his political services which he had rendered meritoriously ever since 1175 Hegira 1764 A.C when he was associated with Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] (***Pictorial Hyderabad***). When the Nizam had sent his crown prince namely, Skinder Jah Bahader [سکندرجاہ بہادر] to the Durbar of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] to settle some political issues, Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی] had also accompanied him as his chief advisor as well as his right-hand man. He was able to impress Skinder Jah [سکندرجاہ] tremendously, during his diplomatic mission and because of his services, foresightedness and by virtue of his well matured approach towards life. The Nizam had awarded him the Jagirs [جاگیرات] of Zafer Nagger [ظفرنگر], Shahgherr [شاہ گڑھ] and Taherni [تحرنی] etc. as a reward which was just in recognition of his allegiance and also fixed a stipend for him (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.402***). There was one fact which was quite obvious that he must have promoted and protected the interest of the Nizam to settle some account with Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو]. The said move was not praiseworthy for those who were familiar with the aims and the objectives of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو]. The Nawab was getting a sum of Rupees *grosso modo* one hundred twenty one thousand five hundred and fifty nine only in those days, from his Jagir [جاگیر] as the annual revenue. The first Jagir [جاگیر] out of abovementioned three Jagirs [جاگیرات] had travelled down hand to hand for many years though a number of Panni family members. Then the same had devolved upon Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی] as inheritance ultimately. He was very much alive at the time of writing this book. The above referred three Jagirs [جاگیرات] were granted to Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی] in 1181 Hegira (1767). Then the Pergana Aashti [پرگنہ آشتی] was also awarded to Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی] on 21st in the month of Safer [صفر] 1201 Hegira (1786). The annual income of those Pergana Aashti [پرگنہ آشتی] *grosso modo* at said point of time was Rupees one lac twenty five thousand six hundred and thirty nine only. Then all three Jagirs [جاگیرات] were confirmed in the same year in the name of said Nawab individually. The Pergana Chancholi [چنچولی] was also awarded to the Nawab as a Jagir thereafter, in recognition of his valuable services. The annual income of Pergana Chancholi [چنچولی] was *grosso modo* Rupees six lac fifty two thousand and ninety six only at that time. The Nawab was allowed to maintain a permanent army by virtue of holding said Jagir (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ

Page No.220). Then the King Shah Alam of Delhi [دہلی] had awarded him the title of Saif-ul-Mulk [سیف الملک], Ameen-ud-Dolla [امین الدولہ], Roshan Jung [روشن جنگ] and he was awarded the rank of Panj Hazari [پنج ہزاری] along-with the same in 1206 Hegira (1791) (***Pictorial***). The conferral of all those titles was in recognition of his grand services.

Support to the British colonists against Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو کے خلاف انگریزوں کو کمک]:

The grandeur and status which Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی] was able to enjoy can be assessed very easily from the aforementioned events. We were also able to spot a very disturbing and dark aspect of his life which was not very appreciable from the nationalistic point of view. Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی] had opposed Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] in the battlefield alongside the British colonists as the right-hand man of the Nizam. When Mr. Maidus was engaged in the battle along-with his massive lashker against Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو], Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی] had also confronted Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] face to face in the third battle of Maysoor [میسور] (1790 to 1792). When they confronted each other in the vicinity of Suranga Patten [سری رنگا پٹن], Mohammed Ibrahim Khan Bahader Panni [محمد ابرھیم خان بہادر پنّی] along-with the reinforcement of fifteen hundred soldiers landed in the field in order to assist said British officer, according to the historians. He represented the Nizam of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] during said battle. There were some other Sardars who also represented the Nizam other than Nawab. They also extended their helping hand to said British officers. Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] had taken the Merhatta allies of the British colonists by surprise with the lashker of eight thousand soldiers. Those soldiers opted to stay back and they were engaged in eating food at the time of the attack by Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو]. The Merhattas failed to put-up any resistance against the army of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] therefore they had to manage their escape from the battlefield. Since the Merhattas [مرہٹہ] and the Nizam as well as the British colonists had formed an unholy alliance against Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] therefore, all the escapees from the battlefield were able to seek refuge with Lord Corniwase. He was heading his lashker and was out in the middle to confront Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] in collaboration with the Merhattas. He was able to seize many of his horses. The said Lord Corniwase had posted Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی] and Heri Chand Pandit [ہری چند پنڈت] on the left and right side, in the battlefield, at a distance of few miles. The said Lord had moved very quickly to attenuate Nawab

Mohammed Azam Khan Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی], who was posted at a distance of one and half mile from the lashker of the Nizam. Then Lord Corniwase had crossed the River Cavary [دریائے کاویری] at midnight and was able to set up his camp close to the fort of Sultan. Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] had sent the message for negotiations, in order to work out a truce in the wake of said situation. The offer was however, turned down and then on the eighth day of the same month he was obliged to send his two representatives namely, Ghulam Ali Khan [غلام علی خان] and Raza Ali Khan [رضاعلی خان] to Eidgah [عید گاہ] along-with his two sons namely, Abdul Khalique [عبدالخالق], eleven years old and Moiz-ud-Din [معزالدین], seven years old. They were handed over to the British colonists as hostages as a token of security (***Hadeeqa Maqala Doam*** [حدیقہ مقالہ دوم] ***Page No.39 404 405***) and bad luck had entrapped Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی]. He was son of Nawab Munawer Khan Panni [نواب منور خان خان پنّی], who was ruler of Kernol [کرنول] whereas his father had brotherly relations with Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو]. He was his confidant as well as a supporter to realize the objectives of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] against the Nizam. We have already given above some excerpts of his correspondence. The said correspondence had taken place between him and Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو]. The name of said Nawab is very popular in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] even today.

Establishment of towns [قصبوں کی تاسیس]:

Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی] had established two towns in the vicinity of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن]. The names of the same were as Runmustpura [رنمست پورہ] and Bahaderpura [بہادرپورہ]. He had stayed at Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] for sometime along-with his cavalry as well as infantry troops. He had spent his remaining life in Runmustpura [رنمست پورہ] which also became his final resting place (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.220***). There was also a place near Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] which was also known by the name as Runmustpura [رنمست پورہ]. The descendants of the Nawab had actually developed those areas as well as their Jagirs [جاگیرات]. They had introduced many reforms and were able to facilitate the people of the area appropriately. The very refined touch of taste of the founder of Runmustpura [رنمست پورہ] can be gauged from the grand buildings and wide roads even today. Those areas used to be considered as an ownership of the descendants of the Nawab, prior to the division of Hind. The Nawab had left behind only his two sons (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.221***).

Nawab Daod Khan Bahader Panni (*First son*) [نواب داؤد خان بہادر پنّی، فرزند اول]:

Nawab Daod Khan Bahader Panni [نواب داؤد خان بہادر پنّی] was perhaps the first son of Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی]. He was able to earn for himself high ranks, titles, respect and a grand status. He had inherited his Jagir from his father (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.221 Pictorial***). The said Nawab had five sons and all of them were bestowed upon different ranks as well as Jagirs [جاگیرات]. They were among the elite Panni Umera [پنّی امراء] in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد].

Shahnawaz-ud-Dolla Roshan Jung Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Bahader Panni Sani [شاہنوازالدولہ روشن جنگ محمداعظم خان بہادر پنّی]:

Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی] was the eldest son of Nawab Daod Khan Bahader Panni [نواب داؤد خان بہادر پنّی]. The Nizam of Deccan had bestowed upon him the title of Shahnawaz-ud-Dolla Bahader [شاہنوازالدولہ بہادر] at the eve of Jushan-e-Norose [جشنِ نوروز] in 1646 A.C (***Tuzk Mahboobia*** [تزکِ محبوبیہ] ***Page No. 83 GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.152***). The life achievements of said Nawab were tremendous and were preserved and compiled in a book form under the instruction of Sallar Jung [سالارجنگ] (***Pictorial***). We do not intend to give however any descriptive account of the same.

Nawab Inbasat Ali Khan Bahader Panni, Popularly known as Daod Khan Salus [نواب انبساط علی خان بہادر پنّی المعروف داؤد خان ثالث]:

Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Panni Sani [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] had two sons and one of them was known as Munawer Khan Bahader Salus [منور خان بہادر ثالث] who had died issueless. We had not made any effort therefore to trace out his history. The name of his other son was Nawab Inbasat Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب انبساط علی خان بہادر پنّی]. He was also blessed with a special knack and qualities as a warrior and administrator just like his ancestors. There were some dissidents in the area and they had made attempts to organize a movement in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد]. Sallar Jung Bahader [سالارجنگ بہادر] had directed Nawab Inbasat Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب انبساط علی خان بہادر پنّی] to crush said movement. Nawab was able to clamp down on said movement in such a manner that the insurgency was curbed fairly and squarely (***Pictorial***).

Nawab Anwer Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب انور علی خان بہادر پنّی]:

Nawab Inbasat Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب انبساط علی خان بہادر پنّی] had only one son namely, Nawab Anwer Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب انور علی خان بہادر پنّی]. He was still very young when Nawab Inbasat Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب انبساط علی خان بہادر پنّی] passed away. The Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] government had allowed Nawab Anwer Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب انور علی خان بہادر پنّی] to receive the stipend continuously from Taherni [تخّرنی] state in accordance with their family status. The annual income of the Jagir [جاگیر] of Nawab Anwer Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب انور علی خان بہادر پنّی] was approximately sixty thousand in 1321 Hegira (1903). The same was during the reign of the last Nizam namely, Usman Ali Khan [عثمان علی خان] i.e. father of Mir Mahboob Ali Khan [میر محبوب علی خان]. The said Nawab was a very polite and humble person and was known for his hospitality. He used to manage the affairs of his Jagir [جاگیر] and factories very immaculately. He had not left behind any legal heirs. The Jagir [جاگیر] had devolved upon resultantly, on the last Jagirdar [جاگیردار] of the family namely, Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی] (***Pictorial***).

Mustaed Jung Nawab Ahmed Ali Khan Bahader Panni [مستعد جنگ نواب احمد علی خان بہادر پنّی]:

Nawab Ahmed Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب احمد علی خان بہادر پنّی] was the second son of Nawab Daod Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب داؤد خان بہادر پنّی ثانی]. He was conferred upon the title of Mustaed Jung [مستعد جنگ] by the government of the Nizam of Deccan namely, Mir Mahboob Ali Khan [میر محبوب علی خان]. He was also decorated with the rank of Seh Hazari [سہ ہزاری] and Hazar Swar [ہزار سوار], Alam and Naqara [علم و نقارہ]. He was awarded the jewels [جواہر] and besides that, his Jagir was also restored to him (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.152 220 Printed Gemological Tree of Family***).

Bay Baha Jung Nawab Suleiman Khan Bahader Panni [بے بہا جنگ نواب سلیمان خان بہادرپنّی]:

Nawab Suleiman Khan Bahader Panni [نواب سلیمان خان بہادرپنّی] was the third son of Nawab Daod Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب داؤد خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] and Mir Ferkhanda Ali Khan [میر فرخندہ علی خان] i.e. the Nizam of Deccan had conferred upon him the title of Bay Baha Jung [بے بہا جنگ]

(***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.220***). He was also awarded the rank as Seh Hazari [سہ ہزاری] and Hazar Swar [ہزار سوار], Alam and Naqara [علم و نقارہ] along-with jewels [جواہر] and was also granted a Jagir [جاگیر] (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.152***). He was married to the daughter of Nawab Khush Raqam Khan [نواب خوش رقم خان], who was the tutor of Ali Jah Bahader [علیجاہ بہادر] during the reign of Mir Mahboob Ali Khan [میر محبوب علی خان] (***Pictorial***). He had two sons namely, Roshan Ali Khan Panni [روشن علی خان پنّی] and Ibrahim Ali Khan Panni [ابراہیم علی خان پنّی]. The first son died without any heirs therefore, the ancestral Jagir had devolved upon Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan Panni [نواب ابراہیم علی خان پنّی] (***Pictorial***).

Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابراہیم علی خان بہادرپنّی]

Since Roshan Ali Khan Panni [روشن علی خان پنّی] died without any legal heirs therefore, the titles and Jagir [جاگیر] had devolved upon the second son of Nawab Daod Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب داؤد خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] namely, Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابراہیم علی خان بہادرپنّی]. He was married to the daughter of his uncle namely, Istaqamat Jung Bahader Nawab Himat Khan Bahader Panni [استقامت جنگ بہادر نواب ہمت خان بہادرپنّی]. He had also received the titles and ranks and a Jagir [جاگیر] from Mir Mahboob Ali Khan [میر محبوب علی خان]. He had inherited the estate of his grandfather, Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی] which had included the estate of Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابراہیم علی خان بہادرپنّی] as well (***Pictorial***).

NAWAB DOST MOHAMMED KHAN PANNI [نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی]

Childhood [بچپن**]**:

Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی] was the only son of Nawab Ibrahim Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب ابراہیم علی خان بہادرپنّی]. He was just eleven years old in 1320 Fasli [فصلی] when he lost his father. The court of wards was assigned the duty therefore, to manage his Jagir [جاگیر]. He was sent to boarding for his education under the supervision of Mr. Weakfield. He was an assistant and tutor of the Jagirdars of Deccan [دکن]. Mr. Weakfield was a director in the revenue department in those days in the Sultanate Asfia [سلطنتِ آصفیہ]. The Nawab had also taken military training under his supervision and was able to promote the unique latent

talent and characteristics in his personality and the Nawab was able to develop resultantly a very balanced personality (***Pictorial***).

Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی] had finished his education and then his marriage was arranged with the daughter of Nawab Mansoor Yar Bahader Jung [نواب منصور یار بہادر جنگ], in accordance with the then prevalent practices. The same was arranged with the permission of the Prime Minister of Sultanate Asfia [سلطنتِ آصفیہ]. The Nawab had a son namely, Ashraf Ali Khan [اشرف علی خان] and two daughters at the time of writing this book. When Mir Usman Ali Khan [میر عثمان علی خان] was in power, the court of wards had released the estate of Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی] in 1346 Hegira (1927) and was handed over to the Nawab. Thus he was able to take the charge of the affairs of all the Jagirs [جاگیرات] formally. The Nawab had two Jagirs [جاگیرات] and one of them was in Zaferabad [ظفرآباد] whereas the other one was in Taherni [تحرّنی] (***Pictorial***).

Representation of the Jagirs under the Indian Government [بھارت سرکار میں جاگیرداروں کی نمائندگی]:

Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی] was an enlightened person and a great visionary. He had not only managed his Jagirs [جاگیرات] very adequately before they were confiscated by the Indian Government but, he was involved very actively in the social work as well. The other Jagirdars had chosen him as their representative and he had struggled for the allocation of appropriate stipends for them. He had also contributed for the welfare of their Jagirs as well as for the protection and promotion of their rights. He had represented them in all the matters with regard to deal with the Indian Government. He had succeeded in getting an appropriate amount of stipend and compensation. He had made a tremendous contribution as a member of the committee for the approval of the Municipal Corporation Act of Hyderabad. Nawab Sahib was enjoying a very respectable status among the Umeras [امراء] at the time of writing this book. He was very active in organizing a guard of honor parade for the Prince Walid Shan [شہزادہ والد شاں] on his return from Europe. The name of Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی] was included in the list of Umera [امراء] of the late Nizam of Deccan namely, Usman Ali Khan [عثمان علی خان] (***Pictorial***).

Involvement in social work [فلاح کے کاموں میں دلچسپی]:

Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی] had lived a very simple life and used to take very keen interest also in the social work besides his involvement in religious matters. He was one of those Jagirdars who had claimed less than the stipulated revenue voluntarily from his very lucrative Jagirs [جاگیرات]. The same was just due to bad economic conditions in the country. Thus he was able to win the hearts of everyone. He had allocated a special fund from the income of his Jagir for the welfare of his subjects in all his Jagirs [جاگیرات]. He had also created a fund to develop a road network, offices, post offices, hospitals and schools. He had established a court system, police offices and revenue offices, in order to ensure the peace and stability in his Jagirs. He had also established besides that, the recreational parks at the main centers of his Jagirs [جاگیرات] and as long as those Jagirs [جاگیرات] were under the control of the Nawab, he used to supervise the affairs of the same personally (***Pictorial***).

Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی] was a member of many organizations of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] and Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد]. He used to enjoy a great reputation by virtue of his honesty and social work. He was very popular for rendering the meritorious services for the welfare of the general public. He also used to take great interest in visiting the archaeological and historical sites. He had great interest in horticulture as well. He was fully conversant with the revolutionary changes as well as the evolutionary process at the social level. He had a knack of examining all those developments with a very scientific mind. He had complete mastery in almost all social sciences and he was adept at delivering spontaneous speeches on any topic. The most favorite hobby of Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی] was book reading (***Pictorial***) and according to one of his letters, their Mohallah used to be quite popular as "Panni Pura" [پنّی پورہ] which was in the area of the migrants in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] (***Letter Dated.26.08.1959***).

Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni [نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی]

Mukhtar Jung Bahader Nawab Mohammed Khan Bahader Panni [مختار جنگ بہادر نواب محمد خان بہادر پنّی]:

Mukhtar Jung Bahader Nawab Mohammed Khan Bahader Panni [مختار جنگ بہادر نواب محمد خان بہادر پنّی] was the fourth son of Nawab Daod Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب داؤد خان بہادر پنّی ثانی]. He was conferred upon the title as Mukhtar Jung Bahader [مختار جنگ بہادر]. He was awarded the rank as Seh Hazari [سہ ہزاری] and Hazar Swar [ہزار سوار], Alam and Naqara [علم و نقارہ] other than jewels [جواہر] and a Jagir [جاگیر] (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.152 220 Pictorial***). We would like to abstain from giving however, the detail of his biographical history except that his name was included as Majeed Khan Mukhtar Jung [مجید خان المعروف مختار جنگ] in published Genealogical Tree.

Istaqamat Jung Bahader Nawab Himat Khan Bahader Panni (Sani) [استقامت جنگ بہادر نواب ہمت خان بہادر پنّی ثانی]:

Nawab Himat Khan Bahader Panni (Sani) [نواب ہمت خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] was the fifth son of Nawab Daod Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب داؤد خان بہادر پنّی ثانی]. He was conferred upon the title as Istaqamat Jung Bahader [استقامت جنگ بہادر]. He was granted the title as Seh Hazari [سہ ہزاری] and Hazar Swar [ہزار سوار], Alam and Naqara [علم و نقارہ] and jewels [جواہر]. He was granted also the

same Jagir [جاگیر] which was granted to him previously by the Nizam of Deccan, Mir Ferkhanda Ali Khan [میر فرخندہ علی خان] (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.152 220 Published Genealogical Tree***).

There was one fact which was determinable very easily in the light of aforementioned brief history that how closely the Panni Pathans were associated with the Sultanate of Asfia [سلطنتِ آصفیہ]. There were some monuments which were also preserved as their remnants. There was no need to repeat however, that all those Jagirs [جاگیرات], ranks and titles which were conferred upon the leading personalities of the Panni tribe were awarded to them just because of their individual as well as the collective qualities and characteristics. The same were also granted to them for rendering some meritorious services.

NAWAB KHIZER KHAN PANNI POPULARLY KNOWN AS RASOOL KHAN AND RUNMUST KHAN

[نواب خضر خان پنّی المعروف بہ رسول خان ورنمست خان]

SECOND LINEAGE NAWAB MOHAMMED AZAM KHAN PANNI

[خلف دوم نواب محمد اعظم خان پنّی]:

We have already mentioned above that Saif-ul-Mulk Ameen-ud-Dolla Roshan Jung Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Bahader Panni [سیف الملک، امین الدولہ، روشن جنگ نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی] had two sons. We have mentioned also about Nawab Daod Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب داؤد خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] and his descendants whereas, his other son was Nawab Khizer Khan Panni popularly known as Rasool Khan and Runmust Khan [نواب خضر خان پنّی المعروف بہ رسول خان ورنمست خان]. He was also among the affluent and famous Umera [امراء] of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] and he was gifted with multiple qualities. The respectable Nawab was the aficionado among the religious people, philanthropists as well as among scholarly people. Mir Ferkhanda Ali Khan [میر فرخندہ علی خان] i.e. the Nizam of Deccan had also awarded him the rank as Panj Hazari [سہ ہزاری], Runmust Khan [رنمست خان] and Seh Hazar Swar [ہزار سوار], Alam and Naqara [علم و نقارہ] along-with Nishan-e-Amari [نشانِ عماری] Nobat [نوبت] among other coveted titles. The same were other than the Jagir [جاگیر]. He had owned besides that, his personal Jagir as well [جاگیر] (***Pictorial GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.152 221 Published Family Tree***).

Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Bahader Panni and Nawab Hyder Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب فتح علی خان بہادر پنّی و نواب حیدرعلی خان بہادر پنّی]

Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Bahader Panni and Nawab Hyder Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب فتح علی خان بہادر پنّی و نواب حیدرعلی خان بہادر پنّی] were both the sons of Nawab Khizer Khan Panni popularly known as Rasool Khan and Runmust Khan [نواب خضر خان پنّی المعروف بہ رسول خان ورنمست خان]. They were both gifted richly with the traditional attributes of their family and were among the elite Umera [امراء] of the Nizam of Deccan and used to visit his Durbar regularly. They had reorganized the areas which were established by their grandfather namely, Nawab Mohammed Azam Khan Panni [نواب محمد اعظم خان بہادر پنّی]. They had redesigned the same and thus were able to add some new good looking buildings, gardens, wide roads and mosques. They used to follow the Islamic values religiously and used to spend most of their time in thanks giving prayers. They were never unmindful of their indebtedness to God Almighty for his numerous blessings.

Nawab Ameer Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب امیر علی خان بہادر پنّی]:

The second son of Nawab Khizer Khan Panni namely, Nawab Hyder Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب حیدرعلی خان بہادر پنّی] had two sons. Nawab Ameer Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب امیر علی خان بہادر پنّی] was one of them and had died issueless. The second son was Nawab Ameer Mahmood Ali Khan Panni [نواب امیر محمودعلی خان پنّی]. We would not like to mention much with regard to the other son and his life achievements, intentionally. We will restrict our narrative to the extent of his one son and his achievements only (***Genealogical Tree***).

Nawab Ghulam Mohammed Abbass Ali Khan Panni [نواب غلام محمد عباس علی خان پنّی]:

The abovementioned Nawab Ameer Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب امیر علی خان بہادر پنّی] had one son namely, Nawab Ghulam Mohammed Abbass Ali Khan Panni [نواب غلام محمد عباس علی خان پنّی]. He was able to enjoy his grandeur as well as his affluence. He was an epitome of righteousness as well as other amiable characteristics and nature had bestowed upon him a good personality and a good nature. He had great interest in Islam and had devoted himself to some saints and righteous people. He had accepted the Bait [بعیت] (Avowal) of Sheikh Abul Allia [شیخ

ابواعلا ئیہ] and was a staunch zealot of his Tariqat [طریقت]. He had taken over the Jagir [جاگیر] of his father after his death. The marriage of Nawab Ghulam Mohammed Abbass Ali Khan Panni [نواب غلام محمد عباس علی خان پنّی] was arranged in great style with the sister of Azmat Jung Bahader Azmat Khan [عظمت جنگ بہادرعظمت خان]. He had four sons and two daughters. The names of his sons were Nawab Mustafa Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب مصطفےٰ علی خان بہادر پنّی], Nawab Ghulam Mohammed Khawaja Ghulam Bahbood Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام محمد خواجہ غلام بہبود علی خان بہادر پنّی], Nawab Ghulam Muhie-ud-Din Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب غلام محی الدین علی خان بہادر پنّی] and Nawab Moeen-ud-Din Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب معین الدین علی خان بہادر پنّی] (***Tuzk Mahboobia*** [تزک محبوبیہ] ***Page No.301 Published Genealogical Tree***). Then there were a number of other leading personalities of said family. The list of their names was also available in printed form. We hereby give however the biographical account of just a few leading personalities in order to curtail any unnecessary description. We may point out that the aforementioned descriptive account was about the history of those people whose ancestors had the existence in an age which was even prior to the birth of Christ. They had hailed from the plains of the southeast between the River Khazar [خزر] and River Ural [دریائے اررال] and they were able to rule Iran, Armenia, Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, Ghandahara as well as former east Pakistan. Thus they had proliferated in great numbers throughout in the Subcontinent and had played their respective roles very distinctively in the history making process at different stages.

THE SECOND FAMOUS FAMILY OF HYDERABAD

[حیدرآباد کا دوسرا سربرآوردہ خاندان]

NAWAB KRAR NAWAZ JUNG BAHADER PANNI POPULARLY KNOWN AS DOLLA KHAN

[نواب کرارنوازجنگ بہادر پنّی المعروف بہ دولہ خان]

There was another very popular Panni family of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] in the state of Kernol besides the abovementioned family of the Panni Nawabs. The same was also a respectable member among the leading Umera [امراء]. The well known head of said family was Nawab Krar Nawaz Jung Bahader Panni popularly known as Dolla Khan [نواب کرارنوازجنگ بہادر پنّی المعروف بہ دولہ خان]. There were a number of individuals of said family who were also awarded various titles, awards and Jagirs [جاگیرات]. They had also enjoyed the status with grandeur and

splendor in the Asfia Sultanate [سلطنتِ آصفیہ]. The life achievements of most of them were also not devoid of interest. They were also a very significant part of our history. We can get the glimpse of internal affairs of said Islamic state by studying the history of those families which are now part of history. They had very peculiar qualities as rulers. The study of the history of those Umera [امراء] can also throw some light on their life style, rise and fall as well as their pomp and show. The same can also help ascertain the respective share of the Panni tribes in the promotion of their state and its prestige.

Nawab Krar Nawaz Jung Bahader Panni Popularly known as Dolla Khan [نواب کرارنوازجنگ بہادر پنّی المعروف بہ دولہ خان] was associated with the Mahdvi [مہدوی] tribe and regarding which we have already given a descriptive account in the preceding chapters. We will prefer to give some further details however, under a different caption. When the clash had taken place between the zealots of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought and their opponents at Chanchul Ghorrh [چنچل گوڑھ], Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] in 1228 Hegira (1813), there were many followers from the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought who were massacred and were also randomly arrested. Then most of them were condemned into exile. The Mahdvi [مہدوی] followers included Nawab Krar Nawaz Jung Bahader Panni [نواب کرارنوازجنگ بہادر پنّی] as well. He was at his Jagir [جاگیر] at Nallarag [نلارگ] along-with his son namely Ameer Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [امیرنوازخان بہادر پنّی] at the time of the riots (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ ***Page No.92***). He was able to avert the direct wrath of the government therefore, unlike many other followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought. The Nawab had changed his allegiance subsequent to said incident and he was more absorbed into the sect of Aahl-e-Sunnat Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت] gradually. Then both father and son had opted for Bait [بعیت] (Avowal) before Shah Rafi-ud-Din Kandahari [شاہ رفیع الدین قندھاری] (*The word Shah was attached to his name seemingly out of sheer respect otherwise, he was also from the Panni tribe of Kandahari offshoot*). He had very intimate relations with said Nawab according to the compiler of GulzarAsifia [گلزار آصفیہ] and used to have frequent sittings (***Page No.199***).

First step towards progress [ترقی کا پہلا قدم]:

Nawab Krar Nawaz Jung Bahader Panni popularly known as Dolla Khan [نواب کرارنوازجنگ بہادر پنّی المعروف بہ دولہ خان] had made his emergence on the scene during the reign of the Nizams of

Deccan namely, Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میر نظام علی خان] and Mir Akbar Ali Khan Skinder Jah [میر اکبر علی خان سکندر جاہ]. He was in the Rasala [رسالہ] of Miran Yar Jung Esa Mian [میراں یار جنگ عیسےٰ میاں] during the reign of Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میر نظام علی خان]. He was able to earn a big name for himself by demonstrating his skill and ability in the battlefield. He was quite popular in the entire state of Deccan because of his bravery and chivalry. The history was replete with his chivalrous achievements. He had accompanied Miran Yar Jung Esa Mian [میراں یار جنگ عیسےٰ میاں] once, on the day of Eid for the Durbar of Arustu Jah Wazir [ارسطو جاہ وزیر] to present him some gifts. He had made the request to him that on the day of Fateha [فاتحہ] for Hazrat Abbas [حضرت عباس], he was also interested to be given a formal invitation (*Some of the Umera of Hyderabad belonged to Shia* [شیعہ] *sect as well, Writer*). Arustu Jah Wazir [ارسطو جاہ وزیر] had passed a nice social smile but. he had maintained his quietness. Then on Panj Shanba [پنج شنبہ]. Arustu Jah Wazir [ارسطو جاہ وزیر] had sent his Chobdar [چوبدار] to Miran Yar Jung Esa Mian [میراں یار جنگ عیسےٰ میاں] and he had summoned Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] as well. The said invitation had surprised Miran Yar Jung Esa Mian [میراں یار جنگ عیسےٰ میاں]. When he had sought an explanation with regard to said invitation, Arustu Jah Wazir [ارسطو جاہ وزیر] had maintained a very subtle ignorance about it. He had allowed Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] however, to go with the Chobdar [چوبدار] and said Chobdar [چوبدار] had taken him to a place where Niaz [نیاز] (*religious charity food*) was being served. The same was a very secret abode of Arustu Jah Wazir [ارسطو جاہ وزیر] and even the Umera [امراء] had no access to it. Arustu Jah Wazir [ارسطو جاہ وزیر] had made a special arrangement for the food of Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی]. Since said abode was kept secret therefore, Arustu Jah Wazir [ارسطو جاہ وزیر] was present there without any guards. There was not even any requirement of guards in accordance with the then prevalent traditions. Arustu Jah Wazir [ارسطو جاہ وزیر] had assigned the duty however, to Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی], subsequent to the food session to make the security arrangements for him as well as for his Durbar. He had committed one hundred cavalrymen under his command in this regard. Thus Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] was able to get the opportunity to be in close contact with Arustu Jah Wazir [ارسطو جاہ وزیر]. He was also able to win his pleasure through said appointment as his personal guard (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.199***). The said incident was the first move which had set the pace for Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] to progressively cover other distinct stages of his career.

Cleverness and arrest of Pider Gee Banker [ہوشیاری اور پدرجی بنکر کی گرفتاری]:

Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] was able to cover many miles of progress and was ultimately bestowed upon the title as "Nawab" [نواب]. He was also given the Talaqadari [تعلقہ داری] for Nallarag [نلارگ] as well as for the area in its vicinity. Thus the cyclic events had brought him into the Nallarag [نلارگ] fort (*Nallarag was surrounded by a lake from three sides which was known as "Bori Nadi"* [بوری ندی]. *There was a deep moat on its fourth side. The embankment of the fort was very solid and was very high as well* (***Waqeat Mumliqat Bejapur*** [واقعات مملکت بیجا پور] ***Volume No.3 Page No.589***). *Daod Khan Panni was Qaladar of said fort at some point of time in history. The same area was also granted to his father namely Khizer Khan Panni as a Jagir by the ruler of Bejapur. Then the same had devolved upon Daod Khan Panni subsequently*). There was a Merhatta Sardar by the name of Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] who had wreaked havoc in the entire area because of his looting and plundering. He used to get entangled habitually, with the appointed Ameer of the Nizam as a Qaladar of Nallarag [نلارگ] fort. He used to maneuver him out of the fort and then he used to make him leave for Hyderabad. When Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] had reached the Nallarag [نلارگ] fort, he sent his very competent advocate to Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] with the message that although Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] was there on his officially assigned post yet, he had great respect for Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] and if he was allowed by Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] to continue his services, Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] was also ready to watch his interest and if Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] was unhappy about his appointment, he was ready to go back! Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] was carried away on receiving said message and replied the message that, if Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] was ready to live in peace and harmony then, he was also ready to accommodate him. He was unaware that Nawab Krar Nawaz Jung Bahader Panni popularly known as Dolla Khan [نواب کرارنوازجنگ بہادر پنّی المعروف بہ دولہ خان] was laying the trap for his arrest very intelligently. Then soon after the messaging, there was a local festival to celebrate the eve of Devi Arli [دیوی ارلی]. There were many Hindus gathered there, from far and wide and they had congregated at Nallarag [نلارگ] in order to participate in the festival. Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] came to know that an exclusive public procession was also supposed to be taken out and was supposed to be headed by Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] on his horse. Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] had taken his brother-in-law namely, Sardar Khan [سردار خان] into confidence, who was a physically strong person. Then they both had also decided to participate in the procession. Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] had also given the orders to his two hundred cavalry and infantrymen to

approach the site of visitation (Yatera [یاترا]) quietly but, from different routes as groups of ten individuals. This was with the intention to avoid any suspicion. He had also directed his troops to approach the site of fireworks along-with their guns. He had declared the same as the rendezvous point. Then he had handed over some fireworks to some intelligent people who were also made to understand the entire ploy. Then he had also moved out on his elephant along-with the procession in order to participate in the Yatera [یاترا] (spectacle) (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.200***).

The procession was moving in a complete festive mood. The hustle-bustle of the area was at its climax. Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] had also witnessed the spectacle of the festivity. Then Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] made his appearance along-with his entourage and they both were able to acknowledge the presence of each other. They greeted each other socially, from their distinctive positions. When they came in close proximity of each other, Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] pushed his elephant even closer to him while showing the gesture of extreme warmth and sociability. The same was with the pretence as if he was desirous to touch his feet out of sheer respect. Then he had made his elephant sit down in the process. Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] was on a horse. He had also brought his horse closer to the elephant and then he had gesticulated for Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] to stay on his elephant. Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] had opened his arms as if he was desirous to embrace him and then Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] had also responded in the same manner. When they were able to hug each other, Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] while holding Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] in his hug, kicked his elephant to stand up. He lifted Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] from his horseback while hugging him. Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] was not a very heavy person and thus Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] made Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] sit on the back of his elephant. The soldiers of Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] started firing in the air at that point of time which was in accordance with the plan. The said move had created great panic in the procession. The people were on the run everywhere and there was a big pandemonium and the entire procession had withered away resultantly. The Merhatta Sardar who had created the problems for many Qaladars [قلعہ دار] of Nallarag [نلارگ] fort was able to make them runaway thus, he was arrested. Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] had brought him into Nallarag [نلارگ] fort. Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] had made all sorts of miserere there and he had pleaded very earnestly for his release. He had promised to ensure his cooperation at all levels and

had also promised to give up the past practices but, Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] had instructed him to put-up his case of release before the Nizam at the time when he was supposed to be presented before him. The news of the arrest of Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] had become the talk of town. The same had travelled also to the Umera [امراء] of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] who had started the celebrations and then most of them had sent the letters of thanks to Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی]. The Azam-ul-Umera Arustu Jah [اعظم الأمرا ارسطو جاہ] was also very happy. Then Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] had brought Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] before Arustu Jah [ارسطو جاہ]. He had released him however, after accepting his formal apology and also gave him many jewels. The said gesture of goodwill had made Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] succumb to the rule of Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی]. Thus he was able to complete his tenure in his office with peace. Pider Gee Banker [پدرجی بنکر] used to make his appearance thereafter, in Nallarag [نلارگ] fort regularly to present his salutations to Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] (***Tuzk Mahboobia*** [تزکِ محبوبیہ] ***Dafter Awal*** [دفتر اول] ***Page No. 299 300 GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.200 201***).

Benevolence and affability [سخاوت اوررفیق پروری]:

The aforementioned incident alone was sufficient to reveal the courage and foresightedness of Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی]. There was a long list of his many achievements. We will avoid mentioning the same in order to curtail over descriptiveness. Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] was a very able person with regard to the affairs of Talqadari [تعلقداری]. He was not only a courageous person but he was benevolent and affable at the same time. He had great ability to make spontaneous assessments. He used to display immense adaptability in the case of meeting the exigencies. When the complier of GulzarAsifia [گلزار آصفیہ] had opted to see Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] in Nallarag [نلارگ] fort in 1235 Hegira (1819), he stayed there for six days. He was also taken out for lion hunting on a couple of occasions during his stay. There used to be regular sessions of Qawali [قوالی] at night which used to be followed by dance sessions of beautiful girls. He had also availed the chance to visit the "Panni Mahal" [پانی محل] and said building was worth visiting again and again. The entire water stream was pooled in a dam and there were many chambers above said dam. The water flow was made to fall in front of the chambers from the high edge of water channels. The spacious chambers were fully cemented and they were properly ventilated. The whole sheet of waterfall was a joyful spectacle. Then

experiencing the same in front of the chambers with the water sprinkles had made said place a unique venue. There was no seepage or leakage whatsoever inside those chambers. (***Waqeat Mumliqat Bejapur*** [واقعات مملکت بیجا پور] ***Volume No.3 Page No.589***). Then he had visited the waterfall which was also arranged by Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] and besides that, he was also given the privilege to visit the palace. When he was about to leave, Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] had given him Rupees one thousand in cash with a dress as well as a Kashmiri Doshala [دوشالہ] along-with a young mare which was from Deccan. He had ordered his Jamadar [جمعدار] namely, Mir Hashim Ali [میر ہاشم علی] thereafter, to provide him protective security with fourteen soldiers. They had accompanied him for a good length of time. The said writer had expressed his views further that Nawab Dolla Khan Panni [دولہ خان پنّی] had taken the promise from him to revisit Nallarag [نلارگ] fort at the time of bidding him farewell (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.201 536***). The Talaqa [تعلقہ] of Nallarag [نلارگ] fort consisted of eight Mahal [محال] and 89 Mozas [موضع].

Nawab Krar Nawaz Jung Bahader Panni [نواب کرارنوازجنگ بہادر پنّی] died in 1241 Hegira (1865). He was laid to rest in his own garden which was situated on the rear side of Chanchul Ghorrh [چنچل گوڑھ], Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.201***). The Durehi [ڈیوڑھی] (Main House) of Nawab Krar Nawaz Jung Bahader Panni [نواب کرارنوازجنگ بہادر پنّی] in Chanchul Ghorrh [چنچل گوڑھ] is a famous place even today. The writer of this book also had the privilege to remain in correspondence with the descendants of the Nawab at the same place. The writer was also able to get some conformational endorsement in the process, with regard to all the aforementioned events.

AMEER NAWAZ JUNG BAHADER AMEER NAWAZ-UD-DOLLA AMEER NAWAZ-UL-MULK

[امیر نواز جنگ بہادر،امیر نواز الدولہ، امیر نوازالملک**]**

NAWAB AMEER NAWAZ KHAN BAHADER PANNI POPULARLY KNOWN AS DOLLA KHAN PANNI

[نواب امیر نوازخان بہادر پنّی المعروف بہ دولہ خان پنّی]

Apex of grandeur and grace [کمالِ عزوجاہ]:

Nawab Ameer Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni popularly known as Dolla Khan Panni [نواب امیر نوازخان بہادر پنّی المعروف بہ دولہ خان پنّی] had taken the prestigious place of his father i.e. Nawab Krar Nawaz Jung Bahader Panni popularly known as Dolla Khan [نواب کرارنوازجنگ بہادر پنّی المعروف بہ دولہ خان] after his death. The same was in 1218 to 1244 Hegira when Mir Akbar Ali Khan Skinder Jah [میر اکبر علی خان سکندر جاہ] was enjoying Nizamat [نظامت] in Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن]. Nawab Ameer Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [نواب امیر نوازخان بہادر پنّی] had also earned a big name just like his late father by virtue of his foresightedness courage as well as by holding some high posts. He was always remembered with dignity and respect in the entire Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن]. He was referred in many books of history frequently. He was also awarded the rank as Panj Hazari [پنج ہزاری] and Hazar Swar [ہزار سوار], Alam and Naqara [علم و نقارہ], jewels [جواہر], Aala Ghol [علیٰ غول], belts (*Pavė*), two thousand cavalry and infantrymen, Talqadari [تعلقہ داری] and Qaladari [قلعہ داری]. The abovementioned privileges and titles were evidence of the fact that he was also elevated with the title like Jungi [جنگی], Mulki [مُلکی] and Dollaie [دولائی]. He was also popular by the name of Ameer-ud-Dolla [امیرالدولہ]. He had his Jagirs [جاگیرات] at Bairh [بیڑھ] besides at Nallarag [نلارگ] which was about three Manzil [منزل] from Jonapur [جوناپور]. The area of Dahwarr [دھاوڑ] was also a part of his Jagirs [جاگیرات] (***Tuzk Mahboobia*** [تزکِ محبوبیہ] ***Dafter Awal*** [دفتر اول] ***Page No. 300 GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.199 202***).

Unprecedented benevolence [بے مثال سخاوت]:

Nawab Ameer Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [نواب امیر نوازخان بہادر پنّی] had assigned different jobs to different advocates. He was also very kind to the allies and the associates of his late father. They were also very happy with him. The subjects of Nawab Ameer Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [نواب امیر نوازخان بہادر پنّی] were also very satisfied under his rule. Nawab Ameer Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [نواب امیر نوازخان بہادر پنّی] used to send the stipulated amount of the revenue to the Nizam regularly, through his duly authorized advocate namely, Mukhan Kabeergoon Sain [مکھن کبیرگوں سائیں] resident of Qala Kalyan [قلعہ کلیان]. The Nawab used to stay at Nallarag [نلارگ] fort for some time. He used to also stay in Bairh [بیڑھ] fort as well as in Dahwarr [دھاوڑ] fort occasionally. He used to please the servants of the Nizam by sending the gifts to them individually. He had sent Rupees five hundred thousand in cash to the Nizam as Nazrana [نذرانہ] when he was back in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد]. He had also distributed then Rupees two hundred

thousand among his apprentices who were on and off associated with his Durbar. He used to dish out a huge sum as charity among his Arab friends other than distributing some money among the people who were known to him generally. He was able to earn this way, respect and dignity even more than his late father (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.202***).

Wife of the Nawab came back to life [نواب کی اہلیہ زندہ ہو گئیں]:

Nawab Ameer Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [نواب امیر نوازخان بہادر پنّی] was also a follower of Mahdvi sect [مہدوی عقیدہ] just like his father. We have already explained above that he had relinquished Mahdvi school of thought [مہدوی عقیدہ] along-with his father subsequent to the crack down on the followers of Mahdvi school of thought [مہدوی عقیدہ] in Chanchul Ghorrh [چنچل گوڑھ] in 1228 Hegira 1813. The compiler of GulzarAsifia [گلزار آصفیہ] also had a very intimate relationship with Nawab Ameer Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [نواب امیر نوازخان بہادر پنّی]. He had revealed a very interesting and worth remembering incident of said family which was also a glimpse of the social life of said period (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.202***).

The compiler of GulzarAsifia [گلزار آصفیہ] had expressed his views that Mir Ferkhanda Ali Khan Nasir-ud-Dolla Asif Jah Rabaie [میر فرخندہ علی خان ناصر الدولہ آصف جاہ رابع] (1244 Hegira to 1273 Hegira) and Nawab Ameer Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [نواب امیر نوازخان بہادر پنّی] had opted to stay at fort Bairh [بیڑھ] as guests in 1251 Hegira 1853 while they were on their way to Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] during the Nizamat [نظامت] of the Nawab of Deccan [دکن]. Then the pregnant wife of the Nawab was declared as dead while she was delivering a baby. The Merhatta Hakeems (local medicos), who were asked to examine her, even they had opted to depart after declaring her as dead. The grave of his wife was dug up at Kochak Wali [کوچک والی] on the announcement of her death. There was another Hakeem [حکیم] however, in the neighborhood by the name of Hakeem Fatehyab Khan [حکیم فتحیاب خان]. He was about eighty years old at that time. He was well known to a well-wisher of the Nawab namely, Khawaja Ghulam Hussein popularly known as Khan Zaman [خواجہ غلام حسین المخاطب بہ خان زمان]. The said well-wisher had sought the permission from the Nawab to show his wife to said Hakeem [حکیم] despite the fact that she was declared as dead. The Hakeem [حکیم] was associated with the Durbar of Dolat Rao Sallahia [دولت راؤ سلاہیہ] therefore the Nawab had given him the permission while hoping against hope. Since everyone was struck by the grief therefore, even the eyes of Hakeem Fatehyab Khan [حکیم فتحیاب

خان] were wet on his arrival and while he was trying to feel the pulse of the dead wife of the Nawab. He realized suddenly that she was still alive (*in vivo*) and she had suffered only from a heat stroke. The same was just due to the heat of many hearths [انگیٹھیاں] with which the bed of the wife of the Nawab was surrounded. Then there was a large size lamp which was also alighted day and night in her room. The room was also not ventilated properly which was very essential for regular and free breathing. The said Hakeem [حکیم] had summoned the Merhatta Hakeems immediately after assessing the situation. When they all were able to show up in their expensive robes then, Hakeem Fatehyab Khan [حکیم فتحیاب خان] had inquired from them the cause of death. They had failed to give any appropriate reply. The Nawab had directed Hakeem Fatehyab Khan [حکیم فتحیاب خان] in the meantime, through Khawaja Ghulam Hussein [خواجہ غلام رسول] to treat his dead wife without fearing about the consequence as the announcement of her death was already made public.

The hearths [انگیٹھیاں] were removed anyway, under the instructions of Hakeem Fatehyab Khan [حکیم فتحیاب خان] and then the window curtains were also removed open. The room was thus ventilated with sufficient fresh air. Hakeem Fatehyab Khan [حکیم فتحیاب خان] had also sprinkled some cold water around the bed of his wife. Then soon thereafter she was able to breathe freely and thus she was able to come back to life. Nawab Ameer Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [نواب امیر نوازخان بہادر پنّی] had ordered for celebrations immediately on witnessing said scene. Then the drum beating was followed by general celebrations (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.202 518 519***).

Rewards for local medicos and compiler of GulzarAsifia [معالج اور مولف گلزار آصفیہ کو انعام**]:**

Nawab Ameer Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [نواب امیر نوازخان بہادر پنّی] awarded some rewards to Hakeem Fatehyab Khan [حکیم فتحیاب خان] on the aforementioned achievement. Then he bade him farewell with great respect and honor. He awarded fourteen very strong oxen along-with a Kashmiri Doshala [کشمیری دوشالا] to Khawaja Ghulam Hussein popularly known as Khan Zaman [خواجہ غلام رسول المخاطب بہ خان زمان] along-with two young horses and Rupees four thousand in cash. The worth of the Kashmiri Doshala [کشمیری دوشالا] must have been about Rupees five hundred in those days. The same was a reward of his timely moves due to which the wife of the Nawab was able to get a new life. He also awarded Rupees one thousand to Kaishudas Baniker

[کیشوداس بنیکر] as his daily expense along-with Rupees five hundred for fodder of his horses and Rupees two hundred for charity and bade him farewell (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.202***). The said writer had expressed his views further that he had stayed there for some time after reaching Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] and he had a chance to see the Nawab once again at Bairh [بیڑھ]. He spent Eid-uz-Zuha [عید الضحیٰ] with the Nawab in his fort and stayed there for two months and thereafter the Nawab had given him Rupees five hundred just for distribution as charity along-with an imported gun at the time of his departure for Hyderabad [حیدرآباد]. The aforementioned events had taken place in the year 1251 Hegira 1835. Nawab Ameer Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [نواب امیر نوازخان بہادر پنّی] was very well known for his hospitality and he was a leading Nawab among other Umera [امراء] of the Nizam of Deccan [نظام دکن] (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.202 520***).

Passions of the Nawab [نواب دلچسپیاں]:

The worth of the Mahal [محال] of Bairh [بیڑھ] alone was eight hundred sixty nine thousand one hundred seven Rupees and eight Anas. The said Mahal [محال] was under Nawab Ameer Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [نواب امیر نوازخان بہادر پنّی]. There was a big flood in the River Bhan Sera [بہن سرا] in 1251 Hegira (1835) which had inundated most of the area. The compiler of GulzarAsifia [گلزار آصفیہ] was also present in the area in those days. The Nawab had refurbished the embankments of the river after the flood according to him. The same was just a preemptive measure against the torrents of future floods (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No. 517 518***). Nawab Ameer Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [نواب امیر نوازخان بہادر پنّی] was also very fond of kite flying. He used to keep the entire paraphernalia with him in order to satisfy his hobby. He was also very fond of lion hunting just like his father. He also used to derive pleasure from some traditional dances. The aforementioned events were just a few glimpses of the social activity of said era. The said philanthropist Panni Nawab died in 1257 Hegira 1841 ultimately. The cause of his death was paralysis. He had left behind two sons namely, Nawab Reyasat Ali Khan Bahader Rafeeq Yar-ud-Dolla [نواب ریاست علی خان رفیق یار الدولہ] and Nawab Basharat Ali Khan [نواب بشارت علی خان] (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.203 Tuzk Mahboobia*** [تزکِ محبوبیہ] ***Page No. 303***). The mausoleum of the Nawab was close to Dak Bangla [ڈاک بنگلہ] at Nallarag [نلارگ]. (***Waqeat Mumliqat Bejapur*** [واقعات مملکت بیجا پور] ***Volume No.3 Page No.590***). The said Nawab had many Hawalies [حویلیاں] which were intact till 1915.

Rafeeq Yar-ud-Dolla Nawab Reyasat Ali Khan Bahader [رفیق یار الدولہ نواب ریاست علی خان پنّی جمعدار]

We have not been able to trace out any information about Nawab Reyasat Ali Khan Bahader Panni Jamadar [ریاست علی خان پنّی جمعدار] except that he was also awarded the titles and rewards just like his forefathers. He was granted the title as Rafeeq Yar-ud-Dolla [رفیق یار الدولہ] as well. He had also led his life with grace and style and had served at the rank of Jamadar [جمعدار] during his military career. The same was reckoned as a very important post in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] in those days. Nawab Reyasat Ali Khan Bahader Panni Jamadar [ریاست علی خان بہادر پنّی جمعدار] had also inherited some grand Jagirs [جاگیرات] from his ancestors along-with a number of Talaqas [تعلقہ]. He had appointed Ray Bahader Sona Gee Pandit [رائے بہادر سونا جی پنڈت] as his advocate and had delegated all his powers to him. He had retained only the Talaqdari [تعلقداری] of Nallarag [نلارگ] and Dahwarr [دھاوڑ] under his own control. He had given up the Talaqdari [تعلقداری] of Bairh [بیڑھ] as well (***Tuzk Mahboobia*** [تزکِ محبوبیہ] ***Page No. 215***).

NAWAB DOLLA KHAN BAHADER PANNI SALUS

[نواب دولہ خان بہادر پنّی ثالث**]**

AND

NAWAB AMEER NAWAZ KHAN BAHADER PANNI SANI

[نواب امیر نواز خان بہادر پنّی ثانی**]**

Nawab Reyasat Ali Khan Bahader Panni Jamadar [ریاست علی خان پنّی جمعدار] had left behind his two sons namely, Nawab Dolla Khan Bahader Panni Salus [نواب دولہ خان بہادر پنّی ثالث] and Nawab Ameer Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب امیر نواز خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] only who had inherited his entire estate. Those two brothers were gifted with foresightedness and intelligence and were awarded the titles as Nawab. They had divided the estate of their father equally, including his troops and Jagirs [جاگیرات]. Since Nawab Dolla Khan [نواب دولہ خان] was an extremely benevolent person therefore he had become insolvent within no time. The government had confiscated his Talaqas but he was allowed to retain his titles as well as his salary. The rest of his estate was committed under the control of the court of wards. The Nawab died in the month of Safer [صفر]

1315 Hegira (1897) and his son, Nawab Reyasat Ali Khan Bahader Panni [ریاست علی خان بہادر پنّی], inherited his entire estate thereafter (***Tuzk Mahboobia*** [تزکِ محبوبیہ] ***Page No. 300***).

NAWAB REYASAT ALI KHAN BAHADER PANNI SANI [ریاست علی خان بہادر پنّی ثانی]

Lineage: Nawab Dolla Khan [نواب دولہ خان]

Nawab Reyasat Ali Khan Bahader Panni Sani [ریاست علی خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] was just nine years old when his father Nawab Dolla Khan Bahader Panni Salus [نواب دولہ خان بہادر پنّی ثالث] died in 1321 Higra. He was studying in Madresa Asifia [مدرسہ آصفیہ], Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] at that time. The entire estate of his father was under the control of the court of wards. Nawab Reyasat Ali Khan Bahader Panni Sani [ریاست علی خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] was a shrewd and intelligent person. He had acquired all his ancestral titles, ranks as well as Jagirs [جاگیرات] and had also acquired four hundred cavalry and sixty infantrymen along-with a monthly salary and a Jagir. The income from the Jagir was Rupees thirty thousand only. Then he had also acquired all other properties and an Amari [عماری] with an elephant. He was also entitled to beat the Nobat [نوبت] at his residence (***Tuzk Mahboobia*** [تزکِ محبوبیہ] ***Dafter Awal*** [دفتراول] ***Page No. 215***). We (*writer*) had not made further probes with regard to his personal affairs as well as his descendants. The presumption was that the descendants of the Nawab must have lived in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] with honor and respect just like many other Umera [امراء].

Nawab Basharat Ali Khan Bahader Panni Awal Khalifa Nawab-ud-Dolla [نواب بشارت علی خان بہادر پنّی خلیفہ نواب دولہ خان]

Nawab Basharat Ali Khan Bahader Panni Awal Khalifa Rafique-ud-Dolla [نواب بشارت علی خان بہادر رفیق الدولہ] was the brother of Nawab Reyasat Ali Khan Bahader Panni Sani [ریاست علی خان بہادر پنّی ثانی]. He was son of Nawab Ameer Nawaz Jung Bahader [نواب امیر نواز جنگ بہادر], son of Dolla Khan [دولہ خان]. He was very much alive in his sixties in 1321 Hegira. He used to take Rupees five hundred initially as his stipend which was reduced to Rupees two hundred only. We conclude hereby this narrative in order to avoid unnecessary details.

Nawab Mohammed Inayat Ali Khan Panni Jamadar, Lineage: Nawab Ameer Khan [نواب محمد عنایت علی خان پنّی جمعدار خلف نواب امیر خان]

Nawab Mohammed Inayat Ali Khan Panni [نواب محمد عنایت علی خان پنّی] was the only son of Nawab Ameer Khan Bahader. He was awarded all the family titles and ranks after the death of his father. He was also assigned the rank as Jamadar [جمعدار]. He was entitled to get Rupees five hundred only as monthly salary. He was granted ninety three cavalrymen along-with a Jagir. The worth of said Jagir in terms of its income was Rupees twelve thousand per annum. The Nawab was a shrewd and intelligent person who had developed very keen interest in intellectual activities as well as in fine arts. He was naturally gifted in the skills like writing and speaking eloquently. He was also a courteous person and he was known for his good manners. He used to manage his factories with an immaculate administrative control. He used to stay in Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] and besides that he used to stay also at his ancestral palace i.e. at Chanchul Ghorrh [چنچل گوڑھ] which was constructed by his grandfather, Nawab Krar Nawaz Jung Bahader Panni popularly known as Dolla Khan [نواب کرارنوازجنگ بہادر پنّی المعروف بہ دولہ خان]. The name of the same was also popular locally as "Deyorrhi" [ڈیوڑھی] of Nawab Dolla Khan [ڈیوڑھی نواب دولہ خان بہادر پنّی]. The Nawab had one son by the name of Nawab Basharat Ali Khan Bahader Panni [نواب بشارت علی خان بہادر پنّی] (***Tuzk Mahboobia*** [تزکِ محبوبیہ] ***Page No. 299***)

Nawab Basharat Ali Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب بشارت علی خان بہادر پنّی ثانی]:

Letter addressed to the writer.

We (*writer*) had the privilege to exchange some letters with Nawab Basharat Ali Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب بشارت علی خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] at the "Deyorrhi" of Nawab Dolla Khan [ڈیوڑھی نواب دولہ خان بہادر پنّی] at Chanchul Ghorrh [چنچل گوڑھ], Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن]. There was one letter of the Nawab which had revealed that he had lived a very satisfied and saturated life with grace and grandeur. The second letter of Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Bahader Panni [نواب دوست محمد خان پنّی] had revealed that Nawab Basharat Ali Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب بشارت علی خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] had passed away in December 1960. The death of Nawab Basharat Ali Khan Bahader Panni Sani [نواب بشارت علی خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] had taken place just one day prior to the wedding of his daughter. The letter which was addressed to us (*writer*) was in the manner as below:

From

Nawab Basharat Ali Khan Bahader Panni Sani

Mohallah Chanchul Ghorrh

Hyderabad Deccan

Dated.04.07.1959

Respectable Mohammed Sharif Khan Sahib Panni

[محترم محمد شریف خان صاحب پنّی]

وعلیکم السلام ورحمۃ اللہ وبرکاتہ

Your letter with regard to our family was received duly. The brief family history of Nawab Dolla Khan Sahib can be described in the manner that Nawab Krar Nawaz Jung Bahader Panni popularly known as Dolla Khan [نواب کرارنوازجنگ بہادر پنّی المعروف بہ دولہ خان] had migrated from Afghanistan. The son of Nawab Krar Nawaz Jung Bahader Panni popularly known as Dolla Khan [نواب کرارنوازجنگ بہادر پنّی المعروف بہ دولہ خان] namely, Nawaz Khan Sahib popularly known as Ameer Nawaz Jung [نواز خان صاحب المخاطب بہ امیر نواز جنگ] was conferred upon the titles like Ameer Nawaz-ud-Dolla [امیر نواز الدولہ], Ameer Nawaz-ul-Mulk [امیر نواز الملک]. The life span of both father and son was stretched over a period of two hundred years approximately. They had rendered a number of services for their rulers as well as for their country and their services were recorded duly in history. He had a son namely, Nawab Reyasat Ali Khan Sahib popularly known as Nawab Rafeeq Yar [نواب ریاست علی خان رفیق یار الدولہ]. He had failed to get any opportunity to be engaged in any practical warfare. He had spent most of his life while managing the affairs of state as well as his Jagir. He had a son by the name of Nawab Ameer Nawaz Khan Sahib Sani [نواب امیر نواز خان صاحب ثانی]. He had also spent his life on the lifestyle of his father. Then his son had a son by the name of Nawab Mohammed Inayat Ali Khan Panni [نواب محمد عنایت علی خان پنّی] whereas his son i.e. Mohammed Basharat Ali Khan Bahader Panni Sani [محمد بشارت علی خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] is replying your letter presently. We had also enjoyed almost the same privileges which were allowed to us in recent past. The origin of our family was from the Panni nation. The history of our family was available in the Mahboobia [محبوبیہ], Dabdaba Nizam [دبدبہ], Gulzar Asfia [گلزارآصفیہ] and English History of Pictorial Hyderabad part II. I hereby forward two addresses to you as per your demand.

Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Sahib Panni, Jagirdar Muslim Lodge, King Khothi Road, Hyderabad Deccan.

He was from the family of the lords in Kernol.

Nawab Wahie Dad Khan Sahib, Linage Wali Dad Khan Sahib Mando Zai Panni, Jagirdar, Lashker Kota, Hyderabad Deccan.

Yours truly

Mohammed Basharat Ali Khan

Repeat.

The brother of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung (late), Jagirdar Jamadar namely, Nawab Mando Khan Sahib Mahdvi still exists and his address is as below:

Namat Bagh, Gosha Mahal Hoaz, Hyderabad Deccan.

He can also provide some information.

Nawab Aziz Ahmed Khan Sahib, Mohallah Chanchul Ghorrh, Hyderabad Deccan is also a Mahdvi.

He can also be helpful.

Signed

Mohammed Basharat Ali Khan

The writer had requested Nawab Mohammed Basharat Ali Khan to provide some information with regard to the Panni Umera [پنّی امراء]. The people whose addresses he had provided were definitely from the Panni nation. The writer was able to contact only Nawab Dost Mohammed Khan Panni. He was really very kind to provide very valuable information which was extracted from the Pictorial Hyderabad. He had also provided a printed Genealogical Tree of Khizer Khan Panni who was founder of the state of Kernol.

Mohammed Dildar Khan Bahader Khan Panni Sani [محمددلدارخان بہادرخان پنّی ثانی]:

Mohammed Dildar Khan Bahader Khan Panni Sani [محمددلدارخان بہادرخان پنّی ثانی] belonged to Qamernager [قمرنگر] Kernol actually. He had landed in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] during the reign of

Asif Jah Awal Ghufferan Mab [آصف جاہ اول غفران ماب]. The Azam-ul-Umera [اعظم الامراء], Arustu Jah Bahader [ارسطو جاہ بہادر], had taken him into his service. He had granted him a Jagir along-with cavalry and infantry units. Mohammed Dildar Khan Bahader Khan Panni Sani [محمددلدارخان بہادرخان پنّی ثانی] had lived a life with pomp and show for a long time yet, he was a righteous and a highly God fearing person. He was a great philanthropist and was known for his kindness. He had a habit to spend for charitable purposes very lavishly. There was a grand mosque in a village in Runmustpura [رنمست پورہ] in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] and the same was also among the memorable remains which he had left behind (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.479***).

Mohammed Budhan Khan Panni [محمد بڈہن خاب پنّی]:

Mohammed Budhan Khan Panni [محمد بڈہن خاب پنّی] was son of Mohammed Dildar Khan Bahader Khan Panni Sani [محمددلدارخان بہادرخان پنّی ثانی]. He was also gifted with the qualities like courage and philanthropy as well as many other glorifying traits just like his forefathers. He was also gifted richly in performing other temporal and religious affairs. He had acquired mastery of drawing portraits. He was also known for his acumen with regard to establishing the formations of soldiers in the field. He used to distribute charity very lavishly on every Friday among the needy and poor (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.479***).

QUAID-E-MILAT NAWAB MOHAMMED KHAN PANNI KNOWN AS NAWAB BAHADER YAR JUNG

[قائدِملت نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی المقلب بہ نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ]

Public perception [عوامی تاثر]:

We (*writer*) had a frequent chance to read excerpts from the Newspapers regarding the speeches of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ]. Then we also had many opportunities to attend his processions and were privileged to benefit from his speeches directly, just like many other people. The writer was always spellbound just like many others by his oratory. The heart had never believed that Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] was a Nawab from the land of the Nawabs of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن]. The heart had rather drawn the inference that the speaker was either a personification of Merd-e-Momin [مردِمومن] of Allama Iqbal or he was a

man with the attributes of a Merd-e-Momin [مردِمومن] in his own right or he was some kind of Derwaish [درویش] (Sage) just like moralists, preachers of early centuries who used to float in the oceans of morality. Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] used to invite openly his contemporary Muslims to meditate. He also used to encourage the Muslims to embark upon the mission of renaissance of Islam. The time cycle was always covering the pace for the Nawab in history and then said cycle of day and night had reached a particular point ultimately when, one ugly morning the news of his sudden death had emerged in bold and black headlines on the foreheads of many Newspapers. The people from all walks of life had recorded their views from throughout in the sub-continent and thus they had showered the petals of their respect and reverence for him. They had also registered their sense of grief and shock and in the process they had acknowledged his greatness. The late Nawab had recorded some unprecedented golden chapters of militancy, preaching of Islam and reformations in history. Then one day Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] had also suddenly become a part of the same history. There was some kind of restive craving however in the agitated heart of the writer, despite his sense of grief which was with regard to what was the motivating factor for Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] for his immaculate, skillful oratory as well as his love for Islam and he was a Nawab too.

We were able to exchange some correspondence with Mohammed Basharat Ali Khan Bahader Panni Sani [محمد بشارت علی خان بہادر پنّی ثانی] in Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] after a very long time which was in the context of compiling the book in hand. Then the aforementioned letter had revealed that said respectable Nawab was also from the Panni nation. He was a very staunch follower of the Mahdvi school of thought [مہدوی]. The history had revealed that the Panni Pathans were always very staunch followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought. The belief of the Nawab in the said school of thought was in fact a real motivational factor which had added the charismatic tinge in his personality and resultantly, most of the courtiers of the past rulers had developed some kind of complex against his personality and charisma. They had declared all his activities as contrary to the tenets of Islam. They had not only supported thus the wrath of the rulers against the zealots through their propaganda rather, they had caused immense damage to the basic ideology of said school of thought. They had made the principal teachings of the Mahdvi school of thought [مہدوی] as irreligious which was with the objective to confuse the followers of the movement. Then the situation had transformed in such a manner that the Wazir

of Deccan who was a contemporary of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] had poisoned the last preacher of Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought through his Hookah [ہُکا]. The said ploy was executed in connivance with the British rulers. The martyred [شہید], Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ], was a great pragmatist with regard to the teachings of Islam. We have already explained the basic principles of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought in the preceding chapter along-with a long struggle of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ]. The very motivating actions and the preaching of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] had also proved that his belief was not contrary to the tenets of Islam. The same was rather his revolutionary vision which had provided the actual impetus to the then movement for the renaissance of Islam.

Status of ancestors [بزرگوں کا منصب]:

Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] was from an old and respectable family of the former state of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد]. He was from the Sadozai [سدوزئی] tribe which was generally known as Panni Pathan. The name of his great grandfather was also Mohammed Bahader Khan [محمد بہادر خان]. They had migrated to Hindustan along-with Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمدشاہ ابدالی] who was also from the same tribe. They were able to settle in the town of Bara Basti [بارہ بستی] thereafter which was in the state of Jaipur [جے پور]. They were known in said area as members of Ahl-e-Daira [اہلِ دائرہ] subsequent to adopting the Mahdvi school of thought [مہدوی عقیدہ]. Those people had migrated to Deccan [دکن] during the reign of Nawab Skinder Jah [نواب سکندر جاہ] which was in the mid nineteenth century. They were able to extend their very spirited cooperation to dispense with the Merhatta [مرہٹہ] rampage. They were awarded a Jagir in the state of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] in recognition thereof, along-with two thousand cavalrymen, Nobat [نوبت], Palki [پالکی], Danka [ڈنکا] as well as some swift moving elephants apart from many other bestowals. The income of the Jagir was then Rupees four hundred thousand only. The loyalty of said family with Asif Jah Salateeni [آصف جاہ سلاطینی] was unflinching. The channels of favors from those Salateen [سلاطین] had also never dried up for them. They had made tremendous progress during their respective reigns (***Makateeb*** [مکاتیب] ***Page No.39-40***).

Early life [ابتدائی زندگی**]**:

When Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] was born on 3rd February 1905, he was also blessed with the family heritage of grace and grandeur along-with its affluence. He was just seven days old when his mother passed away. Then his maternal grandmother had raised him. He was given education up to the age of fourteen. The said Nawab had the privilege to get the initial education under a very kind supervision of the best educationists of his time which was in the field of oriental studies. The name of Shams-ul-Ulima Syed Ashraf Shamsi [شمس العلماء سید اشرف شمسی], who was very well qualified in Arabic as well as in Persian languages, was worthy to be mentioned in this regard. He had imparted the education to Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] with dedication in all the fields of oriental studies. Then Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] was sent to such public institutions for further education of western studies where the elite of society used to educate their children. He was also given the assignment, in those days, to collect charity for the victims of Samerna battle [معرکہ سمرنا] which had opened up the chapter of awareness for him with regard to national affairs. When he was eighteen years old, his father namely, Naseeb Yar Jung Salus [نصیب یار جنگ ثالث] suddenly passed away. Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] was doing matriculation at that time in the Madersa Dar-al-Aloom [مدرسہ دارالعلوم] (***Makateeb*** [مکاتیب] ***Page No.39-40***). He had to give up his education even without finishing his examinations. Then he had to take over the administrative control of his ancestral estate.

Participation in social activities [معاشرتی سرگرمیوں میں حصہ]:

When he was able to grip the complete administrative control of affairs of the Jagir, he had opted to be active in social activities as well. He had decided to bring some order initially, among the complacent Jagirdars of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد], because they were indulgent in extreme licentiousness. They used to spend money very lavishly which had rendered them useless for their society. Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] had jolted them up and resultantly they were motivated to focus on educating themselves. He was elected as general secretary of Majlis Jagirdaran [مجلس جاگیرداران] in 1929. He had become very popular as a result, among the Jagirdaran [جاگیرداران] as well as in the government circles. He was offered a ministry thereafter by the government but he was disinclined to assume any office of responsibility.

Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] was a very sensitive, simple and sympathetic person right from his childhood. He had a natural propensity for abnegation. He was very strict in the performance of Namaz and Roza [نمازوروزہ] (Prayer(s) and fasting). He used to abstain always from ostentatious indulgences and useless gossips. He was miles away from the licentious way of life of the Umera [امراء] and their lifestyle which was nothing but an activity of extravagance for him. He used to drive pleasure in offering his prayers [ذکرواذکار]. The arrogance and haughtiness had no room in his credo. He used to eat with his servants on the same table. He used to lend ears to solve the problems of his farmers and he used to sit with them on the floor in order to prove that they were his family members. He had great respect for religious scholars and intellectuals. He used to take very keen interest in intellectual conferences and he used to participate in the processions of Eid Melad-un-Nabi [عید میلادالنبی ﷺ]. The polemics on Serat-un-Nabi [سیرت النبی ﷺ], law politics and economics used to be his most favorite engagements. He was a great supporter of free press because propagation of the renaissance of Islam was the sole objective of his life. He was also familiar with the treacherous moves of the congress party of India. He was able to have meetings with Pandit Jawaher Lal Nahru [پنڈت جواہر لال نہرو] and other leaders of the congress party. He used to always remain above his vested interests. The death was a playful subject for him and he was a very witty person. He had toured a number of Islamic countries.

Bestowal of title [خطاب سے سرفرازی]:

He had introduced the path of righteousness to those who had not known about it and he was able to enliven the dead hearts with his mesmerizing oratory and he had initiated the same in the congregations of Eid Melad-un-Nabi [عید میلادالنبی ﷺ]. The oratory of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] was a gift which was bestowed upon him with the blessings of the last of all prophets [ﷺ]. Khusro Deccan Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Sabai late Mir Usman Ali Khan [خسرودکن نظام الملک آصف جاہ سابع میر عثمان علی خان] had showed up in one of the sessions of Ziker [ذکر] (Remembrance) of Prophet Mohammed [ﷺ] for the sake of enlightenment. The moment Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] was able to notice his presence, he immediately changed the subject and then he addressed the ruler of the time directly and said “O’ the slave of Mohammed Arabi (Arabian) [محمدعربی ﷺ], O the sitting crown King let me tell you what was

the worth of monarchy in his eyes i.e. Prophet Mohammed [ﷺ]" and then he explained Serat-un-Nabi [سیرت النبی ﷺ] in such a manner that tears had started rolling from the eyes of Asif Jah Sabai [آصف جاہ سابع]. He had beaten his thighs several times and had requested Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] to repeat the sentences of his speech again and again. When the session of Melad [محفلِ میلاد] had come to an end, the late Nawab presented him the greetings in the mannerism of Durbar and the Nizam was so mesmerized at that time that he was rendered speechless for a few minutes. Then he had to ponder for a while to find some appropriate words and when he was able to gather himself together ultimately, he praised the oratory of the Nawab. He had bestowed the title as Nawab on him on the following morning and had proclaimed him as "Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ]". When the Milat [ملت] (Nation) was in need of Mohammed Bahader Yar Jung [محمد بہادر یار جنگ], said Ameer [امیر], who was bestowed upon the title by the King, had given up his title. He had buckled himself up to serve his country as well as his Milat [ملت]. The said Nawab had returned the title, as a matter of fact, which was awarded to him by the King. The will of providence was that he was supposed to be known as "Nawab Bahader Yar Jung" [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] for all times to come (***Makateeb*** [مکاتیب] ***Page No.43-44***).

Preacher of Islam [مبلغِ اسلام]:

When he was able to manage his domestic and the affairs of the Jagir successfully, Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] had made preaching of Islam as his mission. He laid the foundation of Majlis Tableegh Islam [مجلس تبلیغِ اسلام]. Then he visited all the villages of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] for three years in a row and faced all the hardships of his mission. He was able to enlighten the hearts of about twenty thousand individuals with the teachings of Islam during his campaign. Then there was some kind of polarization among his own comrades in the backdrop of tremendous achievements of said Nawab. The Hindu Arya Smaj [ہندو آریہ سماج] had also created many controversial issues and such leaflets were published as if Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] was some kind of lion and he was sucking the blood of innocent people which had created such a big wave of wrangling that even some prize money was fixed for his head. The mission of the Nawab had remained nonetheless in progress incessantly.

Convener of unity among the Muslims [اتحاد المسلمین کے داعی]:

Majlis Ithad-ul-Muslimeen [مجلس اتحاد المسلمین] was a religious party only prior to 1933 and had become however, the only political party of the Muslims with the constant efforts and hardwork of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ]. Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] was elected as the president of said party for the first time in 1939. Then he was elected as its president for every subsequent year by virtue of his unshakable commitment for his Milat [ملت] (Nation). He had worked as president of said party till the evening of 25th June 1944 when his sudden demise had closed his glorious chapter permanently. The way Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] had worked day and night to attain the objectives of Majlis Ithad-ul-Muslimeen [مجلس اتحاد المسلمین] during his tenure in office and the way he had promoted the interest of the followers of the organization, can be ascertained from the bare reading of the letters of said Nawab. The voluminous collection of the letters was published by Bahader Yar Jung academy, Karachi. The said Nawab had toured for thousands and thousands of miles just for the sake of organizing the Majlis [مجلس]. Whenever he used to embark upon any journey, he used to abstain from accepting the hospitality of anyone as a matter of habit. He used to use the platform of the Majlis [مجلس] to criticize the government policies as well. Thus he was successful in getting the reforms approved through legislative amendments. The safety and security and even the survival of the Muslims were based on those amendments. Then there were a number of ploys of enticement and allurements for said Panni Nawab. He was also offered the premiership but he was always able to rise above such temptations. He used to receive threats of dire consequences occasionally but said Merd-e-Momin [مردِمومن] i.e. Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] had never budged an inch from the path of Allah Almighty and he had never succumbed to any temptation even for a second. When the problem of Hind had cropped up as a federation, said Nawab was always in the forefront as a state representative of the Muslims. The firm belief of said Nawab was that the Muslims had to be united as a nation whether they were in the east or in the west. The prime objective of his life was the unity of the Muslims. He used to always struggle for the glorification of national and political unity of the Muslims in accordance with the tenets of Islam (***Makateeb*** [مکاتیب] ***Page No.46***).

Confidant of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم کے معتمد خصوصی]:

Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] also had such times in his life that the Nizam had to impose restrictions against his public speeches under Gag Laws. Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] used to go through those hush-up periods very sedately. He used to announce prior to surrendering to the Gag Laws that his silence was not conditional with compromising the national interest. The Nizam had allowed him however, to deliver a speech on the request of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] during the elections in the frontier province while there was an official ban against his public speeches. The frontier province was away from Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] but the amazing effect of his speech was that the Muslim League was able to win elections with a large majority (***Makateeb*** [مکاتیب] ***Page No.47-48***). The reorganization of the Muslims was required however, at the national level to protect the Muslim rights in the state.

Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] had laid the foundation of "Status Muslim League" in consultation with Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] (***Makateeb*** [مکاتیب] ***Page No.51***). Then there was a general practice that wherever the Muslim League used to hold its national convention or other meetings, the Status Muslim League used to hold its two meetings at the same venue. The said arrangement was workable because the Panni Nawab was required to be physically present in all the missions of the Muslim League under the instructions of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم]. Since he was not allowed as a state citizen to participate in the conventions of the Muslim League therefore, he used to deliver a special speech at the conclusion of each convention. Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] used to make the announcement for the special speech of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] after his presidential address. The oratory of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] used to enthrall the mammoth crowd(s). The speech of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] used to be a wakeup call during peak hours of sleep at night. The speech of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] used to be an explicit elaboration of the address of Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم]. Quaid-e-Azam [قائداعظم] used to concur repeatedly by nodding to his statements during his address. Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] used to hold the sessions of the Status Muslim League on the same venue for his personal convenience. The objective of the same used to be to participate in the sessions of both Muslim Leagues simultaneously. Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] used to inculcate the sense of wisdom and he used to promote the same mindset which used to emerge after the conventions of the Muslim League. The said arrangement also used to ensure that the All India Status Muslim League as well as the Muslim League was one and the same party (***Makateeb*** [مکاتیب] ***Page***

No.51-52). Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] used to be mercurially agile and active for the revival of Muslim unity in India as well as for the stability of the state of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن]. He was instrumental in structuring the Muslim League with his untiring personal efforts. The same was the only representative party as well as the biggest political power in Deccan [دکن]. He used to strengthen and organize the Status Muslim League as well. He had great interest in promoting the Urdu language and had also struggled at all levels for the liberation and independence of occupied Kashmir. The said Derwaish [درویش] Nawab was also a staunch supporter of Khaksar Tehreek [خاکسار تحریک]. He used to carry the spade in order to promote said organization practically. He used to participate in the rallies of Khaksar Tehreek [خاکسار تحریک] (***Makateeb*** [مکاتیب] ***Page No.57***).

A frank friend of Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ کے بے تکلف دوست]:

Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] was among the best and most frank friends of Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ]. He was the only one according to the statement of staff officer of Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] namely, Mohammed Hanif Azad [محمد حنیف آزاد] with whom Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] used to enjoy his friendly relations. Whenever Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] used to stay with him, they both used to ponder over national issues in a typical affable manner. According to Mohammed Hanif Azad [محمد حنیف آزاد], I have seen Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] only with whom Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] used to behave like old buddies. The same used to give an impression that they were companions since childhood. When they used to exchange the pleasantries together, one could always hear some chuckles infrequently. The other members of the Muslim League like Raja Mahmoodabad [راجہ محمودآباد] I. I Chundrigarh [آئی أئی چندریگر], Mollana Zahid Hussein [مولانا زاھد حسین], Nawabzada Leyaqat Ali Khan [نواب زادہ لیاقت علی خان], Nawab Ismail [نواب اسماعیل] and Ali Imam Sahib [علی امام صاحب] also used to pay their visits but Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] used to interact with them in a pure official routine. The frankness which was particularized for Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] was never witnessed with others. He used to treat Nawabzada Leyaqat Ali Khan [نواب زادہ لیاقت علی خان] as if he was his best pupil and even Khan Sahib. He also used to behave with him very humbly and respectfully and used to listen to all the advices of Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] very carefully. He also used to ensure the fulfillment of the same in letter and spirit (***Baba-e-Qom Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah*** [بابائے قوم قائدِاعظمؒ محمد علی

جناح] ***Page No.183***). We have already mentioned in previous chapters that Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] was also related with the Panni nation filially therefore, it was quite possible that the will of God Almighty had brought together both Panni stalwarts. Thus they were able to develop some strong understanding as compared with others just by virtue of their common ancestry.

Great fan of Iqbal [اقبال کے شیدائی]:

Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] had great respect for Allama Mohammed Iqbal [علامہ محمداقبال]. He used to enjoy reciting the stanzas of Iqbal and used to quote his stanzas as references during the conversation as well as in his speeches. He used to quote Iqbal very befittingly and particularly at the time of delivering the lectures. Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] was stunned completely on the 21st of April 1938 when he had received the sad news with regard to the demise of Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی]. He was speechless for several days. Allama Mohammed Iqbal [علامہ محمداقبال] was also very fond of Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی]. The eyes of Allama Mohammed Iqbal [علامہ محمداقبال] had seen the very existence of Merd-e-Momin [مردِمومن] in the garb of Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی]. We feel inclined to focus at this juncture on one other particular and plausible aspect. The name of the tribe of Allama Mohammed Iqbal [علامہ محمداقبال] was Saproo [سپرو]. The meaning of the same was taken as an educated person. The said word was from Armenian origin etymologically. Since Armenia was ruled by about twenty one to twenty two Panni rulers at some point of time in history therefore, the history had also revealed that there were many other people of said nation in Armenia. There was a possibility that the forefathers of Allama Mohammed Iqbal [علامہ محمداقبال] had also migrated towards the east, just like many other groups of the Panni nation during the period of atrocities by the Sassanid rulers. They might have also selected Kashmir as their second homeland. We have already explained in previous pages that besides those people who were known by the name of "Panni" [پنّی], there were a number of other people who had hailed from sub-tribes of the Panni [پنّی] nation e.g. Loan [لون], Sufi [صوفی] etc. They still live in Kashmir. There were also other people besides "Panni" [پنّی] people who were known as Kukkero [کُکڑو] nation. There were also the people from the same origin who were in Baluchistan [بلوچستان] and Afghanistan [افغانستان]. They were known in the area as Kakkerr [کاکڑ]. There was also a possibility that the ancestral origin of Allama Mohammed Iqbal [علامہ محمداقبال]

was also from the same Panni [پنّی] nation just like Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] and Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ].

Disappearance and return [گمشدگی اور واپسی]:

The head of Government of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] i.e. the Prime Minister used to be a British administrator in those days. He used to receive salary from the Nizam and despite that he used to consider Britain as his administration and appointing authority. Sir Akbar Haideri [سراکبرحیدری] had passed the orders in this regard and he had banned the public speech [زباں بندی] of the Nawab under the instructions of the British rulers. The said restriction was extremely provocative for the Muslims. Quaid-e-Milat [قائدِملت], Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی], had pacified the Muslim community however very intelligently. The news of atrocities by the Kashmir Dogera Raja [کشمیر ڈوگرہ راجہ] against the Muslims was also in circulation. Quaid-e-Milat [قائدِملت], Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی], had declared his all-out support for his Kashmiri brethrens. He had also opted to travel to Kashmir [کشمیر] from Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] with the same sentiment. The moment he was able to land in Kashmir [کشمیر], he was arrested under the instructions of the Viceroy. Then he was moved out to such a bewildered place through a cabin-cart from where the possibility of even his return alive was very remote but nature had come to his rescue however and despite the snow blitz he was able to cross the border on foot. The same was in his regular pajamas and Shairwani [شیروانی]. Then he was able to pass through dangerous jungle as well. Sardar Aurangzeb Khan [اورنگ زیب خان] had received him and he had also extended his hospitality for said Nawab. The news of the disappearance of Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] had created a great turbulence in entire Hindustan. Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] was also so disturbed that he could not sleep peacefully for many days. The British rulers were also under pressure with regard to the situation. Then they were compelled to withdraw their orders under Gag Laws which were passed by their stooge Prime Minister namely, Sir Akbar Haideri [سراکبرحیدری] against Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی]. Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] was able to reach back to Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] however, where he was given a historical reception. There was a large gathering of the Muslim community and their leaders had thronged in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] from Madraas [مدراس], Maysoor [میسور], Brar [برار],

Bombay [بمبے], Sholapur [شولاپور] and C.P at the eve of said historical reception (***Katabcha*** [کتابچہ] ***Page No.44-45***).

Contributions in the Pakistan resolution [قراردادِپاکستان میں حصہ]:

Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] had yet to heave the sigh of relief when the Pakistan resolution was tabled before the convention of the Muslim League in Lahore. The general debate had created an extraordinary situation which had taken place with regard to the same. The possibility of the failure of the convention was very imminent. Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] had made a trunk call to Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] after assessing the sensitivity of the situation and he had requested him to reach Lahore forthwith. Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] had reached Lahore immediately in compliance with the request through a chartered plane. The secretary general of the Muslim League had taken him into confidence with regard to the sensitive nature of the situation. Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] had passed a smile only and then he had given him the assurance of a positive outcome. Then the kind of speech he had delivered thereafter had mesmerized everyone in such a manner that the resolution was approved unanimously without much ado. Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] had taken the rostrum after the speech of Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] and then he had concluded the convention very quickly with the remarks that after the speech of Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی], anyone else delivering any speech was just an exercise in futility.

The Muslims had gathered in Lahore from every nook and corner of Hindustan. They had gathered there to participate in the annual convention of the Muslim League. Then no sooner the unanimous resolution was passed, the Mujahidin of Punjab [مجاھدین پنجاب] were rejoiced upon receiving said news. Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] had taken the rostrum at ten o'clock at night after the announcement of Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ]. The presence of Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] had galvanized the entire arena which had erupted with the enthusiastic slogans. He had uttered just a few sentences on the issue of democracy and the entire multitude of attendants was rendered stunned and silent. Then the dexterity with which he had inculcated in the hearts of the attendants, the need for an

Islamic state of Pakistan was unprecedented in history. The Muslims of the entire Subcontinent were united under the impact of his oratory. Thus Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] was out there in the practical field to make the dream of Pakistan a reality (***Katabcha*** [کتابچہ] ***Page No.47***).

Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi [پیرعلی محمد راشدی] who had earned a big name in our country as a leading writer and politician was also an old worker of the Muslim League. He had paid rich tributes at various occasions with regard to the contributions of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] i.e. Nawab of Panni nation for passing the Pakistan resolution. There was an eye witness in this regard and he had deposed on oath that, had Nawab Mohammed Bahader Khan Panni [نواب محمد بہادر خان پنّی] not attended the convention at Lahore, the very ardent desire to pass the Pakistan resolution would have perhaps never been fulfilled. Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] had written to the Newspaper "Zamzam" [زمزم] that Pakistan was his destiny (***Hayat*** [حیات] ***Page No.132***).

Proposed successor of Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ کے متوقع جانشین]:

Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] was busy handling the complex affairs of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] when Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] directed him to visit the frontier province in order to sort out the agents of the Hindu congress as well as their paid agents, thus he left Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] for the frontier province immediately. Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] had organized rallies of the Muslim people everywhere and had highlighted the heinous designs of the Hindu congress and had also revealed their diabolic objectives as well. Thus he was able to organize the Muslims under the green flag. The popularity of Quaid-e-Milat [قائدِملت], Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] in the frontier province and his unprecedented success had given jolts to the well established castles of the Hindu congress. Thus the intrigues which they had hatched were totally foiled and there was also a historical fact that the love and kindness with which the Mujahidin [مجاھدین] from the frontier province had received Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ], was also unprecedented. The chief minister of the frontier province and the great hero namely, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan [سردار اورنگ زیب خان] used to pass the remarks very correctly that Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] was the real successor of Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ]. Quaid-e-Milat [قائدِملت], Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب

بہادر یار جنگؒ] had moved towards the province of Sindh and Baluchistan after achieving the unprecedented success in the frontier province. He was able to outmaneuver the Hindu congress with their heinous designs during his hectic visit. He had made the Muslim League a very strong reality. Then as soon as he was able to reach Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن], the British administration had passed orders under the Gag Laws and once again they had imposed restrictions against his public speeches (***Katabcha*** [کتابچہ] ***Page No.42-43***).

Zealot of the Mahdvi School of thought [مہدوی عقیدے کے زبردست حامی]:

Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] was a follower of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought. The Bungalow in which he used to live was also known as Mahdvi Manzil [مہدوی منزل]. The residential abode of the Umera [امراء] in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] used to be called as "Deyorrhi" [ڈیوڑھی] which was also known as the Mahdvi Manzil [مہدوی منزل] and Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] had dedicated said "Deyorrhi" [ڈیوڑھی] for his Milat [ملت] (Nation). The same was named as Bait-ul-Umat [بیت الامت] subsequently. When the area of action of the Majlis Ithad-ul-Muslimeen [مجلس اتحادالمسلمین], which was established by said Nawab, had expanded many folds after a very long time then Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] had acquired a piece of land of about twenty four Kanals in the interior city which consisted of three large size well built buildings. He had named the same as Dar-ul-Islam [دارالاسلام]. The said Dar-ul-Islam [دارالاسلام] had become the main office of the Majlis Ithad-ul-Muslimeen [مجلس اتحادالمسلمین] later on and had become a central place for the local Muslims subsequently. We have already explained the principles on which the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought was based. The principles of the same were never intolerable in any manner whatsoever rather they were religiously commendable. Those principles were very much in consonance with the precepts of Islam. The Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought was a tremendous movement genuinely, for the renaissance of Islam. Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] had expressed his views in one of his letters in the manner as below:

9 Behman [بہمن] 1351- [ف]
12th December 1941
To
Hazrat Molvi Syed Mahmood Sahib

Madersa Jansheenan-e-Mashakheen-e-Mahdvia [مدرسہ جانشینانِ مشائخینِ محدویہ]
Kachi Ghorrah Hyderabad [کاچی گوڑہ حیدرآباد]
Hazrat Molvi Syed Mahmood Sahib may you always be blessed

I had received your letter yesterday but due to my heavy commitments I was able to read it today on my way to Bangalore [بنگلور]. Thanks for extending all three congratulations but one of them was unexpected and it was for something which was very ignoble. In any case I am a Mahdvi [مہدوی]. I am very much obliged to have the faith in Twakal [توکل] and this world may be everything for others but for me it was something least significant. Please pray for me: [ایں آوارۂ کسے آوارہ تر بادا].

Then as far as there was some concern of others for me, if that was in the context of worldly affairs, I definitely would have replied but with regard to my faith and beliefs, no one has any right. You have pointed out very rightly that even my kith and kins have not understood me properly and others know me very well. They idealize me as a Momin [مومن] unintentionally. They are also scared of me and I remain quiet by saying "واللہ المستعان علی ما یصِفون", kindly pray for me that God may guide me on the right path and help me remain steadfast.

I have read your correspondence with great interest in the context of Sidq [صدق] (***Sidq*** [صدق] ***was weekly Journal of Mollana Abdul Majid Deryabadi***). The fairness with which you have settled the issue, please acknowledge congratulations with regard to the same. I have always received the Sidq [صدق] but I rarely find time to read it. I have already directed my secretary that, if the Journals since 24th August till date were available, then they may be sent to you. You will receive the same In sha'Allah [انشااللہ]. Please pay my regards and respects to *honoris causa* Hazrat Pir and Murshad [پیرومرشد] as well as express my desire to see him. I hope you are fine in all respects (***Makateeb*** [مکاتیب] ***Page No.45 221-222 Letter by Nawab Basharat Ali Khan*** [نواب بشارت علی خان]).

Life is nothing but a will to embark upon a journey [حیات ذوقِ سفر کے سوا کچھ نہیں]:

Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ پنّی] had addressed a large gathering of Muslims at Werngal [ورنگل], while he was on his way to Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] from

Karachi [کراچی]. He had highlighted the hazards of the intrigues of others and he had instructed them to organize themselves at a large scale, militarily. Then after finishing with the same, he was busy in preparing a revolutionary program for the national Majlis Ithad-ul-Muslimeen [مجلس اتحادالمسلمین] (***Katabcha*** [کتابچہ] ***Page No.48***). He had received the invitation by one of his friends namely, Justice Hashim Ali Khan [ہاشم علی خان] on 25th June 1944 to attend a party at his place. Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ پنّی] was in the party after offering Maghreb [مغرب] prayers and he was reciting a sentence on his way that life was nothing more than a will to embark upon a journey [حیات ذوقِ سفر کے سوا کچھ نہیں]. When he was able to reach the venue of invitation, he had rejuvenated the entire gathering with the same sentence. Since there was some delay in serving the food, the thunderbolt of death was ready to ambush Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ پنّی], so the Huka [ہُکا] flute was presented to the Nawab. He had not even taken the full puff when a strange spasm of cough had suffocated his throat. The tongue which was full of praise for the Prophet [ﷺ] and which used to be the beacon for the Muslims without any reservation, the tongue which used to sort-out the difficult political and cultural problems, the tongue which used to spread the light and awareness about literature and the same used to revocalize the buried tales of Islamic history and the tongue which used to speak from the bottom of his heart had become lifeless all of a sudden. The same had never uttered a single word thereafter (***Makateeb*** [مکاتیب] ***Page No.57***). Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ پنّی] was a victim of intrigue of the Wazir of the Nizam who was in league with the British rulers. He was just 39 years old at the time of his death.

Condolences [تعزیت]:

The Daily "Tanzeem" [تنظیم] of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] had published Quaid-e-Milat [قائدِملت] Number (special edition), on the death of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ پنّی] and had also included the impressions and acknowledgments from the Khusro of Deccan, Mir Usman Ali Khan [خسرودکن میر عثمان علی خان]. He had expressed his views that the time of departure of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ پنّی] was very critical and the same was the actual time for him to render great services. The service which Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ پنّی] had extended for the nation as well as for religion were to be remembered for all times to come and a human being is remembered best after his death when his substitute becomes unavailable. The day and night cycle may produce a man of his caliber

but after centuries. He was loved by his nation by virtue of his personal attributes and qualities. Then a quadruple was also published in Persian language along-with those impressions to determine the date which was in the manner as below:

گرفتہ بخششے ازدستِ قادر
برائے حفظِ حقِ قومِ نادر
بگفتہ کارِ او در گوشِ عثماں
بہادر بود خُود در جنگ ماہر
1363 Hegira

(***Hayat*** [حیات] ***Page No.157-158***)

Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگ پنّی] was very dear to Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ]. The factual position was ascertainable when Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] was overpowered literally by the grief and sorrow after the sad demise of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ پنّی]. When Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] was able to recover from the sense of shock, he expressed himself in the manner that Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ پنّی] was a Muslim with a Muslim heart and soul. When a death reference was organized in the working session of the Muslim League, the self-discipline and forbearance of even Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] was shattered and the eyes of said great man were filled with tears according to an eye witness account. The same had revealed his sense of loss and love for Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ پنّی]. The said sentiment had overpowered Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] only twice in his lifetime. The similar sentiment had erupted at the death of Mollana Mohammed Ali Joher [مولانا محمد علی جوہرؒ] and then secondly he was very emotional on the death of Merd-e-Momin [مردِمومن], Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگ پنّیؒ] (***Hayat*** [حیات] ***Page No.124***).

Syed Suleiman Nadvi [سید سلیمان ندویؒ] had also expressed his sentiments. He had said that "his death as a brave Muslim was much more than a death"

Mollana Manazer Ahsan Gillani [مولانا مناظر احسن گیلانیؒ], the former president of the department of Deenyat [دینیات] at Jamia Usmania [جامعہ عثمانیہ], had expressed himself by saying only that who we have lost [کیا پوچھتے ہو کسے کھو دیا] you may not ask!

The abovementioned was a gist of contribution of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ پنّی] i.e. the great son of the Panni nation while in the history of the Subcontinent. The character and practical commitment of Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ پنّیؒ] had also provided proof that the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought had a massive following among the Panni Pathans. The same was a tremendous movement for the renaissance of Islam and Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ پنّیؒ] was the last flag bearer. The said movement was never allowed to flourish in the past due to the atrocities which were perpetrated by the rulers upon the followers of the same and a brief description has already been given in the preceding pages. Then the horrifying treatment which was meted out to them during the reign of Nawab of Deccan namely, Nawab Skinder Jah Akbar Ali Khan [نواب سکندر جاہ اکبر علی خان] (1218 to 1224 Hegira) was also to be included herein essentially, in order to give a factual portrayal of the Islamic beliefs and the secularist approach of the affluent people of said era. The study of the same will reveal that the way Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ پنّیؒ] was able to convert to Islam about twenty thousand odd people, the possibility was that Islam perhaps would have been the religion of the entire Subcontinent if the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement was allowed to implement its objectives in letter and spirit by the then ruling secular elite.

THE MAHDVI PANNI PATHANS, A VITAL FORCE OF ISLAMIC RENAISSANCE

[مہدوی پنّی پٹھان اسلام کی نشاۃ ثانیہ کے لیے فعال قوت تھے]:

Muslim hardliners [متشدد قسم کے مسلمان]:

We have already explained in the earlier chapters of this book that the Panni Pathans had accepted the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought in large numbers while following Syed Mohammed [سید محمد]. There was an incorrect general impression that the same was a kind of movement like the Wahabi [وہابی] movement. The objectives of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought were misconstrued therefore and the movement was maligned publically. We have also explained, while describing the basic principles of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought, that it was not at all an indecorous movement rather the followers of the same were straightforward Muslim people. There were some hardliners however, who were bent upon eradicating all the vices from the society in the name of the Islamic renaissance. They used to adopt some coercive methods occasionally and used to rectify coercively the practices and performances of the other Muslims in the garb of implementing Hadees-e-Nabvi [حدیثِ نبوی] in letter and spirit. The permissibility of non-Islamic practices according to their belief was cowardice. They used to challenge the ruling elite also, for their complacent acts and illegal omissions. The aforementioned descriptive account about Nawab Bahader Yar Jung Panni [نواب بہادر یار جنگ پنّیؒ] was self-explanatory in this regard. There was a general commotion in 1218 Hegira (1803) in the remote area of Beerpur [بیرپور], Chanchul Ghorrh [چنچل گوڑھ] in Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] which was transformed into a bloody uprising and wrangling because of coercive measures used by the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.111***). The zealots of said movement were not only the Panni Pathans rather there were some leading Umera [امراء] and Jagirdars [جاگیردار] who were also behind said riotous campaign. The entire responsibility for the same was imposed however, on the Panni Pathans exclusively. Then the situation had become so volatile when the members of Aahl-e-Sunnat [اہلِ سبت] had also opposed them fervently. Then the British colonists as well as the army of the Nizam had also used their ammunition against them openly. There were many Mahdvi [مہدوی] zealots who were martyred resultantly and some others were able to manage their escape during the indiscriminate hunt and chase. The same was due to the fact that the crackdown was disorderly or was due to darkness. Then they were also picked up randomly later on and were pushed out of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن]. We feel that it will be more appropriate to explain the status and position of "Paegah" [پائیگاہ] in Dolat-e-Asfia [دو لتِ آصفیہ], before we give a full descriptive account of numerous Panni soldiers, the Umera [امراء]

and the Nawabs of Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] with regard to the aforementioned bloody incident.

Paegah family [خاندانِ پائیگاہ]:

The scope of sociability in the world of rulers and the Umera [امراء] used to be very limited. The rulers and the Umera [امراء] used to maintain their relations by arranging *inter se* marriages as well as by socializing generally yet, the significance of such socialization was not more than just a formal association. The rulers had general perceptions in the wake of such circumstances that as if they were living under some insecure conditions, it was just because of their respective status which was more dear to them and even otherwise neither they were friendly with others nor were they even well-wishers of anyone in the literal sense. The prime objective of their life was to protect and preserve their pseudo values as well as their personal valuables. The rulers are gifted by nature generally, with a very special heart and mind. The circumstances under which the rulers have to live their life, the others are not even cutout for the same. There is an innate quality in every human being of breaking free from any tough situation and for breathing freely for the sake of enjoying the freedom. The same was the case with the Asfi [آصفی] family of Deccan [دکن]. The world of grandeur and pomp and show was very suffocating for them because it had very well defined limitations. Nizam Salus [نظام ثالث] had developed a very strong realization with regard to the same. He was very keen to rationalize said aspect of his life in a more appropriate manner therefore he had pioneered the concept of promoting some matching and reliable parallel family. He had even created and coined the terminology for his arrangement which was termed as "Ameer Paegah" [امیر پائیگاہ].

Powers and duties of Ameer Paegah [امیر پائیگاہ کے اختیاروفرایض]:

The status of Ameer Paegah [امیر پائیگاہ] was limited only to Dolat-e-Asfia [دولتِ آصفیہ] which was an assemblage of big Jagirdars [جاگیردار] and some very reliable courtiers of the Nizam. The Nizam of Deccan had granted them the large size Jagirs [جاگیرات]. The Jagirdars [جاگیردار] of those used to maintain their special army in those Jagirs [جاگیرات]. The said reliable army used to be at the disposal of the Nizam completely. The administrator of the Paegah" [پائیگاہ] was called as "Ameer Paegah" [امیر پائیگاہ]. Taigh Bahader Jung [تیغ بہادر جنگ] was the first Ameer [امیر] in

this regard and Taigh Jung was the second [تیغ جنگ دوئم], who was his only son and was married to the daughter of the Nizam. He was given the title as Shams-ul-Umera [شمس الامراء]. There was another family which was also linked up with the Asifjahi [آصف جاہی] family. Thus the path was paved for future marriages in said family. The ruling family used to treat said family as their reliable family offshoot. The Ameer Paegah [امیر پائیگاہ] used to setup his special Durbar which was somewhat similar with the Durbar of the Nizam in terms of affluence, pomp and show and grandeur. The Ameer Paegah [امیر پائیگاہ] was the third strongest force in the state of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] after God Almighty and the Nizam. The Nizam had imposed however, some restrictions on Ameer Paegah [امیر پائیگاہ] despite all the pomp and show and grandeur. The most significant of all was that the Ameer Paegah [امیر پائیگاہ] was not supposed to leave the Jagir without a written approval from the Nizam. There was no question therefore, even to look outside Deccan [دکن]. The Ameer Paegah [امیر پائیگاہ] had to address the Nizam formally even if he had to make just one sentence request to leave the Jagir. The obligatory protocol for addressing the Nizam used to be in the manner as below:

‘‘ بہ پیشگاہ حضرت پیرومرشد جہاں پناہی ظِلِ سبحانی اعلیٰ حضرت قدروقدرت حضور پر بندگان عالی متعالی مد ظلہ العالی خلہ اللہ ملکہ و سلطنت و بعد آستان بوسی مودبانہ عرض ہے کہ------’’

Jamadar Dilawer Khan Panni Mahdvi

Assignor of rehabilitation of the people of Chanchul Ghorrha

[علاقہ چنچل گوڑہ کے آباد کنندہ جمعدار دلاور خان پنّی مہدوی]

There were ten thousand employees in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] under Ameer Paegah [امیر پائیگاہ] in (1175-1218 Hegira) which was during the reign of Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میر نظام علی خان]. They were under the command of Shams-ul-Umera [شمس الامراء], Taigh Bahader Jung [تیغ بہادر جنگ]. There was one person by the name of Dilawer Khan Panni Mahdvi [دلاور خان پنّی مہدوی] among them. He used to serve as the Jamadar [جمعدار] along-with his two hundred Mahdvi Panni Pathans [مہدوی پنّی پٹھان]. We may also point out that the post of a Jamadar [جمعدار] was not an ordinary post. He used to exercise his influence over the entire city so much so that even the Kotwal [کوتوال] of the city used to be under his control. Dilawer Khan Panni Mahdvi [دلاور خان پنّی مہدوی] had opted to live in Chanchul Ghorrha [چنچل گوڑہ], which used to be uninhabited in those days. He used to visit the Paegah [پائیگاہ] daily to pay his respects. Chanchul Ghorrha [چنچل گوڑہ]

was developed so much however, with the passage of time that there were shops of every commodity. The number of the Panni Pathans who were serving under Arustu Jah Wazir [ارسطو جاہ وزیر] and other Rajas and Umera [امراء] had also increased beyond four thousand individuals. The same had also included the Sardars and some other Jamadars. When Chanchul Ghorrha [چنچل گوڑہ] was over populated then, most of the Panni Pathans had opted to shift to Masheerabad [مشیر آباد] and Begum Bazaar [بیگم بازار]. The former was established by the Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] of the Nizam namely, Masheer-ul-Mulk [مشیر الملک]. There was another person by the name of Yaseen Khan Panni [یاسین خان پنّی] among those employees (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.471 GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ ***Page No.111***).

Sultan Mian Panni [سلطان میاں پنّی].

Dilawer Khan Panni Mahdvi [دلاور خان پنّی مہدوی] was a follower of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought yet he had never preached his belief among Aal-e-Sunnat [اہلِ سنت]. He was an intelligent and a conscientious person. He had lived almost a trouble free life but there was a man by the name of Pirzadah Sultan Mian Panni [پیرزادہ سلطان میاں پنّی] who was able to make inroads very cleverly into the Durbar of Arustu Jah Wazir [ارسطو جاہ وزیر] in Deccan. Thus he was able to acquire for himself the title as Suf Afghan Jung Bahader Sultan Nawaz-ud-Dolla [صف افگن جنگ بہادر سلطان نوازالدولہ]. He had acquired the rank of Charhazari [چہار ہزاری] as well. He was able to acquire also the status as Sardar of Seh-Hazar Swar [سہ ہزار سوار] (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ ***Page No.152***). He was also able to get the palaces of Kank Gheri [کنک گیری] and Gungagawati [گنگاوتی] etc. Thus their wealth had multiplied manifold during the reigns of Arustu Jah Wazir [ارسطو جاہ وزیر] and Mir Alam [میرعالم] and so much so those Panni individuals had become very influential locally in the affairs of justice and even in awarding certificates for meritorious services. Thus they were able to generate massive wealth and most of the Muslims as well as the Hindu government servants were indebted to them. Then said pattern and practice had encouraged them more and more and thus they were able to multiply their influence many folds (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.471 GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ ***Page No.111-112***).

Initiation of mischief [فتنے کا آغاز]:

Pirzadah Sultan Mian Panni [پیرزادہ سلطان میاں پنّی], who was living in the "Panni Khan Hawaili" [پنّی خان حویلی] had borrowed some money from about seven individuals who were from the Aal-e-Sunnat [اہلِ سنت]. They were from Suleiman Zai [سلیمان زئی] nation. *The same is also an offshoot of the Panni nation*. Those seven individuals were in Panni Khan Hawaili [پنّی خان حویلی] for many years just like parasites. They were as a matter of fact exploiting the indebtedness of Pirzadah Sultan Mian Panni [پیرزادہ سلطان میاں پنّی] and thus they had imposed their boarding and lodging arrangement on him. Since Pirzadah Sultan Mian Panni [پیرزادہ سلطان میاں پنّی] was the owner of said Hawaili [حویلی] therefore, it was also known by his name as the "Panni Khan Hawaili" [پنّی خان حویلی]. He was about to clear his debt liability during the reign of Nawab Skinder Jah Mir Akbar Ali Khan Nizam Deccan [نواب سکندر جاہ میر اکبر علی خان نظام دکن] (1218-1244 Hegira) when those seven individuals had attacked him in desperation at the night of 27th Ramadan [رمضان]. He was counting his beads at that time after his prayers and they had injured his right arm. He had defended himself however, very courageously against all of them and then he was able to put all of them to his sword very bravely and courageously (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.471 GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.111***). The time had elapsed very quietly after said incident and there was no reaction. Pirzadah Sultan Mian Panni [پیرزادہ سلطان میاں پنّی] was also an intelligent person and he had the capability to rightly assess the situation. He used to assess and evaluate every situation intelligently. He used to abstain however from uttering anything which was likely to offend the believers of other religions. The co-believers of Pirzadah Sultan Mian Panni [پیرزادہ سلطان میاں پنّی] used to preach their belief however very openly. They used to enforce their belief aggressively and with impunity. The balanced approach and the level headedness of Pirzadah Sultan Mian Panni [پیرزادہ سلطان میاں پنّی] had played a very significant role to establish his good relations among the people of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought and Aal-e-Sunnat [اہلِ سنت] (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.112***).

High-handedness of Yaseen Khan Panni [یاسین خان پنّی کی زیادتی]:

Yaseen Khan Panni [یاسین خان پنّی] was the son of abovementioned Dilawer Khan Panni Mahdvi [دلاور خان پنّی مہدوی]. He was also a follower of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought. He was a carefree person but a revolutionary by nature. He had a chat one day at Masheerabad [مشیر آباد] with a teacher from the Aal-e-Sunnat [اہلِ سنت] people. Yaseen Khan Panni [یاسین خان پنّی] had extended him the invitation of accepting the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought. He was able to

convince him by quoting the authentic references from the Quran [قرآن] and Hadees [حدیث]. When he had extended the invitation repeatedly and said teacher had agreed to accept to follow the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought, subject to a formal approval of Hafiz Abdul Kareem Sahib, Mufti of Mundi Masjid [حافظ عبدالکریم صاحب مفتی منڈی مسجد]. Then they both had decided to go to Masjid Jalo Khana Alam Bahader [مسجد جلو خانہ عالم بہادر] to meet Hafiz Abdul Kareem Sahib [حافظ عبدالکریم صاحب]. Yaseen Khan Panni [یاسین خان پنّی] was desirous to share his knowledge about the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought in response. Hafiz Abdul Kareem Sahib [حافظ عبدالکریم صاحب] had said that there are two Mahdis [مہدی] and the appearance of one of them is only likely in an abject state of affairs of the Muslims whereas the other one is supposedly a Mahdi [مہدی] from the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought! We may point out that the concept of the Mahdi [مہدی] was totally concocted and was unfounded and said concept was based manifestly on the self-deception of the non-practicing people. The authenticity of the same as per our research had remained under a big question mark. The reply of Hafiz Abdul Kareem Sahib [حافظ عبدالکریم صاحب] had perturbed Yaseen Khan Panni [یاسین خان پنّی] and he had declared that the Mahdi [مہدی] he had believed in was on the right path and those who had disbelieved him were infidels (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.113 Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.473***). Hafiz Abdul Kareem Sahib [حافظ عبدالکریم صاحب] had said in response to his remark that Yaseen Khan Panni [یاسین خان پنّی] was not there to establish the authenticity of his belief rather he was there to create mischief and had requested him to leave the mosque. The other people who were present there had turned him out of the mosque thereafter. Yaseen Khan Panni [یاسین خان پنّی] had received an injury on his forehead during the push and pull scuffle and then some blood had also started dripping from his forehead. He had opted to go to the pond of Jalo Khana [جلو خانہ] therefore, where he was able to wash his injured face. When the other followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought came to know about said incident, they started gathering in throngs at Jalo Khana Alam Bahader [مسجد جلو خانہ عالم بہادر]. Thus the situation transformed into a great row. The Ameer-ul-Mulk [امیرالملک] was preparing on said day for the flag hoisting of Moherram [محرم] at his Hawaili [حویلی], which was known as "Chathay" [چھتے] which was the last day of Zilhaj [ذالحجہ]. He had directed Khawaja Ahmed Khan [خواجہ احمد خان] to sort out the problem because he was supposed to look-after the buildings and the Bazaars administratively. He had tried his level best to pacify the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought but the explosive and volatile nature of the situation had remained out of control despite his best efforts (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.472 GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.113***).

Big congregation [انبوہ عام]:

Daiem Khan Mando Zai Panni [دائم خان مندوزئی پنّی] and Hassan Khan Mando Zai Panni [حسن خان مندوزئی پنّی] were followers of Aal-e-Sunnat Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت]. They had decided to go to the mosque in the wake aforementioned volatile and sensitive situation and were hopeful to curb the uprising. The riots were followed however, by a massive bloodshed despite their very noble efforts. When the situation was absolutely explosive, Daiem Khan Mando Zai Panni [دائم خان مندوزئی پنّی] requested Hafiz Abdul Kareem Sahib [حافظ عبدالکریم صاحب] to move into his house because he was desirous to have the mosque premises vacant just as a precautionary measure but Hafiz Abdul Kareem Sahib [حافظ عبدالکریم صاحب] refused to accept his request. The reply of Hafiz Abdul Kareem Sahib [حافظ عبدالکریم صاحب] was in this regard that he had waited in fact for said day. Then a man by the name of Inayat Ullah Khan Mahdvi [عنایت اللہ خان مہدوی] was able to move into close proximity of the mosque on his elephant and after sometime he had also started making attempts to enter the mosque. Daiem Khan Mando Zai Panni [دائم خان مندوزئی پنّی] and Hassan Khan Mando Zai Panni [حسن خان مندوزئی پنّی] had requested him to maintain the religious sanctity of the mosque in order to avoid dire consequences. They had warned him that his act was likely to create affray inside the house of Allah. Inayat Ullah Khan Mahdvi [عنایت اللہ خان مہدوی] had disregarded their requests therefore there was a big clash in the vicinity of the mosque between the two sides. The swords from both sides i.e. the side of the followers of Aal-e-Sunnat Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت] and the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought were smitten with the blood of each other resultantly. Thus the situation was totally out of control. Daiem Khan Mando Zai Panni [دائم خان مندوزئی پنّی] was killed during said highly charged situation because he was a follower of Aal-e-Sunnat Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت] whereas Hassan Khan Mando Zai Panni [حسن خان مندوزئی پنّی] was also injured very badly (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.472 GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.114***).

Murder of Molvi Abdul Kareem [مولوی عبدالکریم کا قتل]:

The whole city was engulfed into riots and affray within no time. The followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought were there in throngs with their naked swords as well as with other weapons and they had surrounded the mosque. The followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of

thought had shot dead three people namely, Taj Mohammed Khan [تاج محمد خان] and Ameer [امیر] as well as an Arab individual. They were offering Sunnat [سنت] prayers at Maghreb [مغرب] time. Then Yaseen Khan Panni [یاسین خان پنّی] was able to enter the mosque after receiving a minor injury on his forehead and he was able to slaughter Hafiz Abdul Kareem Sahib [حافظ عبدالکریم صاحب]. Since the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought had gathered in thousands and they were equipped with weapons therefore, they were more aggressive on removing the dead bodies of their fourteen people who were murdered during the clash with Daiem Khan Mando Zai Panni [دائم خان مندوزئی پنّی] and Hassan Khan Mando Zai Panni [حسن خان مندوزئی پنّی], after the murder of Hafiz Abdul Kareem Sahib [حافظ عبدالکریم صاحب]. The said incident had overwhelmed the entire population and so much so no one from Aal-e-Sunnat Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت] had dared even to enquire about the murder of Hafiz Abdul Kareem Sahib [حافظ عبدالکریم صاحب] thereafter (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.473 GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.114115***).

Since said incident was initiated by Sultan Mian Panni [سلطان میان پنّی] therefore, his sympathies were with the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought. The reason for the same was the fact that he was Pirzadah for the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought. He had informed the Nawab officially however, with regard to the incident on the same night which was due to his status of holding the post of Darogah [داروغہ]. He had distorted the facts however at will. He had given the impression that Hafiz Abdul Kareem Sahib [حافظ عبدالکریم صاحب] was murdered just because of his own aggressive attitude. He had absolved the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought from any responsibility and he had declared that neither the intentional motive nor the planning behind the affray was proved.

Demand of Qisas from Roshan Mian Panni [روشن میاں پنّی سے قصاص کا مطالبہ]:

The first day of Moherram [محرم] was passed without any disturbance. The second day of Moheram [محرم] was Thursday and Syed Noor-ul-Awleya [نورالاولیاء] and Noor-ul-Asfia [نورالاصفیاء], who were sons of Hajji Syed Noor-ul-Aala [حاجی سید نورالعلی], were among the leading scholars of Aal-e-Sunnat Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت]. They had sent the messages to other scholars of the city through which they had agitated the issue of the death of Hafiz Abdul Kareem Sahib [حافظ عبدالکریم صاحب] and had pleaded for an enquiry of his murder. They had also pleaded for taking a stern action against said incident before all other Molvies from Aal-e-Sunnat

Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت] were killed by the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school thought. The scholars had also decided to organize public rallies in the Mecca Masjid [مکہ مسجد] of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] after sending said message which was with the objective to appease the general public. When Maharaja Chandolal Wazir [مہاراجہ چندولال وزیر] came to know about the incident, he also showed his solidarity with the religious scholars through Ghoas Khan Jamadar [غوث خان جمعدار]. He had also endorsed their viewpoint of Qisas [قصاص] (nemesis) because it was in accordance with the spirit of Islam. He had encouraged them to gather in Jamia mosque. The factual position was that since the Mecca Mosque [مکہ مسجد] was close to the residence of the Nawab and there was also a possibility of a big riot therefore, Maharaja Chandolal Wazir [مہاراجہ چندولال وزیر] was desirous to see the assemblage of the congregation away from said place (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.473 GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.115116***).

The Jamia Mosque [جامع مسجد] was comparatively small in size therefore, Maharaja Chandolal Wazir [مہاراجہ چندولال وزیر] was under the impression that a small size group was likely to assemble and was also likely to be easily manageable. The scholars had assembled in Jamia Mosque [جامع مسجد] however and then someone among them had posted a Mohammadi flag [محمدی جھنڈا] in the area of Charkaman [چار کمان] near a pond. There were about one hundred thousand people approximately, who were assembled there under said flag. The government had ordered them to disperse peacefully but said attempt was also of no avail. When the Pathan followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought came to know about said large size assembly of people, they also panicked. Then they had sent their representative to Maharaja Chandolal Wazir [مہاراجہ چندولال وزیر] with the request to bring the uprising under control. They had also made an offer to handover Yaseen Khan Panni [یاسین خان پنّی] to Aal-e-Sunnat Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت] for Qisas [قصاص] (nemesis) for committing the murder of Hafiz Abdul Kareem Sahib [حافظ عبدالکریم صاحب]. When Maharaja Chandolal Wazir [مہاراجہ چندولال وزیر] had made said offer to a large gathering of Aal-e-Sunnat Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت], which had assembled there, the people had refused to accept said offer. They had put up the demand for a scholar from the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought who was similar in status for Qisas [قصاص] (nemesis) of Hafiz Abdul Kareem Sahib [حافظ عبدالکریم صاحب] instead of Yaseen Khan Panni [یاسین خان پنّی]. They had demanded in fact the custody of Roshan Mian Panni [روشن میاں پنّی] in this regard (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.473 474 GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.116***).

Attack by the Aal-e-Sunnat Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت کی یورش]:

When the doors of the Mecca Mosque [مکہ مسجد] were thrown open for Friday prayers on the following day, a large number of people were able to enter the mosque along-with Molvi Hafiz Mir Shujja-ud-Din [مولوی حافظ میر شجاع الدین], Hussein Khan [حسین خان], Molvi Noor-ul-Awlia [مولوی نور الاولیاء] and Molvi Glulami Khan [مولوی غلامی خان]. Molvi Glulami Khan [مولوی غلامی خان] was a sermonizer in the mosque. The scholars of Aal-e-Sunnat Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت] had announced Jihad [جہاد] at the end of their prayer against the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought. Niaz Bahader Khan [نیاز بہادر خان] and Manzoor Khan [منظورخان] and many others along-with Jamadars [جمعدار] from Aal-e-Sunnat Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت] had also attacked Chanchul Ghorrh [چنچل گوڑھ] thereafter. The same was the main abode of the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought. They had broken open the main gate of the city which was known as "Yaqootpura" [یاقوت پورہ]. Then they had started massacring the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought and both sides had remained engaged in sword crossing for about four hours. The bullets were exchanged throughout at night thereafter. The attackers of Aal-e-Sunnat Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت] had dispersed after the indiscriminate massacre of the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No. 474 GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.117***).

Massive bombardment on the main Panni center [پنّیوں کے مرکز پر قیامت خیزگولہ باری]:

The followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought had also retaliated in the same manner yet, on the dispersal of attackers from Aal-e-Sunnat Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت], they were under the apprehension of another massive military action as a follow up. The reason for the same was that some government officers were also killed during the attack at night. When Nawab Nizam Akbar Ali Khan [نواب نظام اکبر علی خان], who was the ruler of Deccan [دکن], came to know about the murder of the government officers, he was completely enraged. He had ordered his Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] namely, Chando Lal [چندولال] to move out at night along-with some English cannons in order to destroy Chanchul Ghorrh [چنچل گوڑھ] completely by next morning. Raja Skinderabad [سکندرآباد] had summoned four thousand soldiers from the cantonment, along-with ten cannons as well as some British officers. Then Mr. Bareed, Resident Martin and Mr. Senderson besieged the city of Chanchul Ghorrh [چنچل گوڑھ] at four O'clock before dawn. The

followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought were unable to know till morning that they were besieged. Then as soon as the factual position had dawned upon them, they had sent Jamadar Shah Alam Khan [جمعدار شاہ عالم خان], popularly known as Salam Khan [سالم خان] totally unarmed, to the British officers. They had sought a general amnesty through him on the ground that the individuals who were responsible for said incident were unscrupulous people in their community. The British officers had annihilated however, each nook and corner of Chanchul Ghorrh [چنچل گوڑھ] through a massive cannon fire spree despite their pleading for general amnesty. They had subjected the entire the Mahdvi [مہدوی] Pathan community to large scale genocide (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No. 474 GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.118***).

Massacre and the exile of the Mahdvis [مہدویوں کا قتلِ عام اور جِلاوطنی]:

Chando Lal [چندولال], Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] had showed some mercy for the remaining followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought just on their formal request. The same was however after their total inhalation. He had allowed them to leave the country with their bags and baggage within two to three days. Thus he had condemned the remaining followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought into exile. There were some of them however who were able to migrate into semi-autonomous state of Kernol [ریاست کرنول] to live among their Pathan brethrens. The state of Kernol [ریاست کرنول] was contiguous with the state of Hyderabad [ریاست حیدرآباد]. Then some of them had opted to migrate to Hindustan i.e. northern Hindh whereas others had disappeared in many villages which were located in the vicinity. The army officers had not allowed them to bury even the dead bodies of their near and dear ones. Chando Lal [چندولال] had favored Alam Khan Panni [عالم خان پنّی] however, for dumping dead bodies of his kith and kin into a ditch. He had provided him in this regard some laborers as well. Then he had made the arrangements to protect the buildings of the city after passing those orders. The same was under the apprehension that the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought were likely to set them on fire while leaving the country. The general public was instructed even for spotting and capturing the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought who were roaming in the city and they were supposed to be brought to the Kotwali [کوتوالی]. Thus they were able to clear the entire area of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] from the existence of the Mahdvi Panni Pathans (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No. 474 GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.120***).

The flames of bellicosity between Aal-e-Sunnat Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت] and the Mahdvi Pathans had not extinguished as yet and the ethnocentricity among the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought was also very difficult to be eradicated from their minds. They were very staunch believers of their movement and it was impossible to change their mindset. The agitation of people with said mindset was still active in some areas. There were some followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement who were sent into exile and they were also bent upon taking revenge. Then there were four followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement who had murdered Hakeem-ul-Hukama [حکیم الحکماء], Mohie-ud-Dollah Shah Alam Khan Panni [محی الدولہ شاہ عالم خان پنّی] in 1241 Hegira (1825) and they had enmity against them. They had remained in their hide outs in Kernol [کرنول] after being condemned into exile. They were also able to enter into Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] secretly in order to satisfy their grudge. When one day the cart of Hakeem Mohie-ud-Dollah Shah Alam Khan Panni [حکیم محی الدولہ شاہ عالم خان پنّی] was near a pond at Char Kaman [چار کمان] area, they had also walked up to him under the pretext to have their pulse examined. Thus when they were able to approach him they had killed him with a dagger. When the son of the Nizam namely, Mubaraz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] came to know about said incident, he passed the orders for their arrest. Then one of the assailants was able to escape whereas the other three were arrested. Then the Nawab had all three of them murdered. He had issued the orders for hanging their dead bodies at the main gate of the city. There was a large scale house to house search thereafter which was with the objective to hunt down the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement and whosoever they were able to lay their hands on, from among the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement, they had put him to the sword (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.21 120***). We may point out that it was the same Mubaraz-ud-Dolla [مبارزالدولہ] who was arrested by the British rulers fifteen years subsequent to said incident along-with the Nawab of Kernol namely, Ghulam Rasool Khan Panni [غلام رسول خان پنّی] for participating in the renaissance movement of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سیداحمدشہیدؒ]. He was arrested in Golkanda [گولکندہ] fort where he had served the custodial sentence till the last breath of his life.

Release of three Panni Mahdvi Umera [تین پنّی مہدوی امراء کی پرات]:

There were only three Mahdvi Panni Umera who were able to escape the hunt and chase campaign against the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school thought namely, Nawab Krar Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [کرارنوازخان بہادر پنّی], popularly known as Dolla Khan Panni [المخاطب

and his son Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [نواز خان بہادر پنّی] [بہ دولہ خان پنّی]. The reason for the same was that they were at their Talaqa [تعلقہ] in Nallorak [نلورک] fort at the time of incident. The Nallorak [نلورک] fort was the same place where Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had served as a Qaladar [قلعہ دار] on behalf of the Government of Bejapur [بیجا پور] in 1088 Hegira. He was fourteen years old at that time. This was about one hundred and forty years prior to said incident. Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was not only able to repel the attack of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] against the fort at that time rather, Mohsin Khan [محسن خان], who was son of a General, was also killed during said battle. Nawab Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [نوازخان بہادر پنّی] was the same person who had enjoyed for some time the titles as Ameer Nawaz Jung [امیر نواز جنگ], Ameer Nawaz-ud-Dolla [امیر نواز الدولہ], Ameer Nawaz-ul-Mulk [امیر نواز الملک] as well as the title as Nawab. The same was in recognition of his military achievements as well as for rendering services for the state of Asfia [مملکتِ آصفیہ]. He was also able to acquire many Jagirs [جاگیرات]. The detail account of the same has already been given. Nawab Krar Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [کرارنوازخان بہادر پنّی] had assured Raja Chando Lal [راجہ چندولال], that despite the fact he was a follower of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement, he was in Nallorak [نلورک] fort at the time of commotions along-with his son namely, Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [نواز خان بہادر پنّی]. He was not even remotely concerned with the affray of the Panni Mahdvi Pathans. He had also presented many valuable gifts to the Raja which had included some well trained and nicely decorated elephants as well. He had given the assurances on many occasions even thereafter with regard to his position as a peaceful person. When the Nizam had joined Sardar Nagger [سردار نگر] and Tahaniat Nagger [تہنیت نگر] popularly known as Lal Ghorra [لال گڑہ] in 1242 Hegira 1826 for the sake of hunting then, Nawab Krar Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [کرارنوازخان بہادر پنّی] had extended him the formal protocol as well. He was awarded then Rupees two thousand in cash along-with a gold stamp. Nawab Krar Nawaz Khan Bahader Panni [کرارنوازخان بہادر پنّی] and about two hundred cavalry and infantrymen were also present on said occasion other than many of his relatives (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.475 GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.120 121***). We can say only this much with regard to all said affluence and bestowal of gifts and titles that said period was at its peak in terms of insensitivity and personal aggrandizement.

Suf Shicken Jung Bahader Panni [صف شکن جنگ بہادر پنّی]:

The third person who was able to escape said hunt and chase campaign against the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement was Suf Shicken Jung Bahader Mian Mohammed Panni [صف شکن جنگ بہادر میاں محمد پنّی]. He had enjoyed the title as Sultan Nawaz-ud-Dolla [سلطان نوازالدولہ] Suf Shicken Jung Bahader [صف شکن جنگ بہادر]. He was appointed at the rank of Seh Hazar Swar [سہ ہزار سوار] and Char Hazar [چار ہزار]. He was also awarded the Alam-o-Naqara [علم و نقارہ], Nobat-o-Jawaher [نوبت و جواہر], Jagirat [جاگیرات] and Talaqat [تعلقات] both old and new together (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.153***). He had assured the Nizam through Raja Chando Lal [راجہ چندولال] that he was at his inherited Talaqa Kink Geri [تعلقہ کنک گیری] and Gungawati [گنگاوتی] along-with his brothers at the time of civil commotions. When one day Mian Mohammed Panni [میاں محمد پنّی] was coming out of the Durbar of the Nizam in 1246 Hegira (1830), there were two individuals who had ambushed him and then they had killed him under the pretext of non-payment of their salary. The assailants were also killed by his guards subsequently (***Durbar Asif*** [دربارِ آصف] ***Page No. 153***). The killers must have been the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement. They had not liked perhaps the treachery of Mian Mohammed Panni [میاں محمد پنّی].

Re-entry into the state with bribery [رشوت دے کر مملکت میں داخلہ]:

The Panni followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought and other Pathans who were condemned into exile were totally confused. They had kept roaming outside the limits of the state of Asfia [ریاست آصفیہ] for a number of years. Nawab Skinder Jah Nizam Deccan [نواب سکندر جاہ نظا م دکن] passed away in 1244 Hegira. Then Nawab Nasir-ud-Dolla Asif Jah Rabia Mir Ferkhanda Ali Khan [نواب ناصرالدولۃ رابع میر فرخندہ علی] had assumed power. He was the great grandfather of the last Nizam of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] namely, Mir Usman Ali Khan [میر عثمان علی خان]. The change of ruler had also changed the political scene. The wounds of Aal-e-Sunnat Waljamat [اہلِ سنت والجماعت] of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] were also healed and the bitterness of incidents with regard to the commotions had also disappeared. The same had become part of history by that time. Thus some measure of congeniality and tolerance were introduced in the country for the followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] movement. The people who were condemned into exile had also made use of said opportunity. Thus they were able to exploit the weaknesses of Raja Chando Lal [راجہ چندولال] who was very well known for taking bribes. There were some followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought who had bribed him massively for their re-

entry and rehabilitation in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] according to historians (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.475-476***). The followers of the Mahdvi [مہدوی] school of thought had also assured their unflinching loyalty for the Nizam at various occasions. Then the same pattern was adopted by their descendents and said practice had paved the way for their rehabilitation. The descendants of those people still live in Hyderabad Deccan [حیدرآباد دکن] and Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] was the last prominent Mahdvi [مہدوی] follower among them.

PANNI PATHAN

Chapter-XII

THE PANNI RULERS OF BENGAL, BEHAR AND ORISSA

[بنگال بہار اورآڑیسہ کے پنّی فرمانروا**]**

We have already explained that the actual homeland of the Panni nation was across the region of Indo-Pak Subcontinent. The same was in the plains of the southeast of the Subcontinent i.e. between River Ural [دریائے اررال] (*Caspian Sea*) and the River Khazar [خزر]. The said area is known today as Turkmenistan [ترکمانستان]. The second usual abode of the Panni nation was Iran [ایران], Iraq [عراق] and Armenia [آرمینیا] whereas, their third regular abode was Afghanistan [افغانستان] which had included of course Ghazni [غزنی], Herat [ہرات], Balkh [بلخ], Ghor [غور], Kandahar [قندھار], Shukher [سخر] and the mountains of Feroza [فیروزہ] along-with the adjoining hilltops of Koh Suleiman [کوہِ سلیمان] **(*Praaspa*)** as well as its various rugged precipices, slopes and depressions. The people who are unfamiliar with those areas have no attraction whatsoever for those places even in the present times. The entire terrain of Ghandahara [گندھارا] region is somewhat similar with its ecological environs. The people of the Panni nation, in the company of invaders, had earned the popularity with regard to carry out many adventures on their horses as well as with their swords. Thus they were able to march into the eastern areas i.e. Behar [بہار], Orissa [اڑیسہ], Bengal [بنگال], Sylhet [سلہٹ] and Chittagong [چٹاگانگ] just on the strength of their skillfulness in adventurism. They had ravaged the central as well as the southern areas of the Subcontinent in the process. Then they had opted to settle down at will in those areas and luck had greeted them in said areas hence, they were gradually able to hoist the flag of their reign. When some veteran and experienced Sardars and Pathan Jagirdars had made an all-out effort after the death of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] with regard to keep intact the glory of his rule, while his family was in the process of the disintegration, those veteran Sardars were also able to establish in those areas their own autonomous rule. They were also able to find their new homeland for many ensuing years. The family of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] had emerged therefore, as the last major and third ruling family of the Pathans in the Indo-Pak Subcontinent. The said family was known, according to various books of history, by the name(s) as Kerlanerri [کرلانڑی], Terkalanerri [ترکلانڑی], Kerrani [کررانی] or Krani [کرانی]. The said offshoot had become

thus, a representative group among the Pathan people. The general recognition of said family was nonetheless among the masses as “Panni” only.

People from the past [وہ لوگ جو کبھی تھے]:

There was an article which was published in the English Daily Pakistan Times on 29.12.1967 with the above-mentioned title. The same was not devoid of interest in any manner whatsoever. The said article was based on an excerpt from the book of W. Hunter, which was captioned as “Bengal Revival”. We have not been able to find the book, despite our best efforts but, said excerpt was in the manner as below:

> “The tale of the elite crop of east Pakistan was enshrined in many a chapter of history. The said reality had dawned on me when I was passing through a magnificent area of Panum [پانم] in village Sunar [سنار] and when I was able to cast my eyes on some grand buildings and ruins as well as on the ubiquitous conditions of people. There was a strange realization which had shaken me up that where were the ruling elite of the past ages whose grandeur was manifestly there in the form of splendid disjecta membra? We may well have to explore the history in order to find the correct answer of the same. We will come to know the truth about the descendants of some brave men, legends and scholars who were still very much there, provided we carry out some research in an appropriate manner. Once those people were the living members of those villages and although they had their abode in the cities yet, their recognition even in the present times was by the titles as Khondakar [خوندکار], Qazi [قاضی], Mirza [مرزا], Bohyan [بھویاں] and Chaudhery [چودھدری]. Those titles were status symbols in the yester years in the Durbar of said Sunar [سنار] village. Those who used to append such titles with their names were available in the areas even presently and their existence was from Jaysur [جیسور] to Maimon [میمن] and Sylhet [سلہٹ] up to Denajpur [دیناج پور]. Those people had fought against the Mughals as well as against the British rulers confrontationally. They were the bearers of the freedom flag for a very longtime in the Subcontinent. We may find them in the far-flung areas of Bengal even today. They have long noses which are cut into pure Aryan features and they have elegant bodies. They have also a general tinge of Dravidian Mongolian and Tibetan Mongol cuts in their features.

If one gets a chance to meet their Sardars, who is above seventy usually and who is white bearded and who has grey hair and if one may ask him in the Persian language " حالِ شما چیست" (*How are you*), he would reply with a gentle nod of the head "خیلے خوب است" (*Very fine*). Then his face would also start glowing with a sentiment that he was meeting a person who was familiar with his noble ancestry. This way the very reason of talking in the Persian language would become clear. Then he may well opt to recite orally a stanza of Umer Khayyam [عمر خیام] and he may well embrace the person very warmly as well. He may well extend a humble request to honor him by accepting his hospitality. There may well not be any need to mention that such type of people would be either Khondakar [خونداکار] or Khan Majlisi [خان مجلسی] or Khan Panni [خان پنّی] or people who have a similar social status. Those Pathan Muslims were the harbingers of Islamic civilization. They had deepened their roots in society during the reign of Allud-din Husain Shah Bengali [علاؤالدین حسین شاہ بنگالی] by intermingling with Pali Perakrat [پالی پراکرت]. The Bengali Muslim Umara [امراء] *noblesse* class used to be highly skilled in equestrianism. They used to demonstrate their equestrian skills during the contest to win their brides. The same used to be in accordance with their Turk-Pathan traditions. They used to settle their disputes mostly in accordance with the Pathan traditions. They have changed now quite considerably"

Krani rulers had hailed from the Panni nation [کرانی فرمارواداصل پنّی قوم سے تعلق رکھتے تھے]:

The last few rulers of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ], who were discussed frequently in the history, had hailed as a matter of fact, from the Panni nation. They should be addressed in future as "Panni" on the basis of our research and in accordance with their history. We have been able to dig out in this regard, some supportive historical documents. The same had revealed the factual position in the manner as below:

1. Kerlanerri [کرلانڑی], Terkalanerri [ترکلانڑی], Kerrani [کررانی] or Krani [کرانی] was not the name of any tribe rather they were a particular name of a group of people who were an assemblage of many tribes. The same had also included those who were also known as "Panni" and their sub-tribes like Sepah [سپاہ] and Safi [صافی] etc. (*An offshoot of Panni*

nation, Writer) and had also included those people who were known as Bungash [بنگش]. Those people used to live in the Upper-Bungash area i.e. Kerm [کرم] and Kohat [کوہاٹ] as well as in its vicinity (***Expeditions Page No.618***).

2. The Krani [کرانی] people were one hundred and twenty tribes "یک صدوبیست خیل است" according to Mullah Fazal, whose reference appears with his penname as Haturam [ہتورام] in Tareekh Baluchistan [تاریخ بلوچستان] (***Page No.74***).
3. Bungash [بنگش] was the name of more than one nation as mentioned under the heading as "Commissioner Rose Bungash" (***Page No. 57***).
4. The reference of the Panni tribe was the same as that of an Afghan tribe, according to the dictionary of Mr. Blue which had included the Safi [صافی] or Gadoon [گدون] or Jadoon [جدون] offshoots of the Panni Pathans.
5. The Kerlanerri [کرلانڑی] group of the Pathans, which used to live in the Upper-Bungash area, consisted of the Tori [طوری] (*Which is a confirmed offshoot of the Panni nation, Writer*) Maingal [مینگل], Joji [جوجی] and Khugeyani [خوگیانی] nations according to Sir Olaf Kero. The said mention was with reference to Mr. Reverty which had proved that the Kerlanerri [کرلانڑی] people were not a single nation collectively.
6. Kerlanerri [کرلانڑی] was the name of a group of the Pathan people according to Mr. Reverty. They were those people who were known by said name and used to live mostly in East Pakistan (***Page No.787***).
7. The Kerlanerri [کرلانڑی] were also known by the name as Terkalanerri [ترکلانڑی]. The consonant "N" (ن) was dropped from said word. Terkalanerri [ترکلانڑی] was a union of various Turk nations as per the Khattak [خٹک] nation which had simultaneously landed in said area (***Races of Afghanistan Page No.78***).
8. The Terkalanerri [ترکلانڑی] people consisted of Afridi [آفریدی], Orak Zai [اورک زئی], Bungash [بنگش], Tori [طوری] (***Panni Writer***) etc according to an Afghan writer. The meaning of said word was taken as "Turk Brethren" (***Races Page No.77***). There was also another fact that some Turk nations had already existed in the Koh Suleiman [کوہِ سلیمان] **(*Praaspa*)** area even prior to the reign of Subuktageen [سبکتگین] (***Races Page No.78***). The Turks were engaged in many encounters from the Koh Suleiman [کوہِ سلیمان] against the army of Subuktageen [سبکتگین] **(*Praaspa*),** while they were on their march towards the south (***Page No.79***), according to historians. The Panni people had also hailed from the

area which was known in the modern world as Turkmenistan [ترکمانستان]. The reference of those historians was directed most definitely towards the same Panni nation of present day.

9. There were some Panni people from the Safi [صافی] offshoot who also used to live in the area of the Bungash [بنگش]. They were able to evolve their recognition as Kerlanerri [کرلانڑی] with the inclusion of some other groups. Mohmand [مہمند] was also an offshoot of the Terkalanerri [ترکلانڑی] people (***Introduction Part-II Page XII and 41 Story of Swat***).
10. The Dalazak [دلازاک] tribe was also named, in some Genealogical Trees, as Terkalanerri [ترکلانڑی] (***Kero Page No.175***).
11. The origin of the Bungash [بنگش] people was also from the Kerrani [کررانی] or Kerlanerri [کرلانڑی] nations (***Rose Page No.57***).
12. The descendents of one ruler of eastern Hindustan namely, Suleiman Khan Kirrani [سلیمان خان کرانی] had claimed to be the descendants of said ruler, as well as his assassinated son namely, Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی]. The nomenclature of those people was "Panni" as a matter of fact (*Letter Dated.12.07.1963 from Bayezeed Khan Panni* [بایزیدخان پنّی] *Member Dhaka, Provincial Assembly, East Pakistan addressed to the Writer. Letter Dated.20.07.1960 addressed to* the *Writer by Naeem Khan Panni* [نعیم خان پنّی] *Member Provincial Assembly, East Pakistan Maimon Singh*).
13. The agnate of said family from East Pakistan (Bangladesh) namely, Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی], son of Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی], son of Suleiman Khan [سلیمان خان] was mentioned as "Panni" in the Gazetteer of District Mymensingh [میمن سنگھ] (***Page No.144***) Suleiman Khan [سلیمان خان] was referred however, as Kirrani [کرانی] in some general books of history.
14. The name "Panni" was written in the Persian language on a plaque which was affixed outside a mosque. The said mosque was built in 1608 by Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] in Assia [آثیا], Mymensingh [میمن سنگھ] during the reign of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر].
15. The name of the founder of said mosque was mentioned in the "Muslim Architecture of Bengal" as Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی], son of Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی] (***Page No.253***). Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی] was the son of Suleiman Khan Kirrani [سلیمان خان کرانی] (***Page No.39***).

16. The ruler of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] namely, Daod Khan Panni [داؤدخان پنّی], son of Suleiman Khan [سلیمان خان] was Kirrani [کرانی] by origin. He had fought many bloody battles against the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. He was able to teach an unforgettable lesson in one of those battles to the commander-in-chief namely, Munim Khan [منعم خان]. He had inflicted such blows on him that he was rendered paralyzed for the rest of his life. The author of Maser-al-Umara [ماثرالامراء], who had completed his book between 1183 Hegira (1769) and 1194 Hegira (1780), had expressed his views very candidly with reference to Daod Khan Panni [داؤدخان پنّی] in the context of Amir Daba Khan [امیردبہ خان] in the manner as below:

"پسرشیرافگن است ..... پسرشیروبہ خان ملازمت عرش آشیانی دریافتہ درکومکیانِ منعم خان خانخاناں
"یقینِ بنگالہ گردیدودرجنگ داؤد خان پنّی افغان کہ در حدودآڑیسہ او روئے مردانگی بروئے روز آورد
[***Roodbar-e-Akbari*** [رودبارِاکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.573 Page No.244-245***]

The name of the Panni family of Daod Shah [داؤد شاہ] was mentioned as "Panni" in an article on "East Pakistan Information" Dated.23.03.1960.

The abovementioned references had endorsed the fact that Kerrani [کررانی] or Krani [کرانی] was not a name of a nation rather it was a name of said family of the rulers of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] which was known in history by the name of Kerrani [کررانی] etc. They were actually the Panni Pathans.

PIONEER OF THE PANNI SULTANATE NAMELY, TAJ KHAN

[پنّی خاندان کا مسندِ عالی تاج خان]

Association with the Ulima (scholar) family [علماء کے خاندان سے تعلق]:

When nature had provided an opportunity to the Panni Pathans to lay the foundation of their autonomous sultanate in the eastern part of the Subcontinent, they were able to attain a very elevated position by using their acumen in conducting the warfare and with their sense of fortitude, level headedness and courage. They were also able to record their name in the history

of Hindustan when they had established an autonomous state in Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ]. The founding father of said autonomous sultanate was Taj Khan [تاج خان] Kerrani [کررانی].

Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی], Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی], Amad Khan Panni [عماد خان پنّی] and Ilyas Khan Panni [الیاس خان پنّی] were the four of Jamal Khan Panni [جمال خان پنّی]. He was from the family of Ulima [علماء] (scholars). They had lacked the recognition in the field of politics seemingly and their names were available in one of the epigraphs only. The name of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] was written in said epigraph as a pioneer of the sultanate. The four sons of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] were gifted generously with the traits of their ancestors (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.167 to 170 Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہان] ***Page No.126 Family History in History of Bengal by Charlse Stewart Page No.165 to 167***). They were not only interested in the fields of art and literature rather, they were able to prove their lion like pedigree traits in the battlefield as well. They were adept at using the skill of pen and sword. Mollana Abdul Qadir Badayoni [مولانا عبدالقادربدایونی], from the Durbar of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر], had expressed his views with regard to the literary excellence of Taj Khan [تاج خان] in the manner as below:

سلیم شاہ تاج خان کرانی را کہ برادر سلیمان خان کرانی وعالم وفاضل ترین از سلسلہ افغاناں بود درآں حدود ونامزد گردانید" (***Muntakhib Atwareekh*** [منتخب التواریخ] ***Volume No.1 Page 409***)

Those four brothers were also very intelligent and brave and Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] used to admire them. He used give them respect just because of their variously unique qualities. They used to work under him as his employees. Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] also used to give extraordinary respect to Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] and Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. Those four brothers were considered to be his confidants and top class Generals. He had awarded them Jagirs [جاگیرات] in the Perganat [پرگنات] of Khaspur Tandah [خاص پورٹانڈہ] near River Ganges [گنگا] as well as in the southern Behar [بہار] (*One Pergana* [پرگنہ] *used to consist of almost one hundred villages*). The said bestowal was in recognition of their loyalty and other meritorious services. They were also given the privilege to maintain their own army (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.47***). Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] was the ruler of Sanbhal [سنبھل] (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.106 Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.52***). The native people of his tribe were accommodated in Khaspur Tandah [خاص پورٹانڈہ] under the instructions of Sher

Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] as well as in the southern Behar [بہار] area near River Ganges [گنگا] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.47***). The said reference had established the statistical facts with regard to the people who used live in those areas. Those four brothers used to safeguard, with all the might and courage, the dignity and honor of Suri [سوری] family. They were able to fight the bloody battles against the enemies of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] and thus they were able to earn a big name for themselves as well. Their family was not debutant in said area because a respectable agriculturist family of Hajli [حجلی], whose agnate had earned a big name during the reign of Masnad Aali Taj Khan [مسند عالی تاج خان], also used to claim that their forefathers were able to settle in the area properly during the reign of Sultan Hussain Shah [سلطان حسین شاہ] who was the ruler of Bengal (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.219***). The said reference had also confirmed the fact that the people of the Panni nation were also settled properly in Hajli [حجلی]. We may also point out that the Pathans had landed in the Bengal region around fourteenth century. Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] had made quite a few land apportionments and thus he had assigned some posts to the very strong Afghan tribes.

Historical battle between Hamayoon and Sher Shah [ہمایوں اور شیر شاہ کی تاریخی لڑائی]:

Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] had not even proclaimed his Kingdom yet and he had to confront the Emperor Hamayoon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] but he was able to capture Banarus [بنارس]. Thus he had acquired the position to create some checkmates against the advancement of the Emperor Hamayoon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] from all the routes. The preparations for said battle were set apace in Zequad [ذیقعد] 946 Hegira (30.06.1539) while he was making the advancement towards Qanoj [قنوج]. The Emperor Hamayoon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] was subjected to a very humiliating defeat during said advancement. He had lost his foothold thereafter, in every part of Hindustan and resultantly he was left with no other option but to manage his escape to Iran. Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] was able to become thus the ruler of an area from Sindh [سندھ] and Multan [ملتان] up to Chittagong [چٹاگانگ]. He had liked the title as Sher Shah [شیرشاہ] for himself thereafter, instead of Sher Khan [شیرخان]. The very first reference of both brothers namely, Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] and Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had emerged in the context of said battle in which Sher Shah [شیرشاہ] had assigned them the central command of his forces. The Emperor Hamayoon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] had landed in the battlefield with tremendous preparation. Sher Shah [شیرشاہ] on the other hand had also come out well prepared in order to face him. He had crossed

River Ganges [گنگا] on 10th Moheram [محرم] (Aashora [عاشورہ]) 947 Hegira (1540) and had pitched his lashker face to face against the Emperor Hamayoon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں]. Sher Shah [شیرشاہ] had arranged the formation of his lashker in the manner as below:

> Sher Shah [شیرشاہ] Haibat Khan Niazi popularly known as Azam Hamayoon [ہیبت خان نیازی المخاطب بہ اعظم ہمایوں], Esa Khan Serdani [عیسیٰ خان سردانی], Qutab Khan Suri [قطب خان سوری], Haji Khan Jalwi [حاجی خان جلوی], Blund Khan [بلند خان] son of Haibat Khan [ہیبت خان], Saif Khan Serdani [سیف خان سردانی], Bijli Khan [بجلی خان] and Sermust Khan [سرمست خان] were in the center of said lashker.

The command of the right flank was assigned to Serdar Jalal Khan [سردار جلال خان], son of Sher Shah Suri who had become a King later on with the name as Saleem Shah [سلیم شاہ] or Islam Shah [اسلام شاہ]. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] and Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] and Jalal Khan Jalwi [جلال خان جلوی] along-with other Umera [امراء] were also with him.

The command of the left flank was assigned to Adil Khan [عادل خان], son of Sher Shah Suri whereas Qutab Khan [قطب خان], Raye Hussain Jalwani [رائے حسین جلوانی] and some other Umera [امراء] were also with him (***Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.III Page No.302 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.169 Razamnama Shahi*** [رزمنامہ شاہی] ***Page No.68 Reference Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.163 Translation Mukhzen Afghani Droon*** [ترجمہ مخزن افغانی درون] ***Page No.126***).

Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] and Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had participated thus in a decisive and revolutionizing battle. The said battle had changed in fact the name of Sher Khan [شیرخان] in history and he was known as Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] thereafter.

Friendly relations with Islam Shah Suri [اسلام شاہ سوری سے دوستانہ تعلقات]:

Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] had acknowledged Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] as his very close ally which was due to the fact that he was a very good friend of his crown prince namely, Serdar Jalal Khan [سردار جلال خان]. He used to honor the literary people and poets just like Serdar Jalal Khan [سردار جلال خان] or Saleem Shah [سلیم شاہ] or Islam Shah [اسلام شاہ] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.169***) thus they both had very good *inter se* understanding. Serdar Jalal Khan [سردار جلال خان]

had always promoted the interests of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی]. He used to watch their interest in the best possible manner and he used to make available for them his professional as well as military resources unconditionally. Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] died in 1545 just due to an unmanageable fire in an ammunition depot and the commotions had erupted pursuant to said incident and then there were a number of guards of Serdar Jalal Khan [سردار جلال خان] as well as his relatives who were bent upon giving vent to their internal schism and thus they had further flared up the riots. He was able to bring everything under control however, with the gutsy cooperation of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی]. He had acclaimed Gowalyar [گوالیار] fort as his Kingdom in the process and he had assigned himself the title as Saleem Shah [سلیم شاہ] or Islam Shah [اسلام شاہ] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.169***). Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had eulogized him on said achievement with a stanza in the manner as below:

خویش را بندہ تو نام کنم

کارزیں خوب ترکدام کنم

[***Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.178***]

Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] was engaged against his enemies thereafter and he was able to defeat them on all fronts. He was also able to curb all the disturbances and insurgencies in almost each and every part of his Sultanate. When Islam Shah [اسلام شاہ] was all-out to settle the score against the Niazi [نیازی] people, a supporter of the former ruling family namely, Suleiman Kazab [سلیمان کذاب] was also making some efforts at that time to restore the honor and the prestige of said family. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had to fight three battles against him in this regard and he was able to defeat Suleiman [سلیمان] at all fronts. He was killed in the third battle ultimately (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.169***). Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] was able to imprison his two sons i.e. Musa [موسیٰ] and Esa [عیسیٰ] and then he had sold them to the Iranian merchants (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.76***). The Iranian merchants had taken them away but when Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had become a ruler of their area after sometime, the maternal uncle of those prisoners namely, Qutab-ud-Din Khan [قطب الدین خان] was able to develop friendly relations with him. He had looked after him well in the area. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had allowed the return of those two boys resultantly, as an acknowledgement of his services (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.225***). The eastern part of the Sultanate of Islam Shah [اسلام شاہ] had become thus a problem free area after the death of Suleiman Kazab [سلیمان کذاب] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.169***). There was a General of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] by the name of Khawas Khan [خواص خان] who was also deadly

against Islam Shah [اسلام شاہ]. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had summoned him at the instigation of Islam Shah [اسلام شاہ] in 1552 and then he had him killed. Thus all the impediments were eliminated for the rule of Islam Shah [اسلام شاہ] and peace and order was imbedded in the entire Sultanate practically for many ensuing years. The same was all due to the efforts of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.111 Khurseed Jahan*** [خورشید جہان] ***Page No.119 121 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.111 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.106***).

Wazir of Islam Shah and tutor of his son [اسلام شاہ کے بیٹے کا اتالیق اور وزیر]:

Islam Shah [اسلام شاہ] had fallen sick fatefully due to some pain in his gall-bladder or according to another version it was due to a malignant fistula which he had developed. The said sickness had landed him in a state of total helplessness and he used to have spasms of drowsiness. He had admonished his close allies once, in said state of mind, but when he was able to recover from the traumatic condition, Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had brought into his notice his slanderous language which he had used. Since Islam Shah [اسلام شاہ] was a literary person therefore he had recited a stanza in the manner as below:

دگرکردندخوباں شیوہ حسن
حسن را ہم سخن طرز دگر شد

Islam Shah [اسلام شاہ] had summoned his wife namely, Hoshung Bibi [ہوشنگ بی بی] when had lost all hope for his life completely. He had told her that if she was desirous to see his son enthroned after his death, then she was supposed to grant him the permission to kill her brother namely, Mubaraz Khan [مبارز خان]. Hoshung Bibi [ہوشنگ بی بی] was left thus to raise hue and cry only. Islam Shah [اسلام شاہ] had not pressed the matter any further in the wake of said state of affairs (***Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.118***). Then he had summoned Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] and he had told him that he was very confident with regard to his overall influence. He was strong enough to subdue all his opponents but his malady had overpowered him. The same had rendered him even weaker than an ant. Then he had summoned his twelve year old son namely, Feroze Khan [فیروز خان] on 30th October 1553 and he had proclaimed him as his crown prince. He had decided to coronate him for the throne of Gowalyar [گوالیار] fort. He had appointed Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] as his tutor as well as protector then Islam Khan Suri [اسلام خان سوری] had passed away sometime thereafter (***Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.III Page No.302***

Tareekh Daodi [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.178 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.113 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.106***).

Murder attempt and narrow escape [قاتلانہ حملے سے بال بال بچ گیا]:

The death of Islam Shah Suri [اسلام شاہ سوری] was followed by rifts and riots in the sultanate. The intrigues had also engulfed Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] at various levels. Then he was pushed against the wall and he was left with no other option but to resign from his ministry. The resignation of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had helped Mubaraz Khan [مبارز خان] and he was able to execute his plan with regard to the murder of his nephew (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.170***). Mubaraz Khan [مبارز خان] had barged, as a matter of fact, into the palace of his sister amidst all the hue and cry and then he had murdered her son namely, Feroze Khan [فیروز خان] right in front of her eyes. The said murder had taken place just within twelve days after the death of Islam Shah Suri [اسلام شاہ سوری]. Thus Mubaraz Khan [مبارز خان] had endorsed the apprehensions of Islam Shah Suri [اسلام شاہ سوری] (***Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.118 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.107 Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.191 Maser Raheemi*** [ماثررحیمی] ***Page No.640 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.115***). Then an attempt was made at Gowalyar [گوالیار] fort for the murder of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] and the same was at the instigation of Mubaraz Khan [مبارز خان]. The said attempt had also taken place during those twelve days. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] was able to escape said attempt but, narrowly (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.170***). Mubaraz Khan [مبارز خان] had assumed the reins of power and he had declared himself as a King. He had also assumed the title as Adil Shah [عادل شاہ] (***Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.III Page No.302***). He had made Chanar [چنار] as his state capital instead of Agerah [آگرہ]. He was popular with the name of Adli [عدلی] thereafter. Ibraheem Sur [ابراھیم سور] was the nephew of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری]. He was able to annex Dehli [دہلی] and Aghera [آگراہ] just like Mubaraz Khan [مبارز خان] during said insurgency. Amjid Shah Suri [امجدشاہ سوری] was son of another brother of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری]. He had assumed the title as Skinder Shah [سکندرشاہ]. Then he had taken many areas of Punjab [پنجاب] under his control and thus Mubaraz Khan [مبارز خان] popularly known as Adli [عدلی] was left with the rule over Gowalyar [گوالیار] and Bengal only.

Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had very intimate relations with Saleem Khan Suri [سلیم خان سوری]. The said relationship was intolerable for Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی]. He had nominated a vegetable seller as his Wazir. The name of said person was Hemu Doser [ہیمودوسر] and used to live in Rewarri [ریواڑی]. The Pathans, who were already antagonized due to many inappropriate decisions of Adli [عدلی], were infuriated further because of said appointment of a vegetable monger as his Wazir. They had started opposing Adli [عدلی] more openly because they were not ready to see an ordinary Banneya [بنیا] to be their Wazir. The rivalry on the other hand had also surfaced among three contestants of leadership of Suri [سوری] family. The same had created some riotous conditions in the country. Then an organized group of opponents of Adli [عدلی] had emerged on the scene. Adli [عدلی] had started following the advice of Hemu Doser [ہیمودوسر] very seriously with regard to suppressing said group. The said inadequate approach of Adli [عدلی] had pushed his sultanate into a state of total anarchy which was a turning point, as a matter of fact, for Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی]. He had no other option but to light the flame of rule from the fading lamp of reign of Suri [سوری] dynasty. The same had provided, as a matter of fact, the ignition to light up the torch of the sultanate of the Panni Pathans.

He walked away from the Durbar of Adli [عدلی کے دربار سے اٹھ آیا]:

Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی] had set up his Durbar in Gowalyar [گوالیار] fort in 1553. He had assigned the Jagirs to his *áme damées* staunch supporters after taking the same from the Pathan Jagirdars who were against him venomously. There were some Pathan Jagirdars to whom he had even awarded the rigorous imprisonments. There were some others against whom he had issued death warrants as well. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] was also present in his Durbar and his name was among those who were awarded death punishment by putting to the sword (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.47 120 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.113 Mukhzen Afghani*** [مخزن افغانی] ***Page No.172 Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.209 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.120***). Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] was a very clever person and he was able to assess the perilous situation seriously. He was also able to assess the moods correctly pursuant to a number of orders of Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی]. Then he was able to amass all the strength and courage in an absolute disregard of protocols to stand up in the Durbar and then he had walked away defiantly (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.170 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.III Page No.302***). The said move by Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had proved to be a great counter

initiative and had established his rational and realistic approach. When he was walking out of Gowalyar [گوالیار] fort, he had encountered Shah Mohammed Fermali [شاہ محمد فرملی] at the door along-with another Ameer [امیر]. They were walking in to attend the Durbar proceedings. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had stopped him and then he had informed them with regard to the situation inside. He had told him that he had decided to walk away from said Durbar and he had also extended an invitation simultaneously to work together against the prevalent situation in the Durbar. This was devastating for both of them (***Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.121***). The unfortunate Shah Mohammed Fermali [شاہ محمد فرملی] had disagreed with Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] and he had opted to go inside the Durbar. Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی] had awarded the area of Qanoj [قنوج] to Serbani Pathan [سربنی پٹھان]. The same was the Jagir of Fermali [فرملی] people. The son of Shah Mohammed Fermali [شاہ محمد فرملی] namely, Skinder Khan Fermali [سکندر خان فرملی] was also present in the Durbar at said time and he had raised some strong objections against said wrong order. The same resulted in a great row even to the extent that swords were drawn out from sheathes. The rivals had crossed the swords then and said Durbar was converted into a place of big carnage just within no time. The bad luck had entrapped Shah Mohammed Fermali [شاہ محمد فرملی] because he was among those who were murdered right in the middle of the Durbar (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہان] ***Page No.121*** ***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.47 48*** ***Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.195*** ***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.113*** ***Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.III Page No.302***). Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی] barely managed to escape into the Herm [حرم] and thus he was able to save his life. Skinder Khan Fermali [سکندر خان فرملی] who was trying to chase him, was also killed (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.119 120***).

Declaration of autonomy [خود مختاری کا اعلان]:

Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had moved very quickly on to the road towards Bengal after leaving the Gowalyar [گوالیار] fort. Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی] had sent a big lashker after him in an absolute enragement and then he had decided to chase him personally with the intention to arrest him. The army of Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی] was able to catch up to Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] at Chapera [چھپرا]. The same was about forty miles away from Agerah [آگرہ] and about thirty miles from Qanoj [قنوج]. Then both sides were engaged in a highly pitched battle against each other at said venue. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had failed to put-up a strong

resistance because he was without adequate arsenals and war equipment. He was able to escape to Chanar [چنار] and Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی] had made his return to the Gowalyar [گوالیار] fort as a result of his fleeing from the scene (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.170 Turktazan-e-Hindh*** [ترکتازان ہند کاخ دوم] ***Kakh Doam Page No.157 Ferishta*** [فرشتہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.285 and Riaz-ul-Slateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.152***). The luck had favored Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] on his way to Chanar [چنار] and he had encountered the employees of Khalsa Shahi [خالصہ شاہی]. He had exploited the opportunity and he had plundered and looted all their goods as well as cash and ration. He was also able to capture one hundred elephants of Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی] which were grazing in the jungle (***Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.III Page No.338 Ferishta*** [فرشتہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.285 and Riaz-ul-Slateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.152 and Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہان] ***Page No.136***). The courageous move of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had won him the support of many opponents of Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی] in 1554 which had made him stronger than ever before. Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی] had left the Gowalyar [گوالیار] fort in the meantime for Chanar [چنار] in order to bring his treasure. He had created the impression at that time as if he was out to arrest Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی]. The troops from both sides had faced each other at the River banks of Ganges [گنگا]. They had remained entrenched there for some days while staring at each other eyeball to eyeball. Then Hemu Doser [ہیمودوسر] had requested Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی] to provide him some elephants along-with troops in order to break the attritional standoff. He had volunteered to cross the River in order to destroy the army of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہان] ***Page No.126***). The request of Hemu Doser [ہیمودوسر] was granted duly and then he had landed on the other side of the River as per plan. The said surprise move had caught Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] unawares and he was defeated fairly and squarely. He had opted for a retreat along-with his entire logistics thereafter and he had joined his brother Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. He was governor of Behar [بہار] and he was a Jagirdar in southern Behar [بہار] since the period of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری], Amad Khan Panni [عمادخان پنّی] and Ilyas Khan Panni [الیاس خان پنّی]. They all had agreed openly to join hands and then they had revolted against Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی]. Thus they were able to capture Gorr [گور] (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہان] ***Page No.126 Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.II Page No.302***). Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] was able to declare his own Kingdom in said process (***Riaz-ul-Slateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.52 Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.196 Ferishta*** [فرشتہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.258***).

Political moves of Taj [تاج کے سیاسی حیلے]:

When Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had moved towards Bengal after receiving a defeat from Hemu Doser [ہیمودوسر], his brother Amad Khan Panni [عمادخان پنّی] had also accompanied him. They had planned to seek refuge with Saleem Khan Kaker [سلیم خان کاکڑ] and Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی]. They were ruling Bengalla [بنگالہ] at that time. When they had learnt about his arrival, they had opted to come out in the middle to greet him. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had murdered two administrators in order to acquire the reign of Bengal according to various books of history. The same was with the objective to benefit from its overall resources and to strengthen himself against Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی]. There was a great disturbance in the area of Gorr [گوڑ] resultantly. The relatives and allies of both murdered administrators had amassed in a big rally and they had launched an attack against Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] as well as against his brother Amad Khan Panni [عمادخان پنّی]. The subsequent state of affairs was also very precarious and turbulent which had compelled Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] to show an absolute restraint. He had to face therefore, all the torrents of time very courageously. The two brothers had prepared *idée reçue* a fake stamp of Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی] and then they had also passed a fake order by affixing the stamp with his name. They had informed their opponent Panni [پنّی] (*Word used here is "Pannian" [پنیاں]) and Kakerr [کاکڑ])* that those two assassinated administrators were murdered in fact under the orders of Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی]. The move under discussion had proved to be a success and the row was not only quelled against the two brothers rather, most of the Pathan Umera [امراء] had become their strong allies and they had turned against Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی]. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] was able to get many elephants and other arsenals as well as goods after murdering those two administrators. He was also able to seize most of the local recourses. (***Translation Mukhzen Afghani Droon*** [ترجمہ مخزن افغانی درون] ***Page No.179 Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہان] ***Page No.126***). He had demonstrated amazing resoluteness and steadfastness among all those brainless Pathans who had gathered around him according to Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل]. He had amassed a lot of wealth along-with many elephants (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.325***). Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل] had characterized the Pathans, who were supporters of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی], as brainless [بے مغز] people. Thus he had expressed his extreme contempt against them. The same was the reason perhaps that they were deadly against the Mughals.

Attack against the Kaker nation [کاکڑ قوم پر حملہ]:

Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] and Amad Khan Panni [عمادخان پنّی] had appointed their brother, Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی], as a ruler of Gorr Bangalla [گو ڑ بنگلہ] in 971 Hegira (1563). Then they had moved towards Haseebpur [حصیب پور] and they were able to exploit the differences between Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی] and Hemu Doser [ہیمودوسر]. They were also able to establish their residence in the vicinity of Haseebpur [حصیب پور] which was close to the banks of River Ganges [گنگا]. Then they had captured besides Haseebpur [حصیب پور] some other towns in the surrounding areas. There were about five thousand Kakerr [کاکڑ] families which had also sought refuge in said area during said period. The pretext for the same was that they were chased by the Mughals and they had no other option but to seek refuge in said area. They were asked to make the representation however, through their Sardars but there were some individuals from the Kaker [کاکڑ] tribe who had disagreed with the proposal. Then both brothers had lighted fireworks and they had attacked the Kaker [کاکڑ] families at night with the lashker of twelve thousand soldiers as well as some very strong elephants. They were under the apprehension that they were likely to be subjected to revengeful persecutions for the murder of Saleem Khan Kaker [سلیم خان کاکڑ] and Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی]. Those Kaker [کاکڑ] families had also demonstrated a very strong protest. They had come out of their delineated limits and then they had engaged themselves in a pitched battle. Those two brothers were disinclined to engage in a battle initially yet, there were many individuals from the Kaker [کاکڑ] families who were injured and some of them were murdered as well. They had returned to their original position however, after receiving the defeat. They had held a meeting "Nanwata" [ننواتہ] thereafter and then they had sent their negotiators to settle the differences but they were arrested ultimately (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہان] ***Page No.127***).

Defeat against Satoryani [ستوریانی سے شکست]:

There were about one thousand Satoryani [ستوریانی] soldiers who had moved, in the meantime, into the area of those two brothers after receiving a defeat at the hands of the Mughals. They had set up their camps about three miles away from the habitats of the Kaker [کاکڑ] families. The general political situation was such that the skirmishes between the Pathans and the Mughals

used to be a frequent event in those days. When the Satoryani [ستوریانی] soldiers were able to learn about the atrocities of the Kaker [کاکڑ] families, the pinch of the same had also saddened them and they had decided to help the victims. They had launched an attack against the lashker of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] and Amad Khan Panni [عمادخان پنّی] in a pitch dark night. The said attack was very humiliating for both brothers because they had declared the radius of thirty miles as a buffer zone. We may point out that freedom and independence cannot be availed as a charity, it has to be achieved through a constant struggle. The Panni Pathans had lost about three hundred soldiers during the run and chase and almost an equal number of their elephants were captured as well. The Satoryani [ستوریانی] people had handed them over to Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی]. Then their area had gone under the control of the Kaker [کاکڑ] families ultimately (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہان] ***Page No.127 Mukhzen Afghani Droon*** [ترجمہ مخزن افغانی درون] ***Page No.180***). The readers may well get the impression that Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] and Amad Khan Panni [عمادخان پنّی] were scared off and they had given up hope due to said unendingly challenging situation but, the same was not the case rather, they had faced the situation upright with absolute resilience and resolve. Since the area of southern Behar [بہار] was already under the control of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] therefore, they had moved on and on till the time they had succeeded in establishing their autonomous and independent rule. Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی] was engaged against Mohammed Khan Koreya [محمد خان کوریا] at Chattor [چتوڑ] after sometime. Then Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] was able to get back his lost territory from the Kaker [کاکڑ] nation.

Establishment of the Sultanate and death [سلطنت کی تاسیس اور انتقال]:

Mohammed Khan Sur [محمد خان سور] was reigning in the area of Bengal in those days. He used to look down upon the Panni Pathans in southern Behar [بہار]. Mohammed Khan Sur [محمد خان سور] from the eastern side and Adil [عادل] from the northern side had surrounded Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی]. He was able to establish however, friendly relations with the latter very intelligently. He had helped him in his moves against Adil [عادل]. Khizer Khan [خضر خان], who was popularly known as Bahader Khan [بہادر خان], had become ruler of Bengal in 1557 after the murder of his father namely, Mohammed Khan Sur [محمد خان سور]. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had also established intimate relations with him. Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] had moved his troops in the month of April, in the same year, against Adil [عادل], with the intentions to avenge the murder of

his father. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had supported him during said venture. Mohammed Khan Sur [محمد خان سور] was therefore not only defeated at Surajgher [سورج گڑھ] but he was killed in the same battle. Bahader Khan [بہادر خان] had handed over the entire area of Behar [بہار] to Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] thereafter and he had opted to go to Gorr [گوڑ]. When Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had proclaimed his rule then, according to an epigraph of 1559, he had assigned himself the title as "Masnad Aali" [مسند عالی] instead as king. He tried to establish good relations with the governor of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] namely, Khan Zaman [خان زمان] in eastern Hindustan which was a preemptive measure to secure himself against the influence of Bahader Shah [بہادرشاہ]. Then he had sent his troops under the command of his brother namely, Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] against Bahader Shah [بہادرشاہ]. He had also come out with a massive lashker in order to take him head-on. The battle had not even started when Bahader Shah [بہادرشاہ] died in 1560 (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.168 117***). Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] used to say that the flower may be called by any name but it remains a flower. He was interested in power only therefore, without naming the same anything, he had attained virtually all the powers and authority (***Mukhzen Afghani Droon*** [ترجمہ مخزن افغانی درون] ***Page No.181***).

Capture of the entire Bengal region [سارے بنگال پر قبضہ]:

Jalal-ud-Din Sur [جلال الدین سور], brother of Bahader Shah [بہادرشاہ] had succeeded him after his death with the title as Abul Muzaffer Shah [ابوالمظفرشاہ]. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had also established friendly relations with him. Jalal-ud-Din Sur [جلال الدین سور] died in 1563. Then the insurgency had engulfed his entire sultanate and Ameer Gheyas-ud-Din Salus [امیر غیاث الدین ثالث] was able to come into power. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had also made incessant efforts in 1564 for his rule in Bengal besides Gorr [گوڑ]. He had defeated Ameer Gheyas-ud-Din Salus [امیر غیاث الدین ثالث] and then he had captured entire Bengal. Thus he was able to lay the foundation of the Panni sultanate (***Mukhzen Afghani Droon*** [ترجمہ مخزن افغانی درون] ***Page No.181 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.168 172***). Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had not even reaped the fruits of his achievements properly when a few months after the conquest of Bengal, the man who had always submerged to emerge from the blood streams and who had many a time defeated the enemy in the battlefields and the one who was a brave General of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری], was ultimately defeated by the angel of death in 1565 after his rule of about twelve years. The scholars of his time had eulogized his wisdom and intellect. Mullan Badayooni [ملاں بدایونی]

had declared him as the wisest person among all the Pathan rulers (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.168 173 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.111***).

HAZRAT AALI SULEIMAN KHAN PANNI, THE RULER OF BENGAL, BEHAR AND ORISSA

[حضرت عالی سلیمان خان پنّی فرماروئے بنگال، بہاروآڑیسہ]

The Kingdom of Bengal [بنگال] and Behar [بہار] had devolved upon Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] after the death of Masnad Aali [مسند عالی] Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] (***Riaz-ul-Slateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.153 Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.196 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.325***). Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] ruled very authoritatively and was able to conquer Orissa [آڑیسہ] and Chittagong was also subsequently included in his Kingdom (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.191 reference Chittagong under the Pathan Rule in Bengal***).

Afghan mindset [افغانوں کا دماغ]:

Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was also a very knowledgeable person. He had great interest in literature, just like his elder brother Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] (***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.400-403***). He was also familiar with the ups and downs of politics and besides that, he was a Veteran General. The historians admired him mostly with regard to his relationship with the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] as well as for his wisdom, foresightedness and broadmindedness in intricate matters of the country as well as in the strategic affairs. He was gifted with those abilities just like his elder brother. He was able to keep at bay, the expansionist and aggressor, Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] just by virtue of his grand strategy. Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل] had named him as “Brain of the Afghans” (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.326***). Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] had also laid the foundation of a Pathan sultanate just on the strength of his political acumen and wisdom. Then Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] maintained it very resolutely, despite the Mughal opposition. The reign of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was a golden chapter of the Panni Pathans in eastern Hindustan after the reign of the Suri [سوری] dynasty. Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] was able to glorify the rule of the Afghans and was also able to firmly hold aloft the flag of the same (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.174***). He organized and

rehabilitated the Pathans in his area and was able to inject a new spirit in their body politics. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had maintained very friendly relations with the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and used to exchange gifts with him at the level of personal friendship. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was restrained, in this way, permanently to create any disturbance against him. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had improved his military might tremendously, despite maintaining his friendly relations with the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. He had never approved to be addressed as a king [بادشاہ] or Sultan [سلطان] and had maintained the traditions of his elder brother. Thus he was able to keep the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] away from his country. He had preferred to be addressed as "Hazrat Aali" [حضرت عالی], just like Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری]. (***Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.196 Ferishta*** [فرشتہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.253 Riaz-ul-Slateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.154 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.179***). Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was from a family of scholars and was an ardent lover of Islam due to which he had followed the Hadees Sharif [حدیث شریف] of Bukhari [بخاری], according to which the Prophet Mohammed [ﷺ] had said that "most detestable would be a person on the day of judgment who had opted to use for himself the title as Malik-ul-Malook [ملک الملوک] i.e. King of Kings or the emperor [شہنشاہ]" (***Terjman Assuna*** [ترجمان السنہ] ***Page No.389***). He used to treat the Hindu subjects humanely with courtesy, justice and magnanimity. He was regrettably too kind in his approach and he used to be exploited for his extraordinarily polite behavior. *The detail account of the same will be given later.*

Matured approach and bravery [بالغ نظری اور شجاعت]:

The time was favorable for Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] to lay the foundation of a solid Pathan sultanate. The same was the period when different factions of the Suri [سوری] dynasty were at war against each other. The said schism had destroyed, as a matter of fact, the family strong-hold of the Suri [سوری] dynasty. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had no strong rival in the eastern part of the country and he was capable enough to lead the Pathans from the front. The plight stricken and the beleaguered Pathans had congregated under the flag of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.174)*** which had strengthened his hands in the eastern part of the country. The same was perhaps the reason that Abu Alfazal [ابوالفضل] was constrained to coin the phrase as the "Brainless Afghans" [بے مغز] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.325***). Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was a brave and chivalrous General

and had participated in many battles. He had fought on behalf of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] against the Emperor Hamayoon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] at Qanoj [قنوج] on the 9th of Moheram [محرم] 947 Hegira (1539). The latter was defeated in said battle and the Emperor Hamayoon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] was able to escape to Iran (***Zaka*** [ذکا] ***Volume No.III Page No.212***). When Mubaraz Khan Adli [مبارز خان عدلی] had raided Behar [بہار] in 962 Hegira (1554), Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had sent Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] to encounter him and he was able to defeat him at Mongheer [مونگھیر]. Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل] was not unfamiliar with his ambitions in the backdrop of said approach in his life. He had used therefore, the words as "Cheat" for Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. He had said "ازانجا کہ عمل منافقانہ داشت سررشتہ بندگی ظاہرنمی گسبیخت" i.e. as their acts were based on bigotry therefore, they were not ready to sever their relationship with the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] even ostensibly (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.19 20 29***). The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] notwithstanding the same had always handled the affairs of the country with amity.

Tremendous military power [بے پناہ عسکری قوت]:

Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had massive military prowess and had amassed a lot of wealth. He had about 3600 elephants about 14000 cavalrymen and about 20000 foot soldiers besides hundreds of cannons as well as war ships (***Riaz-ul-Slateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.155-56***). The confirmation of those statistics had also come from the writer namely, De Laet. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was the strongest ruler in the eastern Hindustan according to him (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.174***). The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had a fairly good idea of his military might. The same was the reason perhaps, that he was quite content with the verbal commitments of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. He had also allowed the recitation of the Khutba [خطبہ] of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and he had minted the coins with his name as well which was the reason that they were able to curb the possibility of internal schism. They were also able to establish their stay in their respective Walayats [ولایت] peacefully. They used to follow the principle "عصاہوتوکلیمی ہے بے کار بے بنیاد" i.e. when one is in a position to use the batten then there was no room for arguments.

Suleiman the second [سلیمان ثانی]:

Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was a pious and a judicious ruler. There was an inscription in one of the epigraphs, which was affixed on the wall of a mosque in Behar [بہار], that in the context of judiciousness, affluence and piety, he was Suleiman the second [سلیمان ثانی] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.175***). The contemporary historians of his time had also praised him by virtue of his aforementioned attributes. The public as well as private life of Suleiman the second [سلیمان ثانی] was almost the same according to them (***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Part No.2 Page No.200 201***). He had only one wife. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] used to offer his Esha [عشاء] prayer in the company of about one hundred and fifty religious scholars. He used to remain busy with them till dawn in the context of religious matters and in general consultations and conversations. He used to begin his day after offering the Fajer [فجر] prayer. Mollana Badayooni [مولانا بدایونی] was among very distinguished courtiers of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. He was known for his eloquence and truthfulness but his upright approach was also deemed to be his demerit. The people of his time had little knowledge about him with regard to his "Mutikhib Atwareekh" [منتخب التواریخ]. He had lived most of his life in obscurity during the reign of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The people were able to know about him however, almost ten years after the death of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. Mollana Badayooni [مولانا بدایونی] had expressed his views with regard to Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] in the manner as below:

> "The respect and admiration of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] among the religious scholars had also tempted the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. He had also setup a place of worship wherein he used to conduct and carry out literary philosophical and religious polemics with religious scholars and intellectuals" (***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Part No.2 Page No.200 201***).

The author of Tabaqat-e-Akbari [طبقات اکبری], who was appointed at a distinct post as Bukshi Geeri [بخشی گیری,] during the reign of Akbar, had expressed his views in this regard in the manner as below:

> "Akbar had laid the foundation of a place for worship [عبادت خانہ] along-with his son namely, Daod Shah [داؤدشاہ] during the course of fighting the battles" (***Volume No.2 Page No.324***).

The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had laid the foundation of a place for worship [عبادت خانہ] but the same was certainly due to the fact that he used to emulate the Panni Pathan rulers. There was also another fact that said place of worship [عبادت خانہ] was almost a simulation wherein the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] also used to conduct regular sessions of consultation with different scholars as well as with reliable Umera [امراء]. Thus the same had become a launching pad for the infamous "Zahni Shaguft" [ذہنی شگفت] (Heretics) of the Din-e-Elahi [دینِ الٰہی] subsequently. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was steadfast on the contrary and was affluent with both worldly as well as religious wealth which was the reason perhaps, that his name was inscribed on the epigraph which was affixed outside the mosque of Behar. He was described therein as straightforward, judicious and a pious person and as Suleiman the second [سلیمان ثانی] (***History and Geography of Bengal Page No.303***). There were very well lined ruins of a fort about fourteen miles away from Phulwari Sheriff [پھلواڑی شریف] (Behar-India) towards the east at Azeemabad [عظیم آباد] city and Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had built said fort (***Letter from Khankah Phulwari by Syed Ghulam Husain Dated.26.01.1963 addressed to the Writer***). The literary taste and sweet impact of the literary way of writing of the beloved of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] namely, Mollana Mohammed Husain Azad [مولانا محمد حسین آزاد] had selected the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] era in order to demonstrate his skills with regard to glorifying his reign. There was no need to point out that our history was full of such historical versions which were not only inconsistent with the facts rather, the same had presented a bizarre form of historical events at the level of various well known writers.

Lack of ethnocentricity [عصبت کا فقدان]:

Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was a very staunch Muslim ruler yet, he had maintained a frank balance of traditions of his predecessor rulers with regard to the Hindus in Bengal. He had appointed them on very key posts in his government as a gesture of general solidarity. Ramananda Goha [رامانندا گوہا] and his sons namely, Bhabha Nanda [بھابھانندا], Gana Nanda [گانانندا] and Sanba Nanda [سبانندا] had held ministerial posts in his government. Sanba Nanda [سبانندا] was the treasury chief or Nazim-e-Ala [ناظمِ اعلی] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.175***). The son of Bhabha Nanda [بھابھانندا] was a very close friend of Daud Shah [داؤد شاہ], son of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. He had also acquired the ministerial post during the reign of Daud Shah [داؤد شاہ] ***(Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.175***). He was awarded the title of Wikrema Deta [وکرامادیتا] but said

policy of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] and the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had proved to be very damaging for the Muslim generations which had followed them. The same had brought about neither the religious reforms nor had they left behind even the desired result. The resultant muddled up impact of the same is visible even today.

Conquest of Orissa [اڑیسہ کی تسخیر]:

The conquest of Orissa [اڑیسہ] was a golden chapter in the reign of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. He had deemed it appropriate to attack Orissa [اڑیسہ], due to the fact, that the attitude of the King Makandah Hereepandana [مکندہ ہریپندانا] was very defiant and said Raja had provided refuge to Ibraheem Khan Suri [ابراھیم خان سوری]. The said act had created apprehensions for Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] that the Raja was likely to instigate said pseudo claimant to conquer Bengal and which eventuality was likely to create many problems for Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Tabaqat*** [طبقات] ***Volume No.2 Page No.183***). The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was also desirous to destroy the eastern part of the Subcontinent under the Panni Pathans through Ibraheem Khan Suri [ابراھیم خان سوری]. He was able to prevail on the Raja in this regard and he had instigated him to launch an attack against Bengal. The said plan was supposed to be executed as a counter measure in case Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was inclined to assist the traitor governor of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] namely, Khan Zaman [خان زمان] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.285***). The presence of Ibraheem Khan Suri [ابراھیم خان سوری] in Orissa [اڑیسہ] and the connivance of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] with the Raja had rendered Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] very insecure in his dominion. He was the only impediment for him in the way of annexing Orissa [اڑیسہ] with his dominion. The initiation of a war against Orissa [اڑیسہ] was therefore very essential for him. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had also planned to take possession of all the natural resources as well as the wealth of Orissa [اڑیسہ] which was with the view to strengthen his rule as well as to curb the expansionist designs of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر].

Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had selected an opportune time to march towards Orissa [اڑیسہ] which had taken place in 1567 when the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was engaged in making all out efforts to conquer the Chator [چتوڑ] fort. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had sent an expedition, at that point of time, towards Orissa [اڑیسہ] under the command of his son

namely, Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی]. He was also accompanied by Skinder Auzbuk [سکندرازبک] who had absconded from the Durbar of Akbar along-with a newly Muslim General namely, "Kala Paharr" [کالاپہاڑ]. The actual name of Kala Paharr [کالاپہاڑ] was Rajo [راجو]. The Panni Pathans were able to capture Orissa [اڑیسہ] after a bloody battle. The area of Orissa [اڑیسہ] was inclusive of the "Puri" [پوری] area. They were able to bring massive treasures of gold from said area and, according to the historian Namat Ullah [نعمت اللہ], every Pathan who had participated in said expedition was able to get his share of the booty in the form of one or two small gold statues. There were about seven hundred small statues of gold in the temple of Jugannathpuri [جگن ناتھ پوری] which Kala Paharr [کالاپہاڑ] had destroyed. The heaviest among them was about thirty mounds only ***(Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.171***). Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had appointed Wazir Suri [وزیرسوری] as governor of Orissa [اڑیسہ] thereafter. Then he had appointed Qatlo Khan Lohani [قتلوخان لوہانی] (Panni) as a ruler of the Puri [پوری] area. The capital city of said state was Katak [کٹک] ***(Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.2 Page No.174 Tabaqat*** [طبقات] ***Volume No.2 Page No.124 and Riaz-ul-Slateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.153 and District Gazetteer Puri Page No.32***). Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had made Jugannathpuri [جگن ناتھ پوری] a big Dar-us-Slam [دارالسلام] according to Mollana Badayooni [مولانا بدایونی]. The access to the Jugannath [جگن ناتھ] temple was also restored to the Raja, according to the district Gazetteer Puri (*page No.32*).

Castigation of the ruler of Koch Behar [حاکم کچ بہار کی گوشمالی]:

Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had to fight a defensive battle against his neighboring ruler of Koch Behar [کچ بہار] after the conquest of Orissa [اڑیسہ]. The Raja of the area namely, Raja Baswar Sango [راجہ بسوار سنگو] was all set to conquer the area of Kamtapur [کامتاپور] and had waged a war against Bengal in said pursuit in 1568. He had to face defeat however and his General and the crown prince namely, Saklad Waja [سکلادواجا] were arrested. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had sent his General Kala Paharr [کالاپہاڑ] as a measure of retaliation for attacking Koch Behar [کچ بہار] thereafter. The Pathan forces were able to march up to Taizpur [تیزپور] i.e. the upper portion of the River Berhamputra [برہمپترا]. They were able to destroy, among others, the temples of Kamakheya [کاماخیا] and Haju [حاجو]. They had emerged victorious after destroying some other areas as well. The objective of said raid was to demonstrate the superiority as well as the strength to the Raja. He had not annexed the area with his dominion

despite conquering the same and he had restored the conquered area. He had not only returned his area rather, he had also released the crown prince as a gesture of solidarity (***Riaz-ul-Slateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.154 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.177***). The very objective of said move was to evolve a joint future preemptive strategy against the Mughal attack from the northern side. We may also point out that the area of Koch Behar [کچ بہار] from the north of Rajshahi [راج شاہی] was up to the foot of the Himalayan Mountain [کوہ ہمالیہ].

Strategy against Akbar [اکبر کے مطلق حکمتِ عملی]:

We have already pointed out that Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had devised a multifaceted strategy against the Mughal Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] which was three prongs apparently in the manner that he used to recite his Khutba [خطبہ] just ostensibly in order to demonstrate the congeniality in the relationship. Then he used to send the gifts etc. to the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر**]** and besides that, he used to mint the coins also with his name in order to keep him at bay (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.19 20***). He had also developed besides that, very friendly relations with the governor of the eastern province of the Mughal Empire which was on the pattern of his brother, Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی]. He had maintained a very balanced diplomatic relationship particularly with the Viceroy of Johnpur [جونپور] which was situated at the border of Behar [بہار] and which was the back bone of the foreign policy of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. He had never missed any opportunity to antagonize the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] despite his ostensible display of cordiality.

Objectives of Akbar and Suleiman Khan Panni [اکبر کے عزائم اورسلیمان خان پنّی]:

Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had established his independent and autonomous reign in Bengal and Behar ***(Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.178***). The viewpoint of the Afghan historians was not endorsable because there was no numismatic evidence that any coin was ever minted in the name of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. The numismatology is the only source to ascertain the autonomy of any ruler historically. There were some coins which were discovered with the name of his son namely, Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. He had also proclaimed his royal status. The same practice was rather intolerable for the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] during the Pathan reign in Bengal. When Skinder Khan Sur [سکندرخان سور] had withdrawn from Mankot [مان کوٹ]

in 1557, the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had reappointed Khan Zaman [خان زمان] as a Viceroy of Johnpur [جونپور]. He was given the assurance through a royal decree that if he was inclined to conquer Bengal, the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was likely to make him the ruler of Bengal area (***Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.100***). Khan Zaman [خان زمان] had never appeared inclined however at any point of time in history to take away Bengal and Behar from his Panni Pathans which had always perturbed the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. Khan Zaman [خان زمان] had maintained a rather rebellious attitude against the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] just for the sake of his friendly relations with the Afghans. He had declared his rebellion practically in 1565. The said situation was a factual manifestation of the military might as well as the affluence of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. Since the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had to sort out other intriguing situations in the country therefore, he was never in a position to make any concerted effort to take any action against him. He had no choice resultantly, but to maintain good working relationship with Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had enjoyed all the powers in this regard despite the fact that he was never even desirous to be addressed as a King.

The intelligent Wazir Lodi Khan [دانشمند وزیر لودی خان]:

Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] himself was a man of farsightedness yet, he was very lucky to have an intelligent Wazir whom Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل] had termed as the brain of the Afghans (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.326***) and the name of said Wazir was Lodi Khan [لودی خان]. He was the same person through whom Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had made all out efforts to develop friendly relations with the Mughal Empire. The said move was on the pattern of his brother, Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی]. This had brought two advantages to Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] i.e. he was able to manage and preempt the hegemonic intentions of the Mughals and secondly it had helped him conquer Orissa [اڑیسہ]. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was brought under trepidation as a result of the same. When Khan Zaman [خان زمان] had sided with the brother of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] namely, Mirza Hakeem [مرزاحکیم] in 1565 and he had declared a rebellion in Kabul [کابل] against the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر], it had created a general perception that the rebellion was due to the collusion of Khan Zaman [خان زمان] with Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was presumed to be instrumental for said rebellion. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had

sent a diplomatic delegation in the wake of said situation under the leadership of Haji Mohammed Khan Sailistani [حاجی محمد خان سیلیستانی] to the Durbar of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. The objective of the same was to strengthen friendly relations with him afresh. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had halted however said delegation near the Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس] while showing solidarity with Khan Zaman [خان زمان] and then he had handed the delegates over to Khan Zaman [خان زمان]. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had sent a second delegation after said incident under the leadership of his treasurer namely, Hasan Khan [حسن خان] and Mahaputer [مہاپتر] to the Raja of Orissa [اڑیسہ] which was supposed to ensure that in case Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had provided the assistance to the rebellious Viceroy Khan Zaman [خان زمان], then it was necessary to prepare said Raja of Bengal to wage a war against Behar [بہار]. Mahaputer [مہاپتر] had a real knack of playing eastern music therefore, the Raja had welcomed his diplomatic delegation and thus he had ensured his allegiance to the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. He had given the assurance even to the extent that he was ready to launch Ibraheem Khan Sur [ابراھیم خان سور] in the field if it was required. Ibraheem Khan Sur [ابراھیم خان سور] was claimant to rule Bengal and Behar. He had also given the assurance to pitch him against Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.253 Tabqat*** [طبقات] ***Volume No.2 Page No.183***).

Lifting of the siege at Rohtas [رہتاس سے محاصرہ اٹھا لیا]:

Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] notwithstanding the aforementioned political moves had sent a lashker under his General, Kala Paharr [کالاپہاڑ] along-with Suleiman Mankali [سلیمان منکالی] to provide assistance to Khan Zaman [خان زمان] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.258***). He had also sent his troops on said particular juncture to capture the Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس] which was under an Afghan Sardar namely, Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی]. The same was with the objective to exploit the situation which had engulfed the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The said contingent of soldiers had besieged the fort in 1561 which had perturbed Hasan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی], who was brother of Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی]. He had approached the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and he had beseeched him to bail them out. They had given assurance to the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] that they were ready to surrender the fort on their successful bail out from the siege. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was in Johnpur [جونپور] at that time to settle the account with Khan Zaman [خان زمان]. He had sent the troops therefore, under

the command of Qalaich Khan [قلیچ خان] in order to help them out. When Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was able to examine said aspect of the situation, he was constrained to lift the siege. The same had brought a sigh of relief for Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] under the impending danger. He had backed out however, from his promise very cunningly, subsequent to lifting of the siege. He was rather over possessive about the fort and resultantly the Mughal General, Qalaich Khan [قلیچ خان], had to return without achieving the desired goals (***Tabqat*** [طبقات] ***Volume No.2 Page No.185 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.255 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.2 Page No.77-78***). The diplomatic shrewdness with which both brothers were able to outmaneuver the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] will be discussed later.

Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had continued his support however, to Khan Zaman [خان زمان] but a settlement agreement was reached between the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and Khan Zaman [خان زمان] through the mediation of Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان]. Khan Zaman [خان زمان] had built a fort at Zamania [زمانیہ] near Banarus [بنارس] and one of his confidants namely Asad Ullah Khan [اسداللہ خان] was the custodian of said fort at the time of his death. Then Asad Ullah Khan [اسداللہ خان] had offered the possession of said fort to Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] on the realization that, in case of a raid by the lashker of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر], the fort was not defendable easily. Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] had come to know however about said offer because he was looking after the affairs of the eastern domains as Viceroy of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] in place of Khan Zaman [خان زمان]. He had arrested Asad Ullah Khan [اسداللہ خان] immediately and as soon as the lashker of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was able to reach there to take the possession of the fort, Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] was already in possession of the fort. The lashker of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had no other option resultantly but, to go back empty handed (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.325 Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.906***).

Friendship with Munim Khan [منعم خان سے دوستی]:

When the death of Khan Zaman [خان زمان] had taken away a good friend of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی], then his Wazir namely, Suri Khan [سوری خان] had advised him to strengthen his friendship with Khan-e-Khanan [خانِ خاناں]. He had sent him therefore, good wishes along-with some gifts and Lodi Khan [لودی خان] had also hosted a grand party in this regard in the honor of

Munim Khan [منعم خان] which was with the intention to strengthen his friendship. Munim Khan [منعم خان] had opted to go towards Patna [پٹنہ] where Lodi Khan [لودی خان] and Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی], son of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی], had greeted him with respect. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had opted to welcome Munim Khan [منعم خان] personally in order to show his solidarity with him. He had embraced him even when he was about five to six miles away from Patna [پٹنہ]. Munim Khan [منعم خان] had arranged a party in his camp in the honor of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. Then Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had reciprocated in the same manner in the following morning and he had presented him some gifts for onward submission to the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had also reaffirmed his commitment besides that, to continue the recital of his name in the Khutba [خطبہ] and printing his name on the coinage (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.325***). There were some Afghans who had proposed to arrest Munim Khan [منعم خان] at that time which was with the objective to create some panic in the Mughal camps. The same was likely to provide an opportunity to Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] to capture some of their areas. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] and Lodi Khan [لودی خان] had not agreed however, with the proposal but said proposal had made Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] apprehensive with regard to the safety and security of Munim Khan [منعم خان] therefore, he had made appropriate arrangements and he had accommodated Munim Khan [منعم خان] at his personal residence (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.326-7***). Then Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had maintained his friendship with Munim Khan [منعم خان] till the last breath of his life. The said farsightedness and broadmindedness had created a guarantor for the Pathans in the eastern part of the Subcontinent. The political wisdom of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had kept the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] satisfied and the result of his political farsightedness was ultimately translated into Afghan and Pathan unity.

The great ruler [ایک عظیم حکمران]:

There was no doubt that as long as Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had lived, he had not only maintained and consolidated the status of the Pathan Sultanate in the eastern part of the Subcontinent rather, he had kept the Afghans and the Pathans united as brothers by following the suit of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری]. The disintegration of the Sultanate had started soon after the death of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] in 1572 which was due to his unwise successors who had

deviated from his practices and resultantly there were *inter se* rivalries and polarization in the administration. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was the last known great ruler and the last man in the ruling chain of the Pathans. The achievements to his credit were definitely praiseworthy that he had remained steadfast as a ruler particularly when the Pathans were up against all odds. He had maintained his rule with elegance and honor right in the neighborhood of an expansionist and aggressor ruler like the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The Pathan Sultanate of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] comprised of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ]. He had never allowed the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] to succeed in his expansionist maneuverings and his ability to organize the ill disciplined and arrogant Pathans and Afghans after Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] had proved the fact that he was a man of very high stature and was a popular leader among the masses. There was never a second view that Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was the only intelligent and well established leader among the Afghans after Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری]. He was a successful ruler in every sense of the word. The proof of which was that Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] was a cradle of peace and harmony during his reign ***(Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.185***). The fort Phalwari Shariff [قلعہ پھلواڑی شریف], which was built by him, was located about 12 miles away from Baharat [بھارت] which is a jumble of ruins at present among some modern buildings (***Letter Dated.24.01.1964 from Khankah Phalwari Shariff*** [خانقاہ پھلواڑی شریف]).

Twilight of his life [آخری عمر میں]:

Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had also sent an expedition against Assam [آسام]. He had given up the idea of further expansion of his Sultanate thereafter. He had opted to stay in Ghor Bangla [گوڑ بنگلہ] at his old age and he had decided to remain busy in social work as well as in prayers and Tahajad [نمازوتہجد]. The welfare of the masses was a cardinal objective of his life. The said man of many traits and qualities, and was popular among his people by virtue of his intellect and piety and love for Islam died in 981 Hegira (1572) after ruling for about eight years powerfully and successfully. The sad demise of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was mourned by all and sundry equally, regardless of cast, creed and credo and according to the historians he had left his masses with tears in their eyes. The contemporaries of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had always paid rich tributes to him and the courtier of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] namely, Abdul Qadir Badayoni [عبدالقادربدایونی], had also great respect in his heart for

Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. Notwithstanding the fact that his patron namely, the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر], was deadly against Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] yet, Abdul Qadir Badayoni [عبدالقادربدایونی] had conceded publically at his demise in the manner as " برحمتِ حق پیوست" i.e. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had transgressed into the blessings of God Almighty (***Volume.No.1 Page No.187***).

دریغا آسمانِ معرفت باخاک یکساں شُد
ستونِ عِلم از جارفت و کاخِ فضل ویراں شُد

Alas equal to dust was the sky of knowledge
Wisdom column had departed, palace of blessings was deserted

SHAH BENGAL, BEHAR AND ORISSA, BAYEZEED KHAN PANNI

[شاہ بنگال بہارواڑیسہ، بایزیدخان پّنی]

There were real differences among the Umera [امراء] of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] in 981 Hegira (1572) which were with regard to the appointment of his successor after his death. There were three contestants for his Sultanate. The eldest son of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] namely, Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پّنی] was one of them. The second one was Hansu Panni [ہنسو پنّی], son of his brother namely, Amad Khan Panni [عماد خان پنّی], who was also son-in-law of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] ***(Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.39***). The third one was the younger brother of Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پّنی] namely, Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. The famous and gallant General of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] namely, Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] was the supporter of Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پّنی]. The Veteran General of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پّنی] namely, Lodi Khan [لودی خان] who was quite influential, was in favor of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. The experienced and the brave Sardar namely, Qatlu Khan [قتلو خان] on the other hand, was in support of Hansu Panni [ہنسو پنّی] (***Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.205 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.186***). The likeminded Umera [امراء] were also divided in the Sultanate into three groups. Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پّنی] was enthroned however, amidst intense polarization. He had proclaimed himself to be a King unlike his father (***Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.155 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.180***). He had also promulgated the Khutba [خطبہ] and he had minted coins with his own name (***Khursheed Jahan***

[خورشید جہان] ***Page No.128 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.186***). Then it was a matter of just a few days when he was murdered in his Dewan by Hansu Panni [ہنسو پنّی] or Hesu [حیسو]. The murder had taken place at the instigation of Lodi Khan [لودی خان]. Hansu Panni [ہنسو پنّی] was also killed at the spot during the scuffle. Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پّنی] was able to hold the reins of power for about one month only, according to some historians (***Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.205 Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.156 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.281 and Volume No.2 Page No.389 Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.155***). There were some others historians who had maintained the view that his rule had lasted for thirteen days only.

Conqueror of Orissa [فاتح اڑیسہ]:

Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پّنی] had not availed much opportunity to rule yet, he had proved himself to be a very brave and gallant Sardar. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had made very special arrangements for his military training. He had provided him multiple opportunities to learn how to manage the affairs of the country. Then it was Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پّنی] who had conquered Orissa [اڑیسہ] in the company of the famous traitor General of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] namely, Sardar Uzbuk [سردارازبک] along-with a newly Muslim and a brave General who was known as Kala Paharr [کالاپہاڑ]. He had also conquered the area of Puri [پوری] among other areas which were in the vicinity (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.176***). Kala Paharr [کالاپہاڑ] was a person who had destroyed the temple of Jugannathpuri [جگن ناتھ پوری], where about seven hundred small statues of gold were found. The heaviest among them was about thirty mounds in weight ***(Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.171***). We have already mentioned above that the reason for his attack was the Raja of Orissa [اڑیسہ]. He had conducted operations against Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] in connivance with the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The objective of said connivance was to juxtapose Raja Ibraheem Khan Sur [راجہ ابراھیم خان سور] with Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] because he had sought refuge with him with the intension to attain the rule of Bengal and Behar. Then the Governor of Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] namely, Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] had opted to go to Johnpur [جونپور] on the invitation of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] to show his solidarity. Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پّنی] was there and he had escorted him under the instructions of his father ***(Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.174***). Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پّنی] had the privilege to manage the affairs

of the country along-with his father. He was really and competently entitled therefore, to take over the reins of power as his successor. He had a son by the name of Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی]. The successors of Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] still hold and maintain even today a large size Jagir in the former East Pakistan (Bangladesh). They are among a very few privileged families in the area. The detailed account of their history will be rendered later.

Shah Bengal, Behar and Orissa, Daod Khan Panni [شاہ بنگال بہاروآڑیسہ،داؤدخان پنّی]:

The circumstances of the Afghans were not normalized despite the murder of Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پّنی]. Lodi Khan [لودی خان] was quite influential and he was the one who had maneuvered to place Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] on the throne (***Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.55 Ferishta*** [فرشتہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.53 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.2 Page No.187 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.281***) The rival of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] namely, Hansu Panni [ہنسو پنّی] or Hesu [حیسو], who had the support of Qatlu Khan Lohani [قتلو خان لوہانی] (Panni), was also killed in Qisaa [قصاص] for the murder of Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پّنی] (***Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.313***). The fire of differences was ablaze constantly and one of the sons of Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی], who had supported Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پّنی] previously, was nominated as a candidate in Behar [بہار]. The name of said successor was Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.253 reference Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.427 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Part-II Page No.174 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.293 District Gazetteer Maimon Singh*** [میمن سنگھ] ***Page No.144***). We may also point out that Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] was granted a Jagir by the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] in former East Pakistan (Bangladesh). The Jagir consisted of a number of Perganas [پرگنات] and a very large chunk of it is still in possession of his successors. The candidate of Qatlu Khan Lohani [قتلو خان لوہانی] namely, Hansu Panni [ہنسو پنّی] was already murdered therefore, Qatlu Khan Lohani [قتلو خان لوہانی] along-with his group had entered into a settlement agreement with Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. Thus Lodi Khan [لودی خان] had moved out of the capital Tandah [ٹانڈہ] with some added force and with the intention to fight against Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] in Behar [بہار] (***Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.313 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.187***). Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had proclaimed his enthronement with the title as Daod Shah [داؤدشاہ] and unlike the tradition of his father he had promulgated his Khutba [خطبہ]. He had also minted the coins with his own name (***Tareekh***

Daodi [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.205 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.281 Mukhzen Afghani Droon*** [مخزن افغانی درون] ***Page No.182 Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.155 Iqbalnama*** [اقبال نامہ] ***Jahangeeri*** [اقبال نامہ جہانگیری] ***Volume No.5 Page No. 214)***. There was a sufficient numismatic evidence of his era which was disinterred in recent times (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.191 Catalog of the provincial Coins Cabinet Assam Page No.177*)*.**

Attack by the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر کا حملہ]:

The fire of differences was blazing constantly among the Afghans when the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was out of the capital of Gujarat [گجرات] with the intention to attack the Afghans. He had received the death news of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] at that time and he had not even dared to look towards Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] in the past but with his death news, he had started sensing victory in eastern Hindustan. The Umera [امراء] of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had advised him to postpone the expedition of Gujarat [گجرات] because they were desirous to see him moving first towards the Afghan sultanate. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had persisted however with his original plan. He was able to pacify his advisors by disclosing his future agenda after the demise of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] as well as with regard to the Afghans of eastern Hindustan (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.191 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.174***). He had sent a royal decree to his Viceroy Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] in Johnpur [جونپور] with regard to wage a war against Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] prior to his initiating the attack (***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.191 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.281 Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.156***). The Viceroy Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] had taken out a lashker in compliance with said royal decree and he was near Chanar [چنار] to confront the Afghans who were badly entangled in sorting out their internal rivalries. The Wazir Lodi Khan [وزیر لودی خان] was able to enter Behar [بہار] on the other hand along-with his mammoth lashker with the intention to wage war and to support Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی]. Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] had waited for his arrival as a candidate to take over the reins of power. Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] was quite perplexed when he was able to realize that it was difficult for him to confront Wazir Lodi Khan [وزیر لودی خان]. Then he was engaged in the correspondence with the Viceroy Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] with the same state of mind. He had requested him to help join the employment of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and that this was

not the end. He had also made an offer to hand over the entire area of Behar [بہار] to Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] and had also proposed besides that, to retain the Gor Khporra Hajipur [گورکھپوڑا حاجی پور] as his personal Jagir for one year. He had proposed him simultaneously to launch an attack against Behar [بہار]. Gojer Khan [گوجرخان] had also submitted in writing to step down in the following year and he had agreed to be content in exchange with a Jagir in Bengal. Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] could not have asked for more. He had accepted all the aforementioned proposals (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.187 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.30 Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.315***) He had granted him Gor Khporra Hajipur [گورکھپوڑا حاجی پور] (***Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.315***).

Foresightedness of Lodi Khan [لودی خان کی دوراندیشی]:

Lodi Khan [لودی خان] was an intelligent person as well as a brave General besides being a visionary politician. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was also impressed by his bravery and intelligence. Mollana Abdul Qadir Badayoni [مولانا عبدالقادربدایونی] i.e. courtier of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had also praised him very much. He used to address him as "Amir-ul-Umera" [امیرالامراء]. The historian Ferishta had declared Lodi Khan [لودی خان] as the most powerful Ameer [امیر] of the country (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.213 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.2 Page No.174***). Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل] was also impressed by his intelligence therefore he had expressed his views in the manner that Lodi Khan [لودی خان] was very intelligent. He was blessed with great insight in the matters of warfare as well as for laying trenches. He was also a great strategist and an intelligent and clever custodian of the eastern parts. He was declared watch-man of the interests of the Afghans (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.213 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.70 Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.315***). Lodi Khan [لودی خان] was able to inject a new life with his charismatic genius in the Panni sultanate and it had come at a time when the sultanate was in doldrums and in complete disarray. He was able to mesmerize Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی], who was the supporter of Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] and the son of late Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی]. He had not agreed only to side with Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] rather he was ready to confront Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] in his company. Then such level of intelligence had helped Lodi Khan [لودی خان] undoubtedly to rescue the Afghan government which was heading towards a total collapse. The achievement of Lodi Khan [لودی خان] had proved to be a great setback for Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل]. He had resultantly targeted the

political acumen of Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] very vehemently (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.187 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.20***). The said incident had turned out to be his personal grievance.

Murder of Yusuf Khan Panni was a blunder [یوسف خان پنّی کے قتل کی حماقت]:

When Lodi Khan [لودی خان] was marching towards Johnpur [جونپور] after engaging Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] into a political wrangling, his success had ignited the fire of jealousy at every inch of the way (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.187)***. Qatlu Khan Lohani [قتلو خان لوہانی] and Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] and the Wazir of Daod Shah [داؤدشاہ] namely, Siri Heri [سری ہری] had also developed some kind of polarization which was due to the fact that he was able to bring some amelioration single handedly in a totally chaotic situation of the Panni sultanate. Thus he was able to consolidate his influential position. There was another factor with regard to said polarization that the same was due to the fact that he had engaged his daughter with the son of late Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی]. They had also succeeded in highlighting the fact for Daod Shah [داؤدشاہ] very cunningly that all the efforts of Lodi Khan [لودی خان] were destined to pave the way to establish the government of his son-in-law namely, Yusuf Khan Panni [یوسف خان پنّی], son of late Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی]. The said cunning move had bamboozled Daod Shah [داؤدشاہ] and as soon as he had returned from Mongheer [مونگھیر] and was able to reach Bangla [بنگالہ], he had made the folly of murdering his cousin Yusuf Khan Panni [یوسف خان پنّی] and had launched a campaign thereafter against Lodi Khan [لودی خان]. Lodi Khan [لودی خان] had not only withdrawn from the anti-Mughal campaign as a result of said situation rather, he had decided to patch up with Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان]. He had even exchanged some gifts etc. with him (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.188 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.22-23 Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.206 Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.157 Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.316***). He had buckled himself up practically thereafter against Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] and was trying to escape from Mongheer [مونگھیر] to Bangla [بنگالہ] in an abject state of affairs. The General of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] namely, Kala Pahar [کالاپہاڑ] had informed him about the precariousness of the situation. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had started dishing out money very lavishly from his treasury among all and sundry. The objective of the same was to win their support in the wake of said precarious situation and to curb, in the process, the imminent danger. The said move had antagonized his General Kala

Pahar [کالاپہاڑ] and Jalal Khan [جلال خان] and therefore, they had decided to part ways. Lodi Khan [لودی خان], who was making the advancement against Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی], had taken a detour and he had set up his camp in Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس]. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had no sooner managed to reach Gor Khporra Hajipur [گورکھپوڑا حاجی پور] and he had sent a lashker against him. Lodi Khan [لودی خان] had sought help from Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] as a result of the same. The much expected reinforcement was provided to him duly. Lodi Khan [لودی خان] had committed himself to his regular employees categorically pursuant to said favor and help. He had also showed his eagerness to meet him in person and his willingness to mark his presence before the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.188 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.70-71 Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.206 Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.334-335***).

Mistake of murdering Wazir Lodi [وزیرلودی کے قتل کی حماقت]:

The tension had escalated in the meantime, between Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] and Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی]. Then Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had ultimately reminded him with regard to good relations with his father and had requested him to resolve the differences amicably. He had also given him the assurance to commit his entire treasure under him along-with his army as well as artillery unit. He had also promised to make the payment of Rupees two hundred thousand in cash and Rupees one hundred thousand in kind to the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. Lodi Khan [لودی خان] had agreed to accept it (***Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.157 Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.335***). He had ordered to stop the reinforcement as a result of the same at the bank of River Soan [دریائے سون] and had dispatched reinforcements for Munim Khan [منعم خان] and Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] in order to meet the exigencies (*We may point out that the Dewan or Wazir used to enjoy such powers in those days, Writer*). Thus he was able to preempt the possible attack of Munim Khan [منعم خان]. Then he had returned to Johnpur [جونپور] after making said promise. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] and his advisors had looked at said gesture of Lodi Khan [لودی خان], nevertheless, with a cynical approach. They had arrested him thereafter and then they had handed him over to Siri Heri [سری ہری]. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] was anticipating an attack from the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] even prior to his arrest. He had also vocalized his apprehensions several times in the gatherings of his friends. He was desirous to launch a counter attack against the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] but Lodi Khan

[لودی خان] had proved to be too naïve, despite his arrest with regard to the impending threat of his murder. He had advised Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] to abstain from engaging in the war against the Mughals. He had worked out a more aggressive plan rather, to promote the amicable relationship with them. The said advice on his part was based perhaps upon honesty. Lodi Khan [لودی خان] was murdered however, after sometime at the instigation of Qatlo Khan Lohani [قتلوخان لوہانی] (Panni) and Siri Heri [سری ہری] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.189 Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.156 157 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.282 Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.335 Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.207***). Mollana Abdul Qadir Badayoni [مولانا عبدالقادربدایونی] i.e. courtier of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر], had expressed his views with regard to said incident in the manner that Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had landed into thick soup by committing himself to the promises. Thus he had nullified all the possibilities of progress and promotion. The historian Abdullah [عبداللہ] had expressed his views in this regard that Lodi Khan [لودی خان] was a pillar of the state of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] but he was destined to dismantle it with his own hands (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.189-190 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.52 Page No.175***). Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] had felt offended soon thereafter which was perhaps due to the acts and omissions of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] and he had decided to bid him farewell. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was waiting perhaps for said opportune moment therefore he had ordered Munim Khan [منعم خان] to launch an attack in Behar [بہار]. He had moved towards Patta [پٹنہ] in compliance with said order along-with his mammoth lashker (***Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.283***).

Anxiety of Munim Khan during the siege of Rohtas [رہتاس کے محاصرے کے دوران منعم خان کی پریشانی]:

When the lashker of Lodi Khan [لودی خان] was face to face previously [غازی پور] against the lashker of Munim Khan [منعم خان] near Ghazipur, the Mughal lashker had landed into a difficult situation at that time, due to the intelligent moves of Lodi Khan [لودی خان]. The said move had compelled Munim Khan [منعم خان] to extend an offer for an armistice. Lodi Khan [لودی خان] had disregarded the same disdainfully. The situation for Munim Khan [منعم خان] was such, according to Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل], that he was neither in a position to hold the ground nor was he in a position to move "جائے ماندن نہ پائے رفتن". He had besieged Patta [پٹنہ] fearlessly however, after the death of Lodi Khan [لودی خان] in 1513. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] also had a massive army and

arsenals which he had inherited from his father along-with huge wealth. He was able to put-up the resistance therefore, with all the preparedness against Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان]. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had also entered, in the meantime, into an armistice with Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی]. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] was present in Patta [پٹنہ] fort physically, when both sides had opened a barrage of fire against each other as a result of some turbulence putting Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] in a fix as usual. He had tried his level best but, the situation had remained very defiant for him therefore, he had to succumb to a defeat which was untimely. The complex situation had entrapped the Generals of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] according to Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل]. The way it was very difficult to fight similarly, it was difficult for them to opt for a retreat. Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] was able to find a way out in the wake of said situation and he had sent a message for an armistice. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had replied however, very sarcastically in the manner that it was difficult for him to accept anything short of desired results (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.20 Roodbar-e-Akbari*** [رودبارِاکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.240***). The same was the time perhaps, when Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had invited the animosity of Lodi Khan [لودی خان]. He had also antagonized some other Umera [امراء] because they had advised him to vacate the fort. He had to switch over to some other front resultantly and Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] was however, not in favor of said strategy. Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل] had expressed his views with regard to said situation in the manner that Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] was able to sail through a very complex situation (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.70***). The Afghans were exposed to yet another difficult situation at said critical juncture which was the licentiousness of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی]. When he used to be under the spell of intoxication, he used to recite a stanza regularly which was in the manner as below:

گرپدرم رفت، جہاں بان منم
وار ثِ اکلیم سلیمان، منم
(***Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.205***)

The Emperor Akbar personally in the battlefield [شہنشاہ اکبر خود میدانِ جنگ میں]:

Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] had tried his level best but he was unable to make any headway due to the unwavering attritional war at Patta [پٹنہ] fort. He had sent a letter

out of sheer hopelessness therefore, to the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and he had suggested him to participate in the battle in person so as to help determine the course of war. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was obliged to answer the call of his General and he had opted to march out with all the pomp and show via River Pattna [دریائے پٹنہ]. The descriptive account of said march was rendered best by the then aficionado of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] namely, Molvi Mohammed Husain Azad [مولوی محمد حسین آزاد]. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had landed in the battlefield in August 1574 along-with his lashker (***Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.158 Roodbar-e-Akbari*** [رودبارِاکبری] ***Page No.238 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.284 Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.338***). The physical presence of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had also failed to break the impasse. Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان], the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and Toder Mal [ٹوڈر مل] had constantly tried to work out some kind of strategy but except for landing in further despondency squarely, they had found no forward way-out. When Munim Khan [منعم خان] had failed to find any hope from any angle, he opted to consult Husain Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی] and had fled from the Durbar of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی]. Then Husain Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی] had disclosed many tactical secrets of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] for him. He had also advised him to breach the embankment of River Punpun [پن پن] which was about two miles away from Pattna [پٹنہ] and used to fall into the River Ganges [گنگا]. Husain Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی] had also disclosed the secret that said embankment was raised in such a manner that it was a deterrent against the attack against the Pattna [پٹنہ] fort. The embankment was designed to create a barrier and even during the season of torrential rains, the raised water level was automatically channeled to surround the fort or to scare off the attacker or to repel the attacker. There were two Pathan Generals namely, Babo Mankali [بابو منکالی] and Suleiman Mankali [سلیمان منکالی] who were deputed to safeguard the embankments. The second advice of Husain Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی] was that it was also imperative to attack Gor Khporra Hajipur [گورکھپوڑا حاجی پور] even prior to attacking the fort in order to cut off the supply line of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی], which was his mainstay. Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] was the brother of Husain Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی]. He was a Governor of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] for Gor Khporra Hajipur [گورکھپوڑا حاجی پور] area. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had launched an attack firstly, against Gor Khporra Hajipur [گورکھپوڑا حاجی پور] but Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] was able to put-up an impenetrably strong resistance. The troops of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had confronted many difficulties during said attack, according to the historians. When they were provided the reinforcement through boats then, there

was a massive attack. Since the entire strength of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] was concentrated at Pattna [پٹنہ] therefore, Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] had failed to receive much awaited reinforcement. Then he was also constrained to withdraw from Gor Khporra Hajipur [گورکھپوڑا حاجی پور] area (***Roodbar-e-Akbari*** [رودبارِاکبری] ***Page No.238 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.163 Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.159 Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.338***). The lashker of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was able to create a breach at night in the embankment of River Punpun [پن پن] which was immediately after capturing Gor Khporra Hajipur [گورکھپوڑا حاجی پور] area. The two Generals who were guarding it were caught unaware. Then they had no other option but to runaway in sheer panic towards Ghorra Ghat [گھوڑا گھاٹ] in Bengal (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.73***).

Annihilation of Daodi lashker [داؤدی لشکر کی تباہی]:

The *inter se* differences of the Afghans had proved to lessen the problems of Munim Khan [منعم خان]. The advice of Qatlo Khan Lohani [قتلوخان لوہانی] (Panni), as an advocate, was that the fort was to be vacated only after the fall of Gor Khporra Hajipur [گورکھپوڑا حاجی پور] area as well as after creating a breach in the embankment of River Punpun [پن پن]. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] and his other colleagues were determined however, while staying in the fort, to put up a defense against the enemy. Then one night, Qatlo Khan Lohani [قتلوخان لوہانی] was able to administer some intoxicants to Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] deceitfully and when he was fully intoxicated, he was forcefully thrown out of the fort. The fort was vacated thereafter on 12 Rabi-ul-Awal 982 Hegira (10th August 1574). Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had opted to go to the capital Tanda [ٹانڈہ] thereafter (***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.2 Page No.181***). The large quantity of logistics had become a big hazard however, for the Pathans while they were in the process of vacating the fort.

Siri Heri [سری ہری] Wazir had taken away as much luggage to Bengal as it was possible for him while he was pursuing Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] (***Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.292-293***). Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] was also able to get away with as much luggage and as many horses and elephants as it was possible for him. When his lashker was able to reach the bridge of the River Punpun [پن پن], one little mistake had proved to be disastrous for many Pathans. The night was dark and the destiny was out of sight. The River was flowing at

high ebb whereas the surrounding area of the river was flooded with water. The moat of the fort was also spilling over with water and there were many who had drowned in it. Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] had kept the elephants in the forefront while he was crossing the bridge. Then there was a throng of individuals which had also swarmed on to the bridge and resultantly the bridge had succumbed to the extra weight and it had collapsed. What a scene it must have been! It may well be left to the imagination of the readers because besides many soldiers, Sardars and elephants, there was a massive quantity of luggage which had disappeared into the depth of the river within no time (***Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.292-293 Roodbar-e-Akbari*** [رودبارِاکبری] ***Page No.242 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.100-101 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.193 Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.207***). The Daodi [داؤدی] group, which consisted of twenty thousand individuals, had also a number of elephants and horses with them. The other calamity which had followed said incident collaterally was the lashker of the Emperor Akbar which had not given them any respite and they had tracked them down everywhere. The said lashker was able to capture about forty elephants of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] and thereafter the same was able to enter the Dehli Gate [دہلی دروازہ] in the early hours of the following morning and thus they were able to conquer Pattna [پٹنہ] as well. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had confidently taken a detour thereafter. Then it was easy for Toder Mal [ٹوڈر مل] and Munim Khan [منعم خان] to capture the remaining portion of an Afghan dominion. They had remained steadfast in their resolve. The upright courtier of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] namely, Mullana Badayooni [ملاں بدایونی] had expressed his views that the devastation which had befallen the Afghans was all due to their *inter se* rivalries (***Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.159 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.294-295 and Roodbar-e-Akbari*** [رودبارِاکبری] ***Page No.242-243***).

Behar province was also lost [صوبہ بہار بھی چھن گیا]:

The Mughal army had started hunting down the Afghans once again after some days. They were able to capture their areas of Suraj Gherr [سورج گڑھ] Mongheer [مونگھیر], Bha Gulpor [بھاگلپور] and Kol Kang [کول کانگ] in September 1574. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had dug up his trenches at the narrow cleft of Patli Gherri [پتلی گڑھی] in Bengal pursuant to the same. They had also built a small fort at the same site. Patli Gherri [پتلی گڑھی] was a very jagged cleft and was considered to be the internal gate of Bengal. Munim Khan [منعم خان] was exposed to many

difficulties for making his entry from the same place into Bengal. He was guided to a secret entrance by some local landlords. Thus he was able to attack the Afghans from the rear side while using said entrance. The guard of the fort namely, Ismaeel Khan [اسماعیل خان] had failed to defend his position against Munim Khan [منعم خان] and he had opted to escape from Patli Gherri [پتلی گڑھی] and thus the Mughals were able to conquer it. The said conquest had paved their way for making advancement towards Bengal (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.101 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.189-197 Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.341)***. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had opted to bid farewell to the capital Tandah [ٹانڈہ] after the conquest of Patli Gherri [پتلی گڑھی]. Then Munim Khan [منعم خان] had also captured it on 21st September 1574. The joy of Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل] on said victory was unexplainable because Tandah [ٹانڈہ] was captured without much ado according to him. Munim Khan [منعم خان] had sent his four Generals however, in four different directions in order to launch the attack. They were able to capture Ghorra Ghat [گھوڑا گھاٹ] which was in possession of Kala Pahar [کالاپہاڑ]. Then one of the Generals had chased Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] in the direction of Sust Gaon [سست گاؤں] (***Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.141 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.108***). The Mughals were able to capture said area which was a place from where the Hindu Wazir Siri Heri [سری ہری] of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had disappeared into Jasoor [جسور] with all his treasure. The said act was a result of his connivance with the Mughals. He was promised to be granted the Jaysoor [جیسور] area as a Jagir in reward for breaching the trust. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had set up his camp thereafter, at Dabir Aksati [دبیراکساٹی] and when Toder Mal [ٹوڈر مل] and Mohammed Quli Khan [محمد قلی خان] had attacked the area, he retired into Gharri Heripur [گڑھی ہری پور]. He had left his family at Katak [کٹک] and then he had faced the enemy lashker very courageously. Munim Khan [منعم خان] was up against all odds once again because Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had come out with all the requisite preparedness. Munim Khan [منعم خان] was able to discover a labyrinth route thereafter with the help of the locals and thus he was able to approach Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی]. Then the combatant sides had faced each other at Taka Roie [ٹکاروئی] or Mughal Marri [مغل ماڑی] on 3rd March 1575 (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.189-197-198 East Pakistan Information for March 1940 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.297***).

Annihilation of the Akbari troops [اکبری فوج کی تباہی]:

Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had although suffered a defeat at different fronts repeatedly and the enemy was able to capture a large portion of his area yet, he had not lost his heart and had fought like a wounded lion. He had also dug up trenches at Taka Roie [ٹکاروئی] and had equipped his lashker tooth and nail with all types of arsenals. The Pathans had attacked the Mughals very courageously at the time when those combatant sides had faced each other in the battlefield. The battle had entered into a protracted phase and despite the mutual efforts of Munim Khan [منعم خان] and Toder Mal [ٹوڈر مل], the end of the same was nowhere in sight. So much so each combatant side had made up its mind for waging an ultimate and decisive war instead of petty skirmishes. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had launched a massive attack against the Mughals with the help of his elephants. Munim Khan [منعم خان] had fought defensively on the first day and he had engaged the Afghans with the help of cannons and moniker-wrench. The objective of the same was to create a checkmate against their advancement which had caused massive damage to Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی]. The command of his forefront contingent was assigned to Rukn-ud-Dolla [رکن الدولہ] Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی]. He was no less than Munim Khan [منعم خان] and Toder Mal [ٹوڈر مل] in his ability of chivalry and gallantry. He had made one concerted move and he was able to hold the vanguard position against the Mughal onslaught. Those moves were converted into a pitched battle thereafter which had ultimately culminated into a hand to hand fight. Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] had a number of elephants in his frontline contingent whose faces were covered with the hides of buffalos, lions, cheetahs and goats and were decorated with long tusks and horns as well. The said situation was very antagonizing for the Mughals therefore Munim Khan [منعم خان] had directed his commander repeatedly to opt for a retreat. The commander had ignored however, said option and he had opted instead to hold his ground firmly in the battlefield. The Pathans had also adopted another strategy, besides the aforementioned tactics, that they had started making some horrifying noises in the battlefield which had proved to be very scaring for the horses and elephants of the Mughal army. They had panicked and had started fleeing from the battlefield and they were unstoppable. Then in said horrifying hullabaloo of bullets, saber rattling by the trained sabreués from both sides, the thumping sounds of cannonballs and a blanket of dust and smoke all combined together, it was a very awful battle scene. The panic was not only in the enemy quarters rather, there was generally a great melancholy and turbulence. According to Mollana Mohammed Husain Azad [مولانا محمد حسین آزاد], one of the leading Generals of the Mughal army had fallen in the battlefield during said chaotic situation to wake up on judgment day. The elephants of Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان

پنّی] had trampled him very brutally, along-with his many comrades. The Pathans had witnessed said scene and they were very jubilant. Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] was also invigorated by said event and he had launched a forceful assault once again against the Mughal army. Then he was able to mutilate them as well (***Roodbar-e-Akbari*** [رودبارِاکبری] ***Page No.244 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.306***).

Munim Khan escaped with injury [منعم خان زخمی ہو کر بھاگ گیا]:

Munim Khan [منعم خان] was placed right in the middle of the Akabari lashker along-with some Umera [امراء] and Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] was all set to fight a decisive battle. He had nudged his horse with his heel and then he was face to face with Munim Khan [منعم خان] (***Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.161***). The said move had proved to be so fatal that the entire lashker of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had no other option but to opt for retreat. Thus they had left their commander Munim Khan [منعم خان] in lurch which had rendered the situation so chaotic that on witnessing said scene, when Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] was able to come in the close proximity of Munim Khan [منعم خان], he had engaged him in sword-play in a disorderly manner and resultantly the formation of his entire army was in complete disarray. There was a sword player companion of Munim Khan [منعم خان] even he had opted to disappear from the scene. Munim Khan [منعم خان] had received injuries on his arms and neck from Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] during the sword-play which had proved to be a very fatal move for him. He was almost arrested and his many companions were killed. Then he had to run for about three miles in order to protect his dear life. He used to say, after recovering from those injuries that, despite recovering from his head injury his eyesight was improper. He had also recovered from the neck injury but, it was difficult for him to move his neck freely whereas, one of his hands was also paralyzed due to shoulder injury. There was also a wound close to his ear which was stitched with a needle. The elephants of Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] had moved deep into the enemy camps due to the sudden attack and he had resultantly lost the control of his horse. He was barely in a position to do anything thereafter except, that he had to find escape routes to save his life. The Mughal combatants had escaped so swiftly from the battlefield, according to the historians, that as if they were running away to call someone. They had covered the distance of miles and miles in the process and the Pathans had chased them for about half a mile. Then they had given up the chase and were busy thereafter, in looting and plundering with absolute arrogance. Thus

they were engaged in a despicable play of snatching and stealing (*The said habit rules them even today, Writer*). (***Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.161-162 Roodbar-e-Akbari*** [رودبارِاکبری] ***Page No.244-245 Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.342 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.306 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.121 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.119***).

Death of Gojer Khan [گوجر خان کی ہلاکت]:

Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] had returned after chasing the lashker of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and his return had proved to be a tactical mistake which had provided, as a matter of fact, an opportunity to Munim Khan [منعم خان] and Toder Mal [ٹوڈر مل] to reorganize their lashkers and to engage in the combat swiftly once again (***Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.343***). Then the bad luck of the Pathans had entrapped them while they were still busy in looting and plundering in the field. The battle was staged once again and the fierceness of the same was such that none was in a position to make any distinction between a friend and foe. The combatant sides were completely exhausted and the battlefield was stacked with dead bodies. Then there was a rumor that Munim Khan [منعم خان] was murdered while Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] was in the process of encouraging his soldiers. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] was also present in the battlefield. The apparent situation was indicative of the fact that the victory was bound to take place for the Panni Pathans but the providence as usual had the preordained destinies contrarily. There was an arrow which had appeared from the enemy camp and had pierced through the neck of Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی]. It was not an arrow but it was a death blow. Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] had fallen from his horse right in the battlefield for his eternal flight. There was one of the enemy soldiers who had stepped forward and he had chopped his head off. The news of the death of Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] had invigorated those soldiers who were still away from the main formation (***Roodbar-e-Akbari*** [رودبارِاکبری] ***Page No.245 Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.162 and Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.344 and Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.306***).

The author of Riaz-ul-Salateen [ریاض السلاطین] was motivated by the horrifying events of said battle in such a manner that he had narrated all the events in poetic form in the manner as below:

Lined up were braves in the battlefield	دلیراں بمیداں کشیدند صَف
Their daggers, arrows, lances were revealed	ہمہ خنجروتیرونیزہ بکف
Both armies like two mountains were aligned	
One looked gorgeous, the other maligned	دو سُوفوج قائم شد چوں دوکوہ
Everyone wanted to take his chance	یکے بے شکوہ ودیگر باشکوہ
With cannon, arrow and a lance	
Blood of the brave armies from both sides	نمودندہریک ہمیں دست بُرد
As if had smartened battlefield at each stride	ہم از توپ وتیروسناں زدو خُورد
Nothing but dead bodies were everywhere	
Except dead bodies it was nothing there	زخون دلیرانِ ہر دوسپاہ
	رواں گشت سَیلے دراں رَزمگاہ
	بہ میداں فتادہ زبس کُشتہا
	بہر سُو نمودار شُد پُشتہا
Two swordfighters against each other fought	دوشمشیرزن بہم شُد دوچار
With their swords properly wrought	کشدند تیغ ازدوسوآبدار
Wounds inflicting was the order of the day	ہمیں ایں برآں واں بریں زخم زد
As if fighters had regulated time all the way	بداں سال کہ از جنگجویاں سَر زد
Sword of Gojer worked and brought an end	زشمشیر گجراسرانجام کار
Body of Khan Khanan with wounds was bend	تنِ خان خاناں شُد زخمدار
Then providence had to intervene	درِ یاوراں درمیاں آمدند
Between two leaders to make them serene	میان دوسردارقائل شدند
Army of Gojer was kept at bay	برافتاد گجرا بمیداں چو کوہ
Roar of war had made them go astray	زافتادنش گشت دل بے گروہ
Daod Khan had faced war’s thwart	چودولت زداؤد خان رُو بتاخت
From all sides foe had teared him apart	زہرجانب ادبار بروئے شتاخت
From war Daod Khan had shied away	گریزاں شُد از جنگ داؤد خاں
As victory beyond his perception was in play	کہ دگر نبودش ظفرراگماں
A blow from the mean sword had hit his head	سرش رابریدنداز تیغِ کیں
Blood of Daod had made the soil as red	شُد از خونِ داؤد رنگیں زمیں

Royal throne from the King was then devoid Kinghood in Bengal was thrown into a void	شُدہ تخت شاہی زشاہاں تہی زبنگالہ شُد ختم نام شہی

(***Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.157***).

Attack of Daod Shah and defeat [داؤدشاہ کا حملہ اور شکست]:

The aforementioned was the situation with regard to the main battlefield. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had overawed the enemy troops from the rightwing which was with the intention to join the troops of Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی]. He had come face to face with Toder Mal [ٹوڈر مل] while attempting to join him but it was very difficult for him to sort him out alone particularly, when Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی] was already killed. Then there was a big portion of his army which had also dispersed. The Mughal army however, had reunited itself on the contrary after losing the formation. The said army had managed to regain the foothold in the battlefield in a more organized manner. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had appeared to have lost the chance of victory in the wake of said situation. He had to escape towards Katak [کٹک] where he had left his family. The Mughals had killed many Pathans mercilessly and they had arrested a number of them as well. The Mughals had raised eight minarets of the chopped off heads of the Pathans in the following morning. Thus they were able to quench the thirst of their revenge (***Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.162 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.12-130 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.202 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.308-309***). The loss which the Mughals had sustained was also a historical reality. The Mughal army was maimed and mutilated mostly in such a manner that they had not even the strength to chase Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] and thus he was able to escape from the battlefield. Toder Mal [ٹوڈر مل] and Munim Khan [منعم خان] had opted to relax themselves at the same spot for many days whereas their soldiers had remained busy burying the dead soldiers. The Mughals had sustained more losses as compared with the Pathans at Taka Roie [ٹکاروئی], according to historians. The name of said place was changed thereafter, to Mughal Marri [مغل ماڑی] and it is known by said name even today.

Chase of Daod Shah and peace treaty [داؤد شاہ کا تعاقب اور صلح]:

The Mughal army had reached Katak [کٹک] after resting for a few days. The commander of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] was insistent to initiate a battle once again. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] was reluctant however to accept the challenge afresh. The confidence of Munim Khan [منعم خان], on the other hand, was also shattered whereas Toder Mal [ٹوڈر مل] was inclined to continue the battle. Then Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had decided on 12th April 1575 to go into the camp of Munim Khan [منعم خان] along-with his Umera [امراء]. The said event had taken place after an exchange of messages between the two sides. He had relinquished his claim on Bengal [بنگال] and Behar [بہار] and he had agreed to retain Orissa [اڑیسہ] only in accordance with the terms of the peace pact which was subject to the payment of revenue to the Emperor Akbar. He had presented many jewels and gifts along-with elephants to Munim Khan [منعم خان] on said occasion. He had committed his nephew namely, Sheikh Mohammed Panni son of Amad Khan [شیخ محمد پنّی ابنِ عماد خان], in the Durbar as a guarantee to fulfill the terms of the pact. Munim Khan [منعم خان] had presented a gorgeous Khilat [خلعتِ فاخرہ] to Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] in return on behalf of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] along-with a sword which was studded with jewels [مرصع شمشیر] and a belt [مرصع کمر بند] (*Pavė*) which was studded with diamonds (***Katak*** [کٹک] ***Gazetteer Page No.203 East Pakistan Information March 1960 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.202 Gazetteer Puri*** **[**پوری**]** ***Page No.32 Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.207 Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.345 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.211 Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.163 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.309***).

Grand reception by the Panni people [پنّیوں کا شادار استقبال]:

The victory and triumph in itself, cannot be treated as a proof of some awakening or bravery and gallantry and as a means of recuperation for a requisite energy level. The nation which demonstrates graceful resilience after the defeat has to be taken as a sign that, the resolve of said nation is still intact with prowess. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had continued the skirmishes against the Mughals in Bengal [بنگال] and Behar [بہار] even after the aforementioned very tough and abject circumstances. He had maintained his control over Rohtas [رہتاس] and he had not abandoned Sehram [سہرام] as well. The second nephew of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] namely, Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] had also maintained his control over Jahar Khand [جھاڑ کھنڈ] from where he had targeted the southern Behar [بہار] relentlessly. The Generals of Daod Shah

Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] namely, Kala Pahar [کالاپہاڑ], Babo Mankali [بابو منکالی] and Jalal Din Suri [جلال دین سوری] were able to push the Mughal Generals namely, Sardar Majnoon Khan Qaqshani [سردار مجنوں خان قاقشانی] out of Ghorra Ghat [گھوڑا گھاٹ]. The defeated Panni Pathans had also pushed the Mughals out of Gorr [گوڑ] and then they were able to reoccupy northern Bengal once again. They were regularly engaged for battling out the Mughals and in this regard they had engaged them up to the area of their lost capital Tandah [ٹانڈہ]. Munim Khan [منعم خان] had to attend them afresh in the wake of said circumstances and he was able to recapture the areas of Gorr [گوڑ], Tandah [ٹانڈہ] and Ghorra Ghat [گھوڑا گھاٹ] after a concerted effort. The Pathans had emerged however, to confront him readily once again in northern Bengal as well as in southern Behar. The upshot of the matter was that the eighty years old General of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] namely, Khan-e-Khanan Munim Khan [خانِ خانان منعم خان] died on 23rd October 1575 amidst all those odd circumstances. The cause of his death was some viral disease when he was on his way from Gorr [گوڑ] to Tandah [ٹانڈہ] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.203-204 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.130-131 Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.207 Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.164***).

Betrayal with Daod Shah [داؤد شاہ سے غداری]:

The location of Raj Mahel [راج محل] was such that the access to other areas was available from there. The said place was called as Aug Mehal [اگ محل] as well. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had taken the position at Patli Gherri [پتلی گڑھی] and it was impossible for his enemy to even catch his sight. The said jingoist ruler had not lost hope despite the rift among his Umera [امراء] and the treason of some of them and because of the loss of life of some others. He had performed very resolutely and courageously in the manner it was possible for him but, some of the traitor Umera [امراء] had secretly kept a very deadly arrow for him in their quiver. The historian namely, Ram Ram Basu [رام رام باسو] had expressed his views in his book of history which was captioned as Prata Padeta Chertera [پراتا پادیتا چرترا] that, the very reliable minister of treasury of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] namely, Siri Heri [سری ہری] who was elevated with the title as Vikrama Deta [وکرامادیتہ], had quietly disclosed all his tactics to the enemy. Siri Heri [سری ہری] had also the approval of his brother Basanta Raye [بسنتا رائے], in said clandestine maneuverings. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had also granted him many privileges and despite receiving the estate of Jaysoor [جیسور], they had betrayed their master and had ultimately become the cause of defeat

and annihilation of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی]. The said reality was confirmed by the fact that although the Mughals were able to take the areas of Fatehabad [فتح آباد] and Bakla [باکلا] etc. and the areas in the vicinity later on yet, they were unable to take any action against Jaysoor [جیسور] for a very long time despite finishing the Panni regime. Siri Heri [سری ہری] had a land holding in said area since long and they had maintained the same very carefully. Those two brothers had not only committed treason, they passed on the information of the military secrets and had also handed over other documents and maps and they were able to intelligently exploit the strength of their master. He was fighting his battle with a broken sword. They had taken away most of his treasury (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.606 reference Prata Padeta Chertera*** [پراتا پادیتا چرترا] ***by Ram Ram Basu*** [رام رام باسو] ***Page No.12 32-34 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.2***).

There was another individual who had also worked treacherously for the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and with the intention to bring permanent annihilation for the Pathan Sultanate. The said individual was the General of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] namely, Qatlo Khan Lohani [قتلوخان لوہانی] (*Panni*). He had also betrayed his master in collaboration with the Sardars of Akbar and with the intention to acquire the reign of Orissa [اڑیسہ]. He had not only kept himself practically aloof right in the middle of the battlefield at a particular juncture rather, he had adopted such stance that the same had proved to be a catalyst for the defeat of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی]. The aforementioned mechanizations had proved to be the last and decisive defeat of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] as well as for the Afghans who were the last reckonable power in the Subcontinent. The rule of Qatlo Khan Lohani [قتلوخان لوہانی] (*Panni*) had lasted on Orissa [اڑیسہ] till 1573 without any intervention by the Mughals (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.209***).

Decisive battle of Aug Mehal [اگ محل کا فیصلہ کُن مرحلہ]:

Siri Heri [سری ہری] had disappointed Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] tremendously, according to some historians. The disappointment was due to the disclosure of some military secrets to the enemy. He had decided to give up the protective sanctuary of Aug Mehal [اگ محل] and he had opted to come out in the middle of the battlefield. He was initially able to resist against the Mughal army for a good seven months very successfully which was due to the fact that his position was very strong and according to Badayooni [بدایونی] it was his defiance which had challenged Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] to come out in the middle (***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page***

No.238). He had moved out, according to some others, at the instigation of his cousin namely, Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] (***Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.324***). The Mughals appeared to be helpless, so long as he was confined in the secured cleft of the Raj Mehal [راج محل] but when the situation had crossed the expected threshold, the Mughals had started receiving regular reinforcement. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had opted to come out in the battlefield in Aug Mehal [اگ محل] at that time and he had arranged the formation of his army in a manner that Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] himself was at the forefront along-with his nephew, Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] as well as General Kala Pahar [کالاپہاڑ]. The battlefield was staged on 5th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 984 Hegira (12 July 1576) but one night prior to that, an enemy bullet had injured the knee of Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی]. He had opted to physically be in the battlefield despite his knee injury. Then a very close battle was fought in the following morning and even General Kala Pahar [کالاپہاڑ] was injured severely during the carnage and he had fled from the battlefield. Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] had fought very bravely and he had ultimately emerged triumphant. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had to escape however, on the horse back to save his life and death had nevertheless chased him at an equal speed and it was his bad luck, that while he was trying to escape, his horse was caught in quick sand. Then the chasers had arrested him and he was produced before Khan Jahan [خان جہان] (***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.238 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.181 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.208 Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.165 Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.208***). The last flag bearer of the Afghan rule was ultimately defeated and the Pathan lashker was left with no other option but to find escape routes in the vicinity of the battlefield. The bloody battle had thus come to an end.

Arrest and murder [گرفتاری اور قتل]:

When Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] was produced before Khan Jahan [خان جہان], the latter had admonished him initially for breaking the treaty which he had made with Munim Khan [منعم خان]. The good-looking Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had replied very confidently, according to the historians that, said treaty was with Munim Khan [منعم خان] and with his death it had also come to an end therefore a new pact was required with Khan Jahan [خان جہان]. The Sardars of Akbar had conducted some mutual consultation with regard to the future course of action against Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی]. The majority was in favor of murdering him whereas Khan Jahan [خان جہان],

on the contrary, was of the view to keep him alive. Khan Jahan [خان جہان] was made to ultimately surrender however, to the will of the majority (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.208 Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.208***). When Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] asked for water, some ill mannered soldiers had presented him water in a shoe according to the courtier of Akbar namely, Badayooni [بدایونی]. Khan Jahan [خان جہان] had disliked said act and he had given him water from his personal water bag [چھاگل] (***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.2 Page No.238 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.181***). Then two blows of sword were given on the neck of said Panni Pathan warrior but they had proved to be ineffective. Then he was laid on the ground and he was literally slaughtered. The said incident had taken place on 12th July 1576 (***Roodbar-e-Akbari*** [رودباراکبری] ***Page No.711***). The chopped off head of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] was put in a casket and was sent to Tandah [ٹانڈہ] (Capital of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی]) through Abdullah Khan [عبداللہ خان] for onward presentation to the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The Emperor was encamped at that place after leaving Fatehpur [فتح پور] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.208 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.182 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.2 Page No.238 Maser-al-Umera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1 Page No.651***). Abdullah Khan [عبداللہ خان] had taken about ten to twelve days to reach there. Then the casket containing the head of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] was placed in the main hall amidst joyous slogans of spectators. The pamphlets were also circulated though out in the country. Khan Jahan [خان جہان] had sent Toder Mal [ٹوڈر مل] thereafter, to meet the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] along-with a letter of victory. Then he had made the advancement towards a village where the family of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] was based. The Khasa Khail [خاصہ خیل] of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had come out to encounter him and he was defeated. Then the mother of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had submitted herself to his authority and then the country, which was known as Balfak Khana [بلفاک خانہ] (Bangla Khana [بنگلہ خانہ]), where the insurgencies were rampant, was ultimately included in the domain of Akbar as a result of the efforts of Khan Jahan [خان جہان] (***Maser-al-Umera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1 Page No.652 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.182 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.208***).

There was a saint by the name of Syed Merak [سید میرک] who had acquired some deep knowledge of Ilm Jafer [علم جعفر]. He had predicted many days prior to the aforementioned incident in the manner as below:

مژدہ فتح بناگاہ رسد
سرِداؤد بدرگاہ رسد

[***Roodbar-e-Akbari*** [رودبارِاکبری] ***Page No.711***]

The said prediction had come true and the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had named Raj Mehal [راج محل] as Akbar Nagar [اکبرنگر]. The murder of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] had brought a permanent end to the rule of the Panni Pathans in Hindustan.

شُدہ تخت شاہی زشاہاں تہی
زبنگالہ شُد ختم نام شہی

(***Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.167 Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.208 Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.14 Page No.96***).

Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل] had summed up said incident in just one sentence that ''سلمان ازداؤدرفت'' (***Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.93 Tareekh Daodi*** [تاریخ داؤدی] ***Page No.208***). Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] was a courageous and highly confident person and was up against the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] despite the fact that he had sent an expedition in 1563 against Raja Adaya Manika [راجا ادایا منیکا] of Tripura [تری پورہ] in Chittagong [چٹاگانگ] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.231***). Then he was able to annex Chittagong [چٹاگانگ] with his governorate (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.191***). We have not been able to trace out the article which was under the caption as "Chittagong under the Afghan Rule" which was likely to throw more light on the influence of the Panni Pathans in the area. There was some numismatic proof however, with regard to the coinage of said era (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.179***). The Emperor Akbar had not looked at Orissa [اڑیسہ] for some years after capturing Bengal [بنگال] and Behar [بہار]. We have already mentioned above that Qatlo Khan Lohani [قتلوخان لوہانی] (*Panni*) had betrayed his master just for the sake of acquiring the rule of said province. There was a fresh insurgency in Bengal [بنگال] and Behar [بہار] in 1583 during the reign of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. He had decided to move however, towards Orissa [اڑیسہ] after curbing the insurgents and then he was able to include them in his empire. Qatlo Khan Lohani [قتلوخان لوہانی] had also supported the insurgents.

Successors of Suleiman Khan still exist [سلمان خان اخلاف موجود ہیں]:

The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had granted a large size valuable Jagir in Bengal [بنگال] to Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی], son of Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی] which had several Perganas [پرگناجات] and some portion of said Jagir is still with the successors of Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی]. It was perhaps the only family which had ruled in the Subcontinent and they are still in Bangladesh, cherishing the memories of their ancestors fervently. They are known as the Panni family and are considered to be among the elite class in Bangladesh. *The detail account with regard to said family will be given later*.

ADMINISTRATION AND CULTURE OF BENGAL DURING THE PANNI REIGN

[پنّی عہد کے دوران بنگال کا نظم و نسق اور ثقافت]

Jagirdari system [جاگیرداری نظام**]**:

The Pathans of Bengal [بنگال] had also maintained the jagirdari system [جاگیرداری نظام] in accordance with ancient traditions which was based on the segregated tribal system (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.211***). The system of administration was also based on the pattern which was prevalent in northern Hindustan. The King or the ruler was considered to be the main Sardar of the tribe in accordance with said system. The right to rule was considered as a heritable right in a hierarchical order. The executive powers were also concentrated in the prime minister in said system. The administrative decisions of the prime minister were always final and binding in nature. The intelligent and strong rulers like Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] were able to keep all his Sardars under total control, by virtue of said system. The son of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] namely, Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was a weaker ruler comparatively therefore he was somewhat under the influence of his Sardars as well as some administrative officers. Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was not ready to vacate the fort Patna [پٹنہ] during its siege and he was intoxicated firstly on the insistence of his Sardars and then he was forced to vacate it. He was ultimately thrown out under the spell of intoxication from the wall of the fort.

Powers of the advocate [وکیل کے اختیارات]:

The advocate after the Sultan was the second most important personality in the state. He was considered as top advisor of the ruler and he was vested with the powers of Nazim-e-Aala [ناظمِ علیٰ]. He also had the authority to implement the decision in accordance with nature and dictates of time i.e. like Lodi Khan [لودی خان], who was an advocate of Munim Khan [منعم خان]. He had entered into a pact on his own to make the payment of Rupees three hundred thousand to the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.212***). Mollana Badayooni [مولانا بدایونی] had given him the title of Ameer-ul-Umera [امیرالامراء] with regard to his powers while referring to Lodi Khan Panni [لودی خان پنّی]. Nizam-ud-Din Bakhsi [نظام الدین بخشی], Abul Fazal [ابوالفضل] and Freshta [فرشتہ] had also expressed the views in this regard that he had maximum powers in the state. Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had appointed Qatlo Khan Lohani [قتلوخان لوہانی] as his advocate after the murder of Lodi Khan Panni [لودی خان پنّی]. He had pressurized him by using his immense authority and he had made him escape from the fort. The aforementioned few examples can very easily explain the authority and power of an advocate in those days. He was considered to be the state minister in real terms.

The vice Minister [نائب وزیر]:

The vice minister [نائب وزیر] was subordinate to an advocate or Wazir. He was also a Nazim-e-Aala [ناظمِ علیٰ] for the revenue and commerce department. Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had assigned said ministry to a Hindu namely, Siri Heri [سری ہری]. He was also awarded the title as Vikerma Datia [وکرمادتیہ] (***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.2 Page No.181***). Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had faced a defeat at that time against the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] at Tailya Gharrhi [تیلیا گڑھی] and Siri Heri [سری ہری]. Then he was able to escape to Jaysoor [جیسور] along-with the entire treasure (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.120***).

Nazim-e-lashker [ناظمِ لشکر]:

The rulers used to maintain a big lashker in those days, the leader of which used to enjoy a very prestigious and prominent position. Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had awarded the title of Rukn-ud-Dola [رکن الدولہ] (Pillar of state) to Gojer Khan Panni [گوجرخان پنّی]. He was his Nazim-e-lashker [ناظمِ لشکر] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.120***) and was the one who had convinced Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] to murder Lodi Khan [لودی خان]. He had awarded the

title of Khan-e-Khanan [خانِ خاناں] to his commander-in-chief namely, Ismaeel Khan [اسماعیل خان] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.108***).

Magnanimous treatment with non-Muslims [غیر مسلم رعایا سے فراخدالانہ سلوک]:

The Panni rulers had adopted a very magnanimous policy with regard to their non-Muslim subjects. Ramananda Goha [رامانندا گوہا] and his sons namely, Bhabha Nanda [بھابھانندا], Gana Nanda [گانانندا] and Sanba Nanda [سبانندا] had held the ministerial posts under him during the reign of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی]. Sanba Nanda [سبانندا] was the chief treasurer or Nazim-e-Aala [ناظمِ اعلی] (Wazir) because he was a friend of his son. The Wazir had a massive authority during the reign of the Pathans. The brother of Siri Heri [سری ہری] namely, Bhai Janki Balo [بھائی جانکی بلو] was the chief officer in the revenue department and was given the title of Basanta Raye [بسنتا رائے]. The Hindus were employed in other departments in the same manner as well. The revenue department was full of Hindus from top to the bottom (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.215***). Siri Heri [سری ہری] had acquired a large size estate from Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] after escaping to Jaysoor [جیسور] along-with the entire treasure (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.216***). Siri Heri [سری ہری] had switched his loyalty to the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] according to a Hindu historian namely, Ram Ram Basu [رام رام باسو]. He had expressed his views in his book of history which was captioned as Prata Padeta Chertera [پراتا پادیتا چرترا].

Barah Bhoyain [بارہ بھویاں**]**:

The word "Barah Bhoyain" [بارہ بھویاں] is from Sansikrit [سنسکرت] language and it means "Landlord" (***History Assam by Gate Page No.2***). The said word is used in Bengali language for a Sardar. The word Barah [بارہ] is used as an expression for unspecified or endless limits. The said expression is also used for a usurper. The alphabet of five is also used similarly for a minimum limit. The meaning of "Barah Bhoyain" [بارہ بھویاں] is therefore "Landlord" or "Landlords". There is an expression in the Bengali language "بارہ جائی بارہ کتھا کئ" i.e. "Many mouths have many expressions". There were many estates in Bengal during the reign of those rulers. The landlords used to be all inclined to support the Jagirdari system. The general public used to consider them however as usurpers. The Muslim rulers had allowed them to retain the status of their former estate just in recognition of their loyalty. They used to collect the revenue and used

to deposit it in the state treasury (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.218***). There was a landlord family from Hajli [حجلی] which had flourished in leaps and bounds during the reign of their agnate namely, Masnad Aali Taj Khan Panni [مسند عالی تاج خان پنّی] (*Founder of Panni Sultanate Writer*). They used to maintain the view that their landlordism had devolved upon them since the times of Sultan Hussain Shah [سلطان حسین شاہ] (*Thus it stands established that said Panni family had enjoyed a prestigious status in Bengal since the period of Sultan Hussain Shah* [سلطان حسین شاہ], *Writer*). The name of the landlord of Hajli [حجلی] was Saleem Khan [سلیم خان] in accordance with the famous history book of Bengal which was captioned as Baharistan Ghaibi [بہارستان غیبی] (*Volume No.1 Page No.19*). Saleem Khan [سلیم خان] was there during the period of Islam Khan [اسلام خان] which was just a few years prior to assuming the power by Masnad Aali Taj Khan [مسند عالی تاج خان]. The right of landlordism of Saleem Khan [سلیم خان] had remained intact during the Panni era (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.219***). Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] had divided his state in different sections and he had named each section as Serkar [سرکار] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.220***). There was a group among the Bengalis which was known as Serkar [سرکار] and this group had adopted the same name or said name was used perhaps as a caste as well. There was also a possibility that they were associated with some Nazim [ناظم] during the period of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] or perhaps they were related to him. "Barah Bhoyain" [بارہ بھویاں] or in other words, the new entrant Mughal rulers, had tried to initially eliminate the landlords but they had opted to retain them at their position *status quo ante* subsequently. The biggest landlord was from Sunnar Gaon [سنار گاؤں] and his name was Masnad Aali Esa Khan [عیسیٰ خان] and his father namely, Kali Das [کالی داس] was from Awad [آودھ]. He had named himself as Suleiman Khan [سلیمان خان] after embracing Islam. He had opposed the new government system of the Panni rulers initially. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] and Derya Khan [دریا خان], who were Generals of Islam Shah [اسلام شاہ] during the reign of the latter, had fought with him. They had killed him and then they had sold his two sons namely, Esa [عیسیٰ] and Musa [موسیٰ] to the merchants from Torani [تورانی]. The maternal uncle of those two boys namely, Qutab-ud-Din Khan [قطب الدین خان] had become his good friend and he had served him well in the area. He had brought back those two boys resultantly, by virtue of rendering his services (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.432***). Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had awarded a Jagir to Esa [عیسیٰ] and thus he had made him a good associate and a collaborator (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.225***).

Loyalty of landlord Esa Khan [زمیندار عیسیٰ خان کی وفاداری]:

The “Barah Bhoyain” [بارہ بھویاں] i.e. big landlords had supported the expedition of Daod Shah [داؤد شاہ] in accordance with “Raj Mala” [راج مالا] which is a Bengali book of history of Agurtala [اگر تلہ] Durbar. The said expedition was sent against the Raja of Terpura [تری پورہ] in 1572-3. When the death news of Munim Khan [منعم خان] was in circulation in 1575, Daod Shah [داؤد شاہ] and Esa Khan [عیسیٰ خان] had launched an attack against the Mughals from the eastern and western sides simultaneously which had proved the loyalty of Esa Khan [عیسیٰ خان] with Daod Shah [داؤد شاہ] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.226***). Esa Khan [عیسیٰ خان] had owned a very large size autonomous estate whereas he was a head of “Barah Bhoyain” [بارہ بھویاں] i.e. all big land landholdings (estates) (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.227***). Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] had helped him establish his landlordism at Pabna [پبنا] near Chit Moher [چت موہر]. The aforementioned “Barah Bhoyain” [بارہ بھویاں] was able to keep alive the warring capabilities of the people of Bengal which was due to the reason that every landlord had to be on his toes in order to defend his land rights. The Bengalis had owed to the Panni Pathans for their ability to manage the administrative land affairs properly.

PATRONAGE OF THE BENGALI LITERATURE, CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

[بنگالی علم وادب کی سرپرستی اور ترقی]:

The Panni Pathans had promoted the talents of the locals in Bengal without any discrimination of caste and creed. They had also maintained their ancient cultural tapestry and thus they were able to promote the preferential interests of their subjects in their social texture. They had always provided them the requisite support fervently and they had given the necessary promotion to the Bengali language as well. Thus they were able to show their concern for its progress and popularity. The official handouts and the royal decrees of said era, which were in Persian language, contained the inscriptions in Bengali language as well. They had also promoted the culture and the Bengali literature on a similar pattern, generation after generation. The Bengali culture and literature had flourished tremendously during their reign and resultantly there were many Muslim Bengali poets who had emerged on the horizon. The name of Faiz Ullah [فیض اللہ] was very much there in history in this regard. He had contributed tremendously on the strength of his intellect and had written many books on various subjects in said sophisticated language. The list of books which he was able to produce included Gorag Shavi Jaya [گورگ شوی جایا],

Ghazi Wajaya [غازی وجایا], Satiyaper Paunjabi [ستیاپر پنجابی], Zenaler [زینالر], Chotishah [چوتیشا] and Rag Mala [راگ مالا]. The last one was on music. He had earned a big name in the history of Bengali literature by virtue of those books. There was another Muslim writer by the name of Dolat Bahram Wazir [دولت بہرام وزیر] whose genius had also found an expression during said period. He had written Lyla and Majnoon [لیلیٰ و مجنوں] in Bengali language. Thus he was able to contribute tremendously in the history, as well as in the literature of Muslim Bengal. There was another famous Muslim poet of said era by the name of Dana Ghazi [دانا غازی] who had written the historical anecdotage in Bengali language. The book was captioned as Saif-ul-Mlook Badi-uz-Zaman [سیف الملوک بدیع الزمان]. Then there was a movement under the name as "Waish Nada" [ویش نادا] during the reign of the Panni Pathans which had enriched the Bengali culture and literature in the literal sense. The word "Waish" [ویش] means the ornaments or decoration whereas the word "Nada" [نادا] means the music i.e. the ornaments of music. *(The art of music had also flourished so much during said era which had made said period very unique in history, Writer)*. There was another famous poet Jaya Nanda [جیا نندا] who was born in 1522 and was the author of Chetta Neya Mangala [چیتا نیا منگالا] and Luchna Das [لُچناداس]. He had also made a noticeable mergence during the "Waish Nada" [ویش نادا] movement which had taken place during the reign of the Panni rulers and Jaya Nanda [جیا نندا] had benefitted from them. The proponent of "Waish Nada" [ویش نادا] and author of Seri Chitya Neya Bhogona [سری چتیا نیا بھگونا] namely, Branda Bin Das [برندابن داس] (*1518 to 1589*) had also written said book during the reign of the Panni Pathans. The said era was also a golden chapter of Dor Mana Sakoya [دورمناسا کُویا] and Chandi Kawiya [چاندی کویا]. Dawij Hansi Badan [دوِج ہنسی بدن] and Sasthilbhar [سستتھِلبار] had also written their respective Manasa Mangala [مناسا منگالا کویا] during said period. The book of Dawij Hansi Badan [دوِج ہنسی بدن] was also indebted to the Pathan rulers of Bengal for its publication. The most popular poet of said era was Kowi Kankan Makandaram Chakerawati [کوی کنکن مکندرام چکراوتی] who was also the author of Chandi Kawiya [چاندی کویا]. He was among the great poets of Bengali literature. There were other poets who were comparatively less in status among those top class poets but all of them had promoted the Bengali literature to its climax collectively. The said promotion had contributed even for the revival of Pali [پالی] and Prakerat [پراکرت] languages (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.233-234***).

The criminal and historical omission with lasting implications [ایک مجرمانہ تاریخی اور دوررس غفلت]:

There was no doubt that those Panni rulers of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] had their descent from the chain of Ulima [علماء] (*Scholars*). They had great intellectual insight in literature and particularly Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] and Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] were quite popular among the scholars. This was the reason perhaps, that they were also inclined mentally and intellectually towards the Islamic values. They were inclined towards piety in terms of morality and they had made an extraordinary effort with keen interest to promote the Bengali literature to its climax. They had also committed an unpardonable oversight in the process which was that they had failed to analyze their own era with an anticipatory vision. They had promoted and patronized the Bengali scholars and poets with some lob sided mindset. Thus they were able to enrich the Bengali language but they had cast aside Persian language and the Islamic values in the process. They had denied resultantly the requisite overall benefit of the Islamic culture and values to the Muslims of their time. They had also failed to modify the alphabets of the Bengali language accordingly and they had relied more on the then prevalent set of alphabets. Thus they had foreclosed the prospects of literary progress of the Bengali language permanently. The said prevalent set of alphabets still represents the Hindu mythological tinge therefore the reflection of Hinduism is still visible among the Muslims of said area. They have great abhorrence somehow or the other for Arabic, Persian and Urdu literature as well as for Islamic literature and values. There was also a historical fact that those Panni rulers used to issue their royal decrees in Persian language. The local Bengali officers used to write the outline of the same in Bengali language. The Bengali alphabets were more popular among the masses as compared with the Arabic script. The reason for this was that the language of masses was Bengali. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر], even after taking over the reins of power from the Panni rulers had not focused on said aspects with the intention to bring some reform. The need to introduce the reforms in the alphabets had remained there however, right from the time of his successors as well as during the reign of the great ruler like Alamgir [عالمگیر]. The linguists are quite familiar with the aspect that how much the alphabets and the right construction of words can make the psychological impact on the minds of those who use them in their language. The thought process and imagination of the masses are always influenced by the character of the prevalent languages and its alphabets. The human intellect is also motivated accordingly. The people of Bengal, particularly the Muslims, were also denied the impact of the Quranic words as well as the resultant psychological impact under such vacuity. They had also become distant from the Islamic culture as a result of

failure to implement the Persian and Urdu languages. There is a mark difference even today in the approach of those who had studied Arabic alphabets as against those who had studied non-Arabic alphabets. The bloody revolution which was introduced by the people of former East Pakistan to acquire an independent state was a culmination point of those factors. The said state is known as Bangladesh at present and the Bengali language has a major contribution in the creation of Bangladesh.

A letter from former East Pakistan [سابق مشرقی پاکستان سے ایک خط]:

We (writer) sent a letter in Urdu language a few years ago to Mohammed Naeem Khan Panni [محمد نعیم خان پنّی] in Croatia District Memonsingh [کروٹیا ضلع میمن سنگھ] who was a member of the provincial assembly in those days. He was also one of the descendants of aforementioned Panni rulers and he was a big landlord. He was a designated Salar [سالار] in the Khaksar [تحریک خاکسار] movement for district Memonsingh [ضلع میمن سنگھ] according to the "Alislah" [الاصلاح] Newspaper Dated.04.07.1947 of Allama Mashriqi [علامہ مشرقی]. He had joined the politics of the country practically while remaining under the impact of his love for Islam. When we (writer) were totally disappointed after three months of waiting for his reply, we (writer) had received a long reply with a very eloquent English expression. The relevant portion of which shall definitely be an eye opener. The same is as below:

> "My Dear Mr. Panni,
>
> I had received your letter dated 13th June with extreme pleasure, which had reached me on the 19th of June. I apologize for the delay in replying. There was only one thing which had caused the delay in this regard which was my ignorance with regard to the Urdu language. The said language is taught to the Muslim families of Bengal at times yet no culture has developed on the basis of same. The Urdu language is ancient history resultantly and so much so even in our Madrasas, where education is imparted in accordance with the Islamic traditions, the Urdu language does not flourish among the students. Then apart from my ignorance with regard to the Urdu language which was a cause of my problem, I had to look for an expert of the Urdu language in order to

understand your letter. The same had caused the delay for which kindly accept my apology”

There was another praiseworthy admission with regard to the deficiency in the propagation of the Islamic values. The aforementioned mannerism of straightforwardness of a practical Muslim was however from the member of an educated and affluent family of Bengal. He had depicted a complete sketch of the heart and mind of a common Bengali Muslim just in a few lines. The same was most definitely the result of lack of foresightedness of his ancestors and this had also unveiled the face of the Muslim Bengal of today which was also one of the most significant factors of the bloody *coup d' ètat* in 1970.

We had to face the music [خمیازہ ہم نے بھگتا]:

The Croatia district Memonsingh [کروٹیا ضلع میمن سنگھ] and Tangail [ٹنگائیل] were non-Bengali Muslim areas in general where Mukti Bahni [مکتی باہنی] attacks were rampant. The Mukti Bahni [مکتی باہنی] had committed all the atrocities, massacres and genocides against the Muslims in former East Pakistan, in collaboration with the Indian guerillas and the objective of this was to separate Bengal from Pakistan. The same had drenched the whole chapter of history into blood. The atrocities had multiplied when those Bengali Muslims, who were supporters of Pakistan, were massacred mercilessly. Their houses were set on fire and some of them had managed their escape and were barely able to save their lives. The Muslim women were abducted and some of them were dispatched to the Bazaars of Calcutta [کلکٹہ] as saleable commodities. The opponents of Pakistan, and those who were in the forefront for the separation of Bengal from Pakistan, were the heroes of said Muslim genocide and anti-Islam episode. Was it not due to unfamiliarity with the Persian and Urdu languages as well as due to a major drift from the Islamic values and teachings? There was just a mild tinge of Persian and Arabic language undoubtedly in the names of the general populace. There were a number of saints and Sheikhs [اولیا اللہ و شیوخ] in Bengal as well. There was no doubt that some of the Muslims had moved from Calcutta [کلکٹہ] and they had participated in the Jihad [جہاد] of Syed Ahmed Shaheed [سیداحمد شہیدؒ]. There was another undeniable fact that Dacca [ڈھاکہ] is called the city of mosques by virtue of numerous Mosques but the practical tapestry of the Muslim society of said area is somewhat abstract at this juncture of history. Then if there were some glimpses of Islamic values and there was some fervent

attachment for Islam, this was perhaps due to the universality of Islam as a religion and it was not the result of any deep interest of the society in Islamic values.

Requirement of Urdu language in Bangladesh [بنگلہ دیش میں اردو کی ضرورت]:

We (*writer*) had the opportunity to meet some young Bengali Muslims in Rawalpindi in 1964. They were government employees in Islamabad and their qualification was M.A mostly. The writer had inquired them just out of sheer curiosity about their most famous poet and their collective reply was Tagore [ٹیگور]. The writer was not expecting said prompt reply and had showed his surprise however with regard to Tagore [ٹیگور] but they had reaffirmed his greatness insistently. The writer had expressed his difference of opinion and he had reminded them that their genuine life savior poet was Nazer-ul-Islam [نزرالاسلام]. They had shrugged their shoulders on said response but they had affirmed his greatness as well. They had expressed their opinion about him in the manner that he was also not an Islam friendly poet. They had inculcated the greatness of Tagore [ٹیگور] persistently at the same time.

There was an obligation for our Muslim rulers of the past with regard to patronizing the Persian language. When the Urdu language was introduced, it was bound to replace the Persian language and the ruling class was supposed to promote the Urdu language as well. Then if this was not the case, then they were supposed act like Abu Salh [ابو صا لح] who was a Wazir of Mahmood Ghaznavi [محمود غزنوی] and who had converted the Pashto language into the Arabic ideograph instead of adopting the ancient Khuroshati [خروشطی] ideogram or like British Sir Charlse Napier who had converted the ancient Hindu ideogram of Sindhi language after the capture of Sindh into the current Arabic Sindhi ideograph. The same is commonly used by both the Hindus as well as the Muslims and had the Bengalis switched over to the Arabic ideograph instead of the Hindu ideogram, it would have definitely transformed the entire psyche of their society. The ideograph becomes an important chain among different factions of society despite the distinctiveness in their languages which also tend to influence the spiritual values of society. Mr. Kim Ill Sung of Korea had taken a giant step after getting his country released from the suzerainty of Japan and he had replaced the Japanese ideogram with the ancient Korean ideograph which had made the subsequent steps very easy for Korea. The factual position was that the Bengali Muslims had always remained distant from the Urdu speaking Muslims despite

their religious affinity. They had always remained more close to the Bengali speaking Hindus and Hindu culture. The Bengali language was also not enriched with the Islamic culture, civilization, religious traditions and traits as much as the Urdu and Persian language was able to absorb the same. The Bengali language had failed to cast a deep and delicate influence resultantly, on the minds of the Bengali Muslims and most of their literature was influenced more effectively by Hindu literature. The same was perhaps the reason that the Bengali society as a whole is unfamiliar with the achievements of the renowned ancient Muslim religious scholars, thinkers, researchers and scientists. The said factor had thickened the curtain of estrangement between the East and West Pakistan which had therefore resulted in the division of Pakistan. The nature was very kind notwithstanding the same and the post 1970 revolution era had brought Bengal once again closer to Pakistan. The enigmatic conditions will remain the same for the Bengali society till the time Bengal opts to strive to break itself free from the cultural and traditional influence of Hinduism. The said enigma can be resolved more effectively provided Urdu, Persian and Arabic ideograph are incorporated in the Bengali language. We wish that the Muslims of Bangladesh and Pakistan take-up said issue at national and at bilateral levels and both countries focus on the same for a greater unity. We feel that such measures are essential for political and the immediate moral gains for both the countries. India along-with other neighboring countries are however not unaware of the consequences of the same.

JUNAID KHAN PANNI [جنید خان پنّی]:

Mercurial temperament [سیمابی طبیعت کا مالک]:

Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] was nephew of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی], who was the founder of the Panni Sultanate of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ]. Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] was son of Amad Khan Panni [عماد خان پنّی] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.249***) and was also a unique soldier and a gallant General. He had fought many battles against the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and neither did he opt to relax nor did he let him relax, as long as he was alive. He died right in the battlefield in 1576 while he was fighting against the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.208***). He was addressed as "میان افغان، شجاعت و مردانگی علم روزگار" i.e. symbol of bravery and manliness among the Afghans, according to Tabqat Akbari [طبقات اکبری] (***Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.303***). The life history of Junaid Khan

Panni [جنید خان پنّی] had revealed that his mercurial nature had never allowed him to sit back and relax. When his uncle namely, Hazarat Aali Suleiman Khan [حضرت عالی سلیمان خان] had besieged Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس] on 11th year of Akbar (یازدھم اکبری) (1565) in 973 Hegira, he was able to escape from his Durbar and then he had joined hands with the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. He was deadly against his uncle. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had looked after him very well just due to his vested political reasons. He had treated him like a prince and he had included him in the club of his Umera [امراء]. He had also granted him Hindoan [ہندون] as a Jagir. The mercurial nature of Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] had not allowed him however, even to stay there. He was able to slip out of the area of Hindoan [ہندون] in 974 Hegira without any intimation (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.303***). Muzaffer Shah Salus [مظفر شاہ ثالث] was ruler of Gujarat [گجرات] in those days and he was treated like a puppet ruler by his Madar-ul-Maham [مدارالمہام] namely, Sher Khan Foladi [شیر خان فولادی]. When the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had attacked Gujarat [گجرات], Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] had supported his Afghan brothers at that time. There was a bloody battle between the two sides on 18th Ramadan [رمضان] 980 Hegira (1572). Sher Khan Foladi [شیر خان فولادی] was a Sardar at Qoal [قول]. He was defeated however and one of his sons was also killed. Sher Khan Foladi [شیر خان فولادی] was able to escape and he had sought refuge in Surat [سورت] whereas his other son, Mohammed Khan [محمد خان], disappeared in Aider [ایدر]. Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] had also no other option in the wake of said situation but to escape. The said act had ultimately made the Afghans concede defeat (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.284 Volume No.3 Page No.42 119-120 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.193 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.245***).

Raids against Akbar from Jahar Khund [جھار کھنڈ سے اکبر پر چھاپے]:

The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had launched an attack against the Sardars of Surat [سورت] in January 1573. Sher Khan Foladi [شیر خان فولادی] and Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] had come out of the Jungles of Jahar Khund [جھار کھنڈ] which was their sanctuary and they had ransacked the areas of southern Behar [جنوبی بہار]. The personal squads of Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] also used to participate in the skirmishes and they used to disappear in the Jungles after carrying out the raid in the Mughal area. They had tried to capture the fort of Pattan [قلعہ پٹن] ultimately and thus they were entangled in a long drawn battle. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had

dispatched a huge lashker in the meantime from Ahmadabad [احمدآباد] against Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] which was under the command of Mirza Kokaltash [مرزاکوکلتاش]. He had moved from Surat [سورت] and then he had landed in the venue and thus he was able to secure his position. The Afghans were defeated and Sher Khan Foladi [شیر خان فولادی] was able to escape to Jona Gherr [جونا گڑھ] whereas his son had disappeared once again into Aider [ایدر] in the company of the Pathan Sardars. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had also packed up and he had taken a detour. Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] had stayed back however, in Behar [بہار] where he remained busy mostly in ransacking the areas of the southern Behar [جنوبی بہار]. Then he was able to capture Rohtas [رہتاس] fort ultimately and he had handed them over to one of his very reliable allies namely, Syed Mohammed Khan [سید محمد خان] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.203 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.26 119 Maser-al-Umara*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.3 Page No.278 Beyat*** [بیات] ***Page No.347***).

COLLABORATION BETWEEN ADAM KHAN PANNI AND YUSUF KHAN PANNI

[آدم خان پنّی اور یوسف خان پنّی کا تعاون]:

Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] was able to amass the support of some local aggressive Sardars as well as their supporters. They were deadly against the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] after the departure of Sher Khan Foladi [شیر خان فولادی]. They included Adam Khan Panni **[**آدم خان پنّی**],** son of Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] and Yusuf Khan Panni [یوسف خان پنّی]. They had persisted with their attacks against the Mughals while they were collaborating with each other. When the cousin of Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] namely, Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] was engaged against the Mughal Sardars in 1574 at Madnapur [مدناپور], which was about fifteen miles away from Daber Akise [ڈبراکسائی], Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] was also all-out to ransack said area simultaneously. Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] had offered his services to his cousin at that time but his offer was turned down because of inconsistency in his behavior. When the raid of Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] had became a real cause of concern for the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر], he dispatched a huge lashker under the command of Raja Toder Mal [راجہ ٹوڈر مل], Keya Khan [قیا خان] and Nazer Bahader Abul-al-Qasim [نظربہادر ابوالقاسم]. Then the two sides collided against each other at Rampur [رام پور] and Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] was defeated after a bloody battle. Adam Khan Panni **[**آدم خان پنّی**]** was able to escape however to Geharr Khand [جھاڑ کھنڈ] but the very brave Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] had not lost hope. He was active

again after an interval in the field and thus he was able to capture the Maheer fort [قلعہ مہیر]. He was also able to put to the sword in the same stint many a supporter of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.133 Volume No.3 Page No.134 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.199***).

Death in the battle of Aug Mehal [اگ محل کی لڑائی میں ہلاکت]:

The battle of Taka Roie [ٹکاروئی] or Mughal Marri [مغل ماڑی] had taken place in 983 Hegira (1575) between Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] and the Mughals. The Mughals were able to capture a large area of Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] in said battle. Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] was able to perpetuate even his attack again in southern Behar [جنوبی بہار] at that time. Then it was a decisive time for a last bloody battle of Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] as well as for the rule of the Panni Pathans in Hindustan. When both Panni Pathans and the Mughals were out in the middle at Aug Mehal [اگ محل] near Raj Mehal [راج محل] in 974 Hegira (12th July 1576) for a decisive battle to determine the fate of their respective rule, then the courageous Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] had also ventured out in support of his cousin brother Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی]. Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] had decided to venture out in the open for a fight instead of staying in his protective sanctuary Raj Mehal [راج محل] according to the Mughal historians. He was able to initiate said move on the advice of the very courageous Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی]. We have already explained above that the reason for the same was that the Wazir of Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] namely, Siri Heri [سری ہری] had passed on some secret strategic plans of Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] to the enemy in accordance with the analysis of some historians. He had seized his entire treasure with absolute mala-fide intentions and had remained under his control after the defeat of Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی]. Then some other Sardars of Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] had also deserted him. Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] had complete faith in the bravery of his cousin brother namely, Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی], but an enemy bullet had injured the knee of Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] just one night prior to the actual battle. He was in the battlefield physically despite that and he was commanding the leftwing on the following morning. Daod Shah Panni [داؤدشاہ پنّی] was commanding main army in the battlefield and his commander and General Kala Pahar [کالاپہاڑ] was in the command of the right wing. The detail account of the same has already been given above. The said battle had changed the course of history of the Panni Pathans in such a manner that it had brought an end to their progressive

history in the Subcontinent. Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] had not survived the injuries however, which he had sustained on his neck and he passed away within two or three days (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.189-207-208 Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.181 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.325 and Riaz-ul-Salateen*** [ریاض السلاطین] ***Page No.167***)

JAGIRDAR OF EMPEROR AKBAR NAMELY, SAEED KHAN PANNI SON OF BAYEZEED SHAH (MURDERED)

[شہنشاہ اکبر کا جاگیردارسعیدخان پنّی ابنِ بایزیدشاہ مقتول]

بگزرزشامِ ر فتہ و بیا بہ صبحگا
کہ ہنوزیک دو ساغر مئے شبانہ دارم

When the sword of the Panni tribe was kaput practically after receiving a decisive defeat at the hands of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر], the Pathans were divided into two groups. There was one which was the anti-Mughal group and it was busy in the insurgencies at different parts in the country, there was unrest as a result of the same. The other group had deemed it appropriate to integrate adequately with the then prevalent conditions. Then there were some Pathans who had opted to join the first group, they had gradually sought refuge into very remote hilly areas. They had become busy there in repairing their tarnished reputation. There was a town by the name of "Pannian" [پنیاں] in said area and there was also a research paper in which the reference of the area was available under the caption as "Chittagong under the Afghan rule" with reference to "the Afghans in India". We have not been able to relocate the same however, despite our best efforts. We have no other option therefore but to give a short descriptive account of the first group and then focus on the group which had reconciled with the then prevalent conditions. Then we will discuss a great personality who was able to lead the second group. The said great personality was the grandson of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] and son of Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی] namely, Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی]. There were about one dozen Sardars of similar stature who had rendered military services in various expeditions in the company of the comrades of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] yet they had always avoided taking any regular rank directly under his authority (***Tareekh Hafiz Rahmat Khani*** [تاریخ حافظ رحمت خانی] ***Page No.479 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.253***). The letter which the writer had written to Mohammed

Naeem Khan Panni [محمد نعیم خان پنّی], in order to get some information about his agnate i.e. Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی], the first portion of the same, in the context of Bengali literature and culture has already been quoted above. The remaining portion of said letter is also reproduced herein below which may well throw some light on some areas with regard to the successors of Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی]. He had expressed his views in the manner as below:

> "Now I divert my attention to your queries. Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی], whose reference you have given, was my cousin brother. I am the same person who was a designated Salar [سالار] in Khaksar [تحریک خاکسار] movement for District Memonsingh [ضلع میمن سنگھ]. The name of my elder brother is Moeen-ud-Din Khan [معین الدین خان] and he works for P.I.D.C. Mr. Mahdi Ali Khan Panni [مہدی علی خان پنّی] is my uncle and the father of Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی].
>
> Now I hereby provide you the information about the Panni family in Bengal. There is no other Panni family in Bengal as far as I know other than our family (*The Honorable author of the letter was uninformed about the fact that Mollana Abdul Hameed Khan Bhashani* [مولانا عبدالحمید خان بھاشانی] *was also from the same tribe. He had never mentioned said fact publically. Then the reference of the Panni nation among the references of the ancient nations of Bengal was also there in the Book "Bengal Ural"* [بنگال ارال] *by W. Hunter, Writer*). Then as far as our family was concerned, our agnate Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی], had taken over the throne of Bengal in 1563 on the downfall of Sher Shah Suri [شیرشاہ سوری] and we are his descendents. Then his younger son, Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی], had inherited the throne after the death of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی]. He had passed away in 1572 whereas Gorr [گوڑ] was the capital of the country at that time which is now in the District Maldah [مالدہ] in western Bengal. The elder son, Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی], was declared as his heir apparent. He was murdered however, by Hanso [ہانسو]. Then the younger brother of Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی] namely, Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] had become ruler of Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ]. You must have read about the battle which had taken place between Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The reference of the same is available in the standard history books of Hindustan. The same fact was also confirmed by the historian

Qanoongo [قانونگو] in "Solat-e-Afghani" [صولتِ افغانی] in the context of the northwest frontier policy of the Mughals. The same fact was also confirmed in the history of the state of Agartala [اگرتلہ] i.e. "Rajmala" [راج مالا] which is the history of Tripura [تری پورہ] (Agartala [اگرتلہ]).

We are from the family of Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی], who was granted a Jagir by the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] was the son of Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی]. The mosque of Moza Aatiya [موضع آتیا] was built by him and Aatiya [موضع آتیا] is located at about four miles from our area of Croatia [کروٹیا]. The said mosque was built in 1608 during the reign of Emperor Jahangeer [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] which still exists in a reasonably good condition. There were a number of other great personalities like Jamal Khan Panni [جمال خان پنّی] who was father of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی]. They were discussed in a book of history i.e. "Rajmala" [راج مالا]. Jamal Khan Panni [جمال خان پنّی] was the father of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] and his reference is also available in a plaque. Then there was another person by the name of Feroze Khan Panni [فیروز خان پنّی]. They both had fought against the state of Agartalaa [اگرتلہ] and they were able to capture the area of Chittagong [چٹا گانگ] as well as the areas in its vicinity. Since I am not a scholar or researcher of history therefore I am quoting general references only. Now it is up to you to probe further with regard to the Panni Pathans of Bengal because you have opted for the same. The book "Rajmala" [راج مالا] is in Bengali language therefore it will be very difficult for you to benefit from it till the time someone who is proficient in Bengali language is inclined to offer you his assistance. My earnest desire is to help you out as much as I can. Since there is a great distance between you and me therefore, the possibility of my help also seems to remain unavailable but I shall inform you in the future if I manage to have access to any information about the leading personalities of the Panni Pathans in Bengal. Now I beg leave with the hope to hear from you soon.

Yours faithfully,

Croatia Tangail
East Pakistan
Dated.20.07.1960

Establishment of a Jagir [جاگیرکا قیام]:

Those who were desirous to reach some kind of reconciliation with the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر], had included a person by the name of Saeed Ali Khan [سعید علی خان] and he was generally popular as Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی]. The said person was son of Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی] who was son of murdered Aali Suleiman Khan Panni [عالی سلیمان خان پنّی] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.20 Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Part II Page No.174 Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.293***). He was murdered by his cousin namely, Hansu Panni [ہنسو پنّی] just after a few days of his coming into power. The Emperor Jahangeer [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had awarded a large Jagir of numerous Perganas [پرگناجات] to Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] in District Memonsingh [ضلع میمن سنگھ] in former East Pakistan (***Gazetteer Memonsingh*** [میمن سنگھ] ***Page No.144***) which is generally known as Aatia Pergana [آتیا پرگنہ] (***Weekly Sagher*** [ساغر] ***Dated.25.12.1960***). We may point out that one Pergana [پرگنہ] consists of almost one hundred villages. Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] had selected Croatia District Memonsingh [کروٹیا ضلع میمن سنگھ] as his capital which is about six miles away from Tangail [ٹنگائیل] and is at the bank of River Patera Jani [پترا جانی] and said River gives the look of a dry desert in the winter season (***Gazetteer Memonsingh*** [میمن سنگھ] ***Page No.150***). The reference of Aatia Pergana [آتیا پرگنہ] does not exist in the list of Akberi dominions and palaces [اکبری مقبوضات ومحلات] in Aien-e-Akberi [آئینِ اکبری] (***Gazetteer Memonsingh*** [میمن سنگھ] ***Page No.144***). The same had revealed the fact that said Jagir was not one of those dominions which used to pay the revenue or stipulated tax amount to the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The Jagir of Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] was vested rather with absolute ownership rights. There was one fact which was in the personal knowledge of the writer that the services which Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] had rendered in the field of education and in the social sector, the precedent of the same was neither available in the history of East Pakistan nor in West Pakistan. The benefits of his efforts are still manifestly visible even after the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan. The said Panni family is one of the few leading families in the area and they are popular as the Panni family.

Magnitude of the Jagir [جاگیر کی وسعت]:

The study of history had revealed that the Jagir of Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] was very large and despite the fact that said Jagir was divided into many parts during the past four hundred years, the annual revenue which was paid in respect of the remaining parts was about Rupees four hundred thousand per annum (***Letter by Bayezeed Khan Panni*** [بایزیدخان پنّی] ***Dated.12.07.1963***). The said Jagir was intact as one unit till the sixth generation of its founder whereas its first equal division had taken place between the two sons of Munim Khan Panni [منعم خان پنّی] namely, Khuda Nawaz Khan Panni [خدانواز خان پنّی] and Maldar Khan Panni [مالدارخان پنّی]. Then one portion was divided further between Alif Khan Panni [الف خان پنّی] and Nawaz Khan Panni [نواز خان پنّی] whereas the entire other undivided portion had devolved upon Ali Yar Khan Panni [علی یارخان پنّی], son of Maldar Khan Panni [مالدارخان پنّی]. Then some portion of said Jagir was awarded to the two daughters of Ali Yar Khan Panni [علی یارخان پنّی] on their wedding in 1806 as their share of inheritance. Thus said portion had gone into the family of the non-Panni people. The remaining portions were subdivided further among different heirs on various occasions. Thus what the Panni family was left with was the sum total Perganas [پرگناجات] of Aatia Pergana [آتیا پرگنہ], which was almost two annas and seventeen gandas [دوآنے اور سترہ گنڈے] only of the total. Then the same was passed onto Nawab of Dhaka [نواب ڈھاکہ] in 1856, out of the remaining division No.10, which was the ownership of Alif Khan Panni [الف خان پنّی] and which was due to the reason that the Nawab had financially helped an individual of the Panni family namely, Nawab Saadat Ali Khan Panni [نواب سعادت علی خان پنّی] against his stepmother. She was desirous to deprive him of his share of inheritance. Then Nawab Saadat Ali Khan Panni [نواب سعادت علی خان پنّی] was left with just a few villages including Moza Gorie [موضع گورائی]. Then Nawab Saadat Ali Khan Panni [نواب سعادت علی خان پنّی] had left Moza Gorie [موضع گورائی] and he had opted to shift to Croatia [کروٹیا] soon after the decision of said case. There was another leading personality of said family of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan Panni [نواب سعادت علی خان پنّی] namely, Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] who was popularly known as Chand Mian [چاند میاں]. He was an exclusive owner of five Annas [پانچ آنے] nineteen Gandas [نو گنڈے] and two Keranti [دو کرانتی] out of the remaining Jagir in 1917. Then his cousin brother, who was under the supervision of the Court of Wards, had become the owner of two Annas [دو آنے] three Cras [تین کراس] one Keranti [کرانتی]. Then somehow or the other, there was a large portion of aforementioned Jagir, which was also transferred to the renowned family of Dojani [دوجانی] i.e. Nawabs of Balyati Shah Chaudheri Bogerrah [بالیاتی شاہ چودہری بوگرہ] and Peeja Chaudheries of Dhenbad [دھن باد] (*The wives of the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mohammed Ali Bogerah*

[محمدعلی بوگرہ] *and Late Mahdi Ali Khan Panni* [مہدی علی خان] *of Dhaka were real sisters, Writer*). The same had included a small part of said portion which was transferred against Rupees forty thousand only in 1806 (***Gazetteer Memonsingh*** [میمن سنگھ] ***Page No.144***). There used to be a great Jagir once and it was divided and distributed gradually. There were three Panni families left which had own the same.

Establishment of a Mosque [مسجد کی تاسیس]:

We hereby avoid further details of a descriptive account with regard to Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] but what was required to be mentioned essentially was about a mosque which he had constructed in 1609 and which exists even today. There was a mausoleum of Pir Shahnshah Baba Adam [پیر شنشاہ بابا آدم] at Aatia [آتیا] and said saint had landed in Bengal with the intention to preach Islam. He had become popular by the name of Baba Adam Kashmiri [بابا آدم کشمیری] and passed away in 1507 at Aatia [آتیا], according to a tombstone at his grave. The said event had taken place well before when the Panni family had come into power. Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] had built a beautiful mosque close to said mausoleum in 1609 which was during the reign of the Emperor Jahangeer [شہنشاہ جہانگیر]. Those monuments exist in a reasonably good condition even today (***Imperial Gazetteer Volume No.34 Muslim Architecture in Bengal Page No.253***).

The said mosque is rectangular in shape whereas the size of the same is 40 x 69 yards including the walls. The width of its walls is seven and half feet. There is a minaret within those walls which is erected on a square platform. Then there is veranda in the front, which has also three minarets. The said mosque is a beautiful combination of the Mughal architecture which carries the impact of some bygone era (***Muslim Architecture in Bengal Page No.253***). The said mosque of Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] was a manifestation of the fact that he was in love with the religion Islam just like his great grandfather namely, Jamal Khan Panni [جمال خان پنّی] as well as his grandfather.

Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی**], known as Chand Mian [**چاند میاں**]**:

Nawab Saadat Ali Khan Panni [نواب سعادت علی خان پنّی], Mahmood Ali Khan [محمودعلی خان پنّی], Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] and Masood Ali Khan Panni [مسعودعلی خان پنّی] had

enjoyed a very coveted recognition whereas, everyone else in the family of Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] had also earned a big name just because of the gentleness of Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] and the love for poor people, benevolence and devotion for education. The period of each one of them is worthy enough to be incorporated in the history as a golden chapter. Nawab Saadat Ali Khan Panni [نواب سعادت علی خان پنّی] and Saeed Khan Panni [سعید خان پنّی] were in the seventh generation in the linage and his son, Mahmood Ali Khan Panni [محمودعلی خان پنّی], was followed by his learned son, Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی]. He was also popularly known as Chand Mian [چاند میاں] and the name of his son was Ferzand Ali Khan Panni [فرزندعلی خان پنّی]. There were two worth mentioning Bazaars in Croatia [کروٹیا] and one of them was known as "Mahmood Gunj" [محمود گنج] which was just because of Mahmood Ali Khan [محمودعلی خان پنّی] (***Gazetteer Memonsingh*** [میمن سنگھ] ***Page No.150***).

Training and education [تعلیم و تربیت]:

Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] was born in Croatia [کروٹیا] in District Memonsingh [ضلع میمن سنگھ] in former East Pakistan. He was raised with extraordinary care and under the elitist traditions of said period. The entire education of Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] was arranged at home under the supervision of highly qualified teachers. The English medium of education was although not very popular in those days among the Muslim families yet, his very intelligent father, Mahmood Ali Khan Panni [محمودعلی خان پنّی], who was well acquainted with the future requirements, had made arrangements for his tuition in English literature at home. The nickname of Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] in his childhood was Chand Mian [چاند میاں] and then he was popular by it subsequently. The marriage of Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] was arranged at the completion of his education in a noble family of Kartakpur [کارتک پور] District Dhaka in 1879. He had only one son from his said wedlock by the name of Ferzand Ali Khan Panni [فرزندعلی خان پنّی]. Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] had made arrangements for the higher education of Ferzand Ali Khan Panni [فرزندعلی خان پنّی] in the Muslim University Ali-Gherr. The first wife of Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] died just two years after the marriage and the sad demise of his wife had overwhelmed him for a long time. Then his second marriage was arranged with an educated woman by the name of Ruqia Khanum [رقیہ خانم]. The second wife of Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] was really concerned about the education

of both Muslim male and female children therefore she had launched an education movement in Croatia [کروٹیا] (***Weekly Sagher*** [ساغر] ***Karachi Dated.25.12.1960***).

Participation in the Khilafat movement and imprisonment [تحریکِ خلافت میں شمولیت اورقید]:

When the Khilafat movement [تحریکِ خلافت] had gained pace in the country, the late Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] was impressed by it notwithstanding the fact that he was enjoying an elite status at that time. He had started visiting Calcutta [کلکٹہ] from Memonsingh [میمن سنگھ] on a regular basis because it was the biggest center of movement. He had also started visiting Memonsingh [میمن سنگھ] and Tangail [ٹنگائیل] including the adjoining areas without considering the fact that he was maintaining a large estate. He was in the field practically and he had devoted himself openly for the Khilafat movement [تحریکِ خلافت]. When a move to check the activists of the Khilafat movement [تحریکِ خلافت] was initiated in 1921, Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] was also arrested at that time from Memonsingh [میمن سنگھ]. Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] was one of the leading nobles (Raees [رئیس]) of his area and was more popular however, for his gentleness and nobility than his status as a rich man. When the news of his arrest was in circulation and the public had learnt that he was being transported to some other place, there was a large congregation of about three hundred thousand people which had gathered at the railway station. The police was left with no other option but to take him away from Memonsingh [میمن سنگھ] and he was moved to Calcutta [کلکٹہ] very quietly and was sent into confinement in Alipur [علی پور] jail thereafter. The famous journalist and a renowned religious scholar namely, Mollana Mohammed Akram Khan [مولانا محمداکرم خان] was also in Alipur [علی پور] jail under the charge of mobilizing the people in the Khilafat movement [تحریکِ خلافت]. Since both of them had similar objectives therefore, their similar mental disposition had helped them develop a very strong friendship. Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] had maintained said friendly ties till the end of his life. Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] was released however, when the general amnesty was announced for the prisoners of the Khilafat movement [تحریکِ خلافت]. He was a well dressed person prior to his imprisonment and he used to live like lords. He had started to dress up after his release with a shirt which was made of Khader [کھدر] (Jean) cloth and with a longi [لونگی] of similar cloth. He had maintained the said attire for the rest of his life (***Weekly Sagher*** [ساغر] ***Karachi Dated.25.12.1960***).

Establishment of educational and reformative institutions [تعلیمی اور رفاہی اداروں کا قیام]:

The actual plight of the people had manifested for Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] during the revolutionary Khilafat Movement [تحریکِ خلافت]. He was bewildered by the poverty and the level of illiteracy among the common Muslims under the influence of the other communities. The Muslims were neither aware of their religious responsibilities nor had they realized even their noble status in society. They were also unfamiliar with the particular Islamic characteristics which were the pride of the Muslims usually in the society. The Muslims of Bengal had seemingly failed to show the level of fervor which was expected from them during the Khilafat Movement [تحریکِ خلافت]. The said situation had shaken up Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] very badly, despite the fact that he was enjoying an elite status. Then the imprisonment had also created a very deep and motivatingly pleasant impact on his temperament which had activated him mentally. Thus he was able to devote his entire energy to bring about educational reforms in his area subsequent to his participation in the Khilafat movement [تحریکِ خلافت]. The wife of Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] namely, Ruqia Khanum [رقیہ خانم] was also an enlightened and agile woman. She was also a very handy support to Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی]. There was a high school which was established initially, after the name of the father of Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] i.e. Mahmood Ali Institution. Then an intermediate college was established in commemoration of his grandfather namely, Nawab Saadat Ali Khan Panni [نواب سعادت علی خان پنّی]. There was a large size Arabic Mederassa which was established after the name of his wife as Ruqia High Mederassa (***Weekly Sagher*** [ساغر] ***Karachi Dated.25.12.1960***). He had also established some public welfare centers other than those educational institutes. The Saadat School was converted into a degree college and has now science and commerce faculties as well.

The groups of institutions as well as public welfare institutions were successfully operative until lately. There were thousands of individuals who had qualified from those educational institutions. Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] had dedicated his entire estate for public welfare programs. The annual income of his estate was about three hundred thousand approximately in 1960. The size of said Jagir which had devolved upon Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] was even less than two Annas out of the total Jagir. The college, Mederassa, School and public welfare centers were working successfully until lately with said income of his

Jagir. The vast area where those institutions were established was known as Wajid Negger [واجدنگر] (***Weekly Sagher*** [ساغر] ***Karachi Dated.25.12.1960***).

Interest in hunting, arts and antiques [شکار،فنون لطیفہ اور نوادرات سے شغف]:

Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] was also very fond of hunting and had a good collection of shooting guns. There were some guns which he had obtained by placing special supply orders from Belgium, Germany and England. He had also bought a big estate in the famous city of Ranchi [رانچی] in Chottah Nagpur [چھوٹا ناگپور] in order to satisfy his hobby of hunting. He used to spend the summer seasons in Ranchi [رانچی] where he used to enjoy a hunting spree besides tourism. Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] was also very fond of arts and had a very good collection of antiques. He had developed a deep interest in general studies as well. He was also very fond of maintaining a library with good books and his library was very popular due to the collection of some very unique books. The books in said library were mostly in Arabic and Persian languages. Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] had also built two grand buildings and one of them was known as "Masood Manzil" [مسعود منزل] whereas the other one was known as "Ruqia Mahal" [رقیہ محل] and it was named after the name of his wife.

Love for poor people [غریبوں سے ہمدردی]:

Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] was although the biggest landlord of his area yet, unlike many others, there was not even an iota of arrogance and haughtiness in his personality. He used to associate himself with his tillers and cultivators and he used to redress their grievances at their person level. He had passed the standing instructions to his staff to maintain kindness towards all the cultivators. He used to give utmost exemption to the cultivators with regard to the payment of revenue or annual taxes. There was a staff member who had once taken a basket full of bananas from a cultivator without any payment. The said cultivator had brought the incident in the notice of Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی]. Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] had summoned said staff member immediately and he had snubbed him. The said employee had agreed voluntarily to make the payment of the bananas. Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] had instructed him on said offer to fix the reasonable price for the stolen bananas. The said staff member had fixed the price as which anyone else would have liked to pay in order to save

himself from making any further blunder. Then Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] had taken out one hundred Rupee currency note from his pocket on said reply and said that he was ready to pay hundred Rupees because it was a reasonable price. The employee was bewildered by said move. Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] had handed over hundred Rupees to the cultivator and he had deducted said amount from the salary of his employee. The said incident of imposing the penalty of Rupees one hundred on his employee alone was reflective of his practical engagement in helping out the needy and poor. Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] passed away in 1936. The death of Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] was mourned for months in District Memonsingh [ضلع میمن سنگھ] particularly in Tangail [ٹنگائیل] and Croatia [کروٹیا] (***Weekly Sagher*** [ساغر] ***Karachi Dated.25.12.1960***).

FORMER HIGH COMMISSIONER OF PAKISTAN, HUMAYOON KHAN PANNI

[پاکستان کے سابق ہائی کمشنر ہمایوں خان پنّی]

Popular and successful High Commissioner [ایک مقبول اور کامیاب ہائی کمشنر]:

Masood Ali Khan Panni [مسعودعلی خان پنّی] was appointed as a trustee for the estate after the death of Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی]. He had performed his duties very diligently till his death in 1950. He had three sons and one of his sons i.e. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was settled in France permanently. The second son was Hammayoon Khan Panni [ہمایوں خان پنّی], who was a member of the provincial assembly in former East Pakistan. He was appointed as High Commissioner for Sri Lanka subsequently while representing Pakistan. The success rate of his diplomacy was manifest from the fact that just within a few months of his appointment he had addressed about two dozen sessions of the local Muslim community and so much so he had addressed a rally in the area of Jaffna as well which was the area of pure Tamil speaking people. He had addressed them in their own language and thus he was able to surprise everyone. Then Hammayoon Khan Panni [ہمایوں خان پنّی] was taken around in a procession amidst joyous slogans by the general public. Hammayoon Khan Panni [ہمایوں خان پنّی] had delivered many speeches in Tamil language on the persistent requests of the locals. The subject of the same, among other things, was significance of Islam as a religion and its objectives as well as the constitution of Pakistan. He had also introduced the biography of the late president Ayub Khan [ایوب خان] among the local Muslims which was captioned as "جس رزق سے آتی ہو پرواز میں کوتاہی" i.e. the earning

which hampers the free flight. Then he had addressed four different gatherings in a day about four miles away from Colombo at Valchchnal. He was unable to attend however many banquets which were arranged in his honor due to his heavy schedule of commitments. He had also presided over a seminar for about six continuous hours just in one day prior to aforementioned speeches which was on the subject of "Fourteen Hundred years of Revelation of the Quran". Then he had attended the question answer session with regard to the economic progress of Pakistan as well as on different aspects of the constitution of Pakistan. The same was a reflection of the keen interest of those people in Pakistan. The way Hammayoon Khan Panni [ہمایوں خان پنّی] had dislodged his responsibility of his official commitment as High Commissioner, had set the precedent for other foreign diplomats.

Then a banquet was organized on behalf of the general public in the honor of Hammayoon Khan Panni [ہمایوں خان پنّی] in the Municipal Hall at Kattannkundy in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The Chairman of the meeting had declared said occasion as a red letter day in the history of Kattannkundy. The Chairman had acknowledged while delivering his address that, the Pakistani Muslim brothers were a leading guide for their Muslim brothers at Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and he had paid rich tributes to Quaid-e-Azam [قائدِاعظمؒ] and Allama Iqbal [علامہ اقبالؒ].

Then another banquet was arranged at Naticola in the honor of Hammayoon Khan Panni [ہمایوں خان پنّی] which was attended by a number of participants from various villages. The thing which had impressed Hammayoon Khan Panni [ہمایوں خان پنّی] the most was that the Muslims had complete freedom to host a banquet in the honor of the High Commissioner from another Muslim country despite the fact that the Muslims were a small minority. When a prayer offering was made in the local language at the end of the meeting, the Muslim participants had pronounced Ameen [آمین] loudly as a congregation. The said event had touched the hearts of many. The same fact had also proved that they had great love for Pakistan [پاکستان] (***Pakistan Time Lahore 15th March 1967***).

We conclude the introduction of Hammayoon Khan Panni [ہمایوں خان پنّی] but we may also point out that Hammayoon Khan Panni [ہمایوں خان پنّی] had abandoned his valuable estate of hundreds of thousands of Rupees on the fall of Dhaka in 1971 and had migrated to Pakistan.

KHAN KHURRAM KHAN PANNI

[خان خُرم خان پنّی]

Former successful High Commissioner of Pakistan [پاکستان کے سابق کامیاب ہائی کشنر]:

The third son of Masood Ali Khan Panni [مسعودعلی خان پنّی] namely, Khurram Khan Panni [خُرم خان پنّی] was initially the chief parliamentary secretary of former East Pakistan. Then he was appointed as High Commissioner in Keynia [کینیا]. He was appointed as High Commissioner in Argentine thereafter. He was included in the squad of twelve delegates in 1965 to participate in the 20th session of General Assembly of the United Nations (***Daily Kohistan*** [کوہستان] ***Lahore October 1965***).

Mr. Khurram Khan Panni [خُرم خان پنّی] was elected as a member for the joint province of Bengal in Hindustan even prior to the independence of Pakistan which was just by virtue of his God gifted skill of oratory and brilliance. The said election was declared as null and void however because he was under age at that time to contest any election. He was chairman of the board of trustees. The said trust was established by his grandfather namely, Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی]. The Saadat College was converted into a degree college since long, just because of his incessant efforts. Then with his similar dedication, the science and commerce faculties were also made fully functional. Khurram Khan Panni [خُرم خان پنّی] had also donated a library of his grandfather i.e. Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] to said college which had a number of valuable books. Mr. Khurram Khan Panni [خُرم خان پنّی] was able to earn the great honor in a meeting with his whole hearted efforts when one of the squares in the capital of Argentine was declared as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan square. He had expressed his gratitude on said occasion with the hope that said gesture of goodwill was a milestone to strengthen friendly ties between the two countries (***Daily Mashriq*** [مشرق] ***Lahore Dated.10.11.1967***). Mr. Khurram Khan Panni [خُرم خان پنّی] had lived a very simple life and was a very sociable but very humble human being. He had decided to stay in East Pakistan however, after the fall of Dhaka with the intention to look after the properties under the trust properly. The said trust was established by his grandfather and he was appointed as its Chairman just for general supervision. The younger brother of Mr. Khurram Khan Panni [خُرم خان پنّی] namely, Hammayoon Khan Panni [ہمایوں خان

پنّی] had opted to migrate to Pakistan along-with his real younger sister. Thus they had left behind their properties, the worth of which was in millions.

Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی] and Naeem Khan Panni [نعیم خان پنّی]

Commitment for a nation [ملّی خدمت کا جذبہ]:

The said family is still dedicated to serve the religion Islam just going by its history. The leading personalities of said family have not lost their contact with the general public, despite their affluent status. They participate in all social activities very enthusiastically. The real brother of Wajid Ali Khan Panni [واجدعلی خان پنّی] and the grandson of Hyder Ali Khan Panni [حیدر علی خان پنّی] and son of Mahdi Ali Khan Panni [مہدی علی خان پنّی] namely, Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی] and his close relative namely, Naeem Khan Panni [نعیم خان پنّی] had remained associated wholeheartedly with the Khaksar [تحریک خاکسار] movement of Allama Inayat Ullah Khan Mashriqi [علامہ عنایت اللہ مشرقیؒ]. They had frequent meetings with Nawab Bahader Yar Jung [نواب بہادر یار جنگؒ] who was also a supporter and well-wisher of said movement (***Letter Bayezeed Khan Panni*** [بایزیدخان پنّی] ***Dated.11.04.1964***).

The orders passed for the chief organizers of Bengal, according to one of the editions of the weekly Newspaper of Allama Inayat Ullah Khan Mashriqi [علامہ عنایت اللہ مشرقیؒ] in the manner as below:

The appointments are hereby recommended as below.

1. Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزیدخان پنّی], Vice Chairman [نائب حاکمِ اعلٰی] and the acting Chairman Bengal is hereby reappointed as Chairman till further orders.
2. The Sallar of the District shall be as below:

   Memonsingh [میمن سنگھ] - Naeem Khan Panni [نعیم خان پنّی]
   (***Alislah*** [الاصلاح] ***Dated.04.07.1947***)

Mahdi Ali Khan Panni [مہدی علی خان پنّی] was very fond of hunting. The daughter of Mahdi Ali Khan Panni [مہدی علی خان پنّی], Mohterma Ameena [محترمہ آمینہ], had stood first in the entire Pakistan in 1960 in a women riffle shooting competition.

Mohterma Mohsina and Wajid Ali Khan Panni [محترمہ محسنہ اور واجد علی خان پنّی]:

The Islam friendly sentiment, which said family had inherited from their forefathers and particularly when Pakistan was divided into two parts, if their role was not disclosed and discussed in the same context, the same would not only be unjust but shall tantamount to conceal the reality as well. We have already mentioned that Mr. Khurram Khan Panni [خُرم خان پنّی] had decided to stay back after the fall of Dhaka in order to render services as a Muslim as well as in order to achieve his other objectives in a better manner. The real sister of Mr. Khurram Khan Panni [خُرم خان پنّی] namely, Mohterma Mohsina [محترمہ محسنہ] had opted to migrate to Pakistan along-with her four children despite having a huge property which was due to the reason that her husband was drowned in a river by the traitors just because of his support for Pakistan. He was travelling in a boat. Mohterma Mohsina [محترمہ محسنہ] had opted to go back to Bangladesh [بنگلہ دیش] in 1977.

The son of Khurram Khan Panni [خُرم خان پنّی] namely, Wajid Khan Panni [واجد خان پنّی] had received his education from Mission College Lahore. The Pakistan friendly attitude of said young man was praiseworthy. When our sword was kaput in the former East Pakistan, Wajid Khan Panni [واجد خان پنّی] had opted to go to England.

The Panni Pathan in Chittagong [پنّی پٹھان چٹاگانگ میں]:

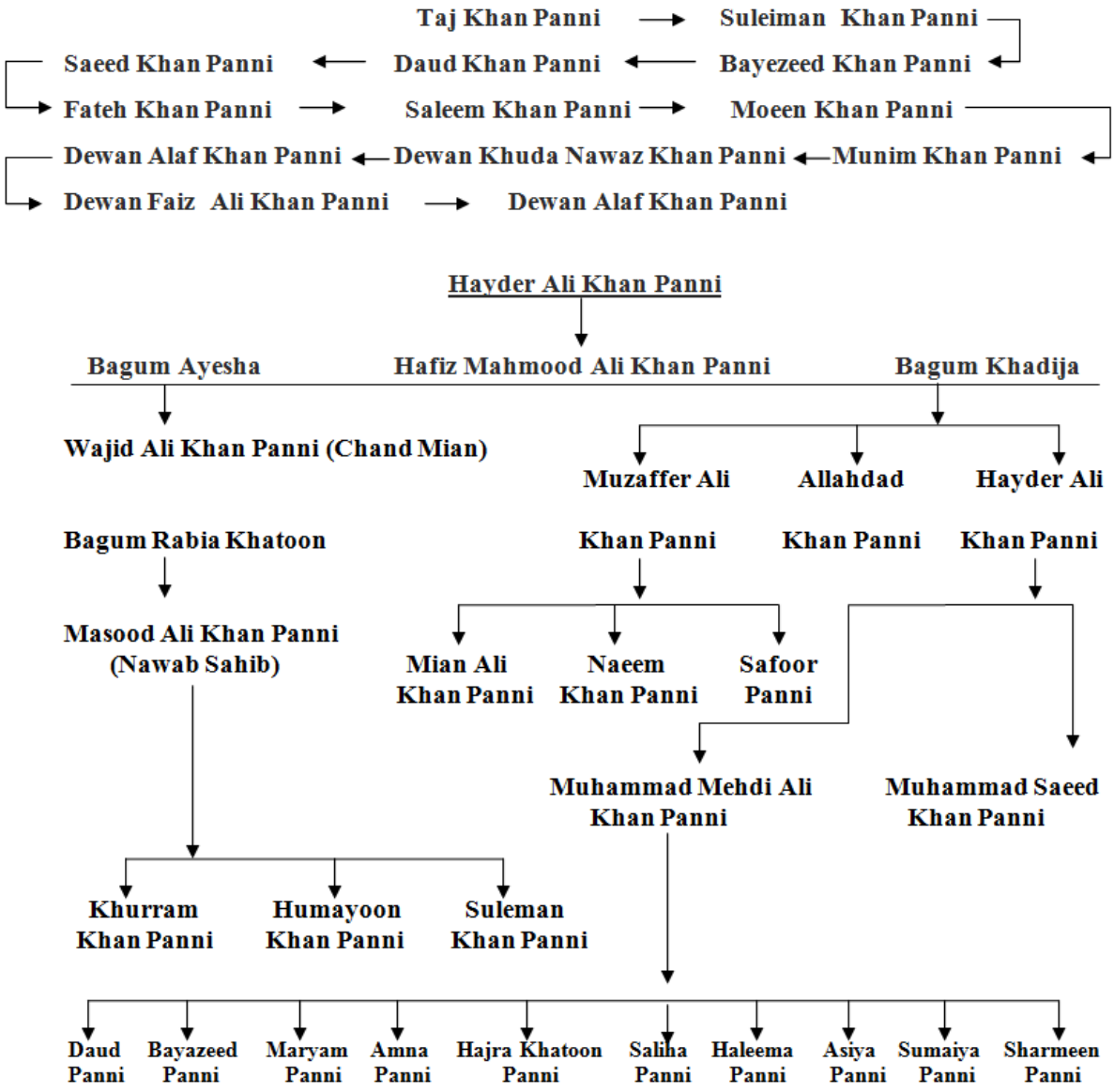
The nation which had hailed from the plains of the southeast between River Khazar [خزر] and River Ural [دریائے اورال] were able to rule Iran, Armenia, Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan and Ghandhara. Then they were also able to reach the far-flung mountainous regions of the East Pakistan ultimately. There Jamal Khan Panni [جمال خان پنّی] and Feroze Khan Panni [فیروز خان پنّی] and others had fought against the state. They were able to conquer the areas of Chittagong [چٹاگانگ] as well as areas in its vicinity in accordance with the history of Tripura [تری پورہ] (Agartala [اگرتلہ]). The said book was captioned as “Rajmala” [راج مالا]. Then they had established a town

under the name as “Pannian” [پنیاں]. We have not been able to trace out said article however, which was with the caption as “The Pathan Raj in Chittagong” [چٹاگانگ میں پٹھان راج] (***Tareekh Hafiz Rahmat Khani*** [تاریخ حافظ رحمت خانی] ***Page No.479 Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.253***).

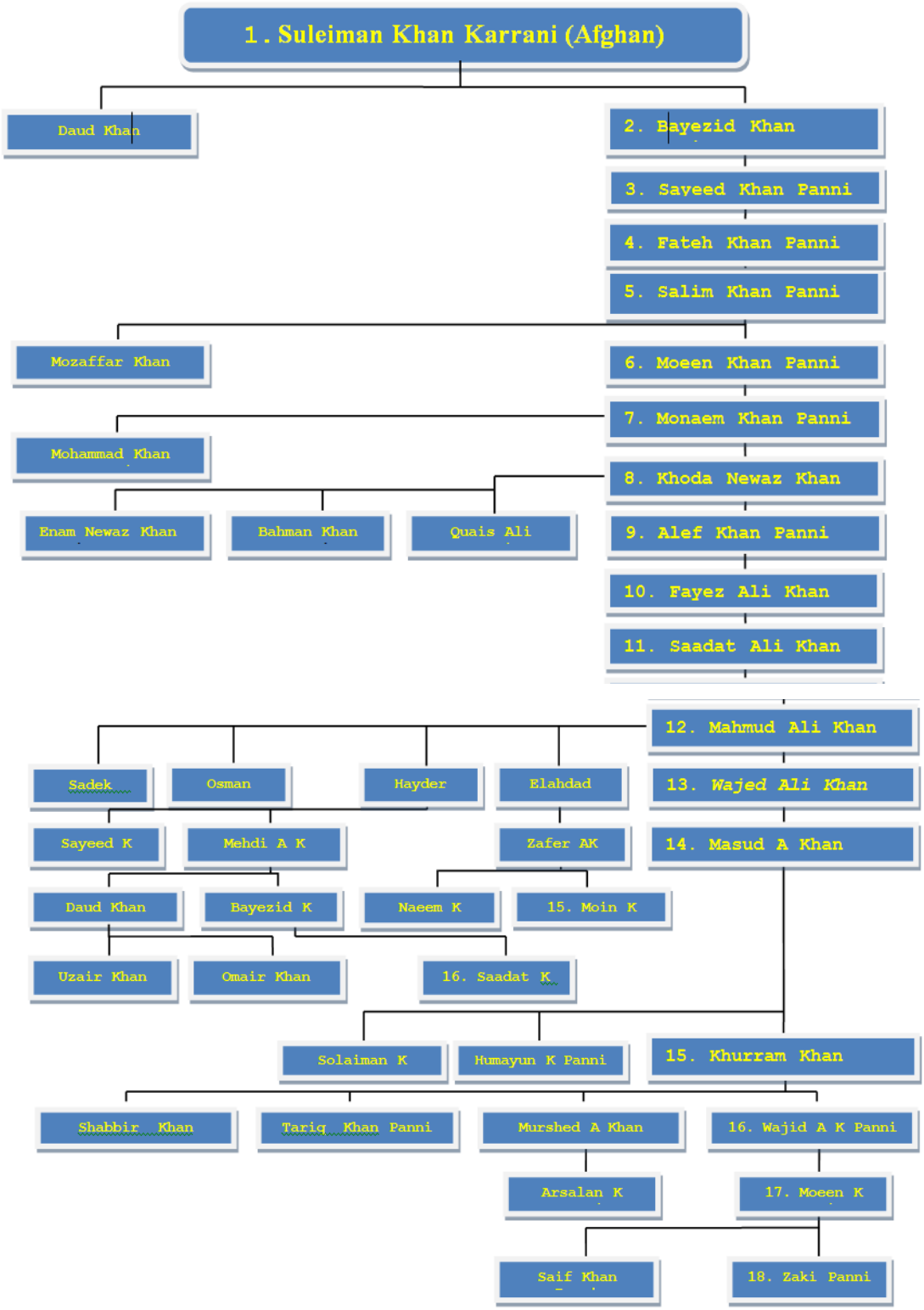
Daod Khan Panni (Middle)
Siddique Khan Panni (Right)
Rabia Khanum Panni (Left)
Khursheed Khan Panni And
Khawar Khan Panni (Standing)

Jannab Mehdi Ali Khan Panni

PANNI NAWAB OF BENGAL (LEGEND LORDS OF BANGLADESH)



PANNI FAMILY TREE 1520 – 2010



PANNI PATHAN

Chapter-XIII

SOME LEADING PERSONALITIES OF THE PANNI NATION

[چند متفرق پنّی مشاہیر]

زشرح قصہ ما رفتہ خواب از چشم خاصا فرا
شب آخر ماگشتہ وافسانہ ازافسانہ میخیزد

We feel at this stage and after writing this much about the Panni nation that it shall be very appropriate to highlight the contributions of some other famous Generals and Sardars. The life achievements of those Generals and Sardars were neither traceable with details nor were we able to carry out adequate research. Those Generals and Sardars had also decorated the labyrinths of the Subcontinent with their worthy achievements. They had also contributed in the history therefore their brief introduction was also worthy of mention in this book. The list of those people of different ages is so long that, we may well have to write a complete book separately in order to do justice with their worthy status in history. We have selected just a few of them however in order to pay them some homage.

Bhekhan Khan Panni [بھیکن خان پنّی]

And

Jalal Khan Murseen Zai Panni Lodhvi [جلال خان مرسین زئی پنّی لودھوی]:

Bhekhan Khan Panni [بھیکن خان پنّی] was among the Umera [امراء] of the Durbar of Sikander Lodhi [سکندرلودھی], son of Bahlol Lodhi [بہلول لودھی]. When, Sikander Lodhi [سکندرلودھی] died in 823 Hegira 1517, his son namely, Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi [سلطان ابراہیم لودھی] was enthroned in his place. Sikander Lodhi [سکندرلودھی] had left behind six sons. The Umera [امراء] of his Durbar were fifty three and Bhekhan Khan Panni [بھیکن خان پنّی] was also one of them (***Ferishta*** [فرشتہ] ***Page No.231-232***). When, the issue of succession of Sikander Lodhi [سکندرلودھی] had cropped up, the Umera [امراء] of his Durbar had decided to support the succession of Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi [سلطان ابراہیم لودھی]. The brother of Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi [سلطان ابراہیم لودھی] namely, Jalal Khan [جلال خان] was also aspiring as a successor to be enthroned and crowned. The said intention had set

afloat a tug of war between the two brothers. Jalal Khan [جلال خان] was able to separate a particular portion of the country by force ultimately, just for his personal rule. The Umera [امراء] of the Durbar had tried their level best to make him understand that, two kings in the same country or two swords in one sheathe, was not possible. The division of the country in said manner was also likely to invite some unrest and disorder but, their efforts had proved to be futile. He was summoned once for consultation and since he was not unmindful of their mindset therefore, he had refused to leave the jurisdiction of said area which was administratively under his control. He had harbored the apprehension of being arrested probably and he had sent back the delegation all disappointed (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.89***).

Measures against Jalal Khan [جلال خان کے خلاف اقدام]:

The Umera [امراء] had enthroned Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi [سلطان ابراہیم لودھی] on 15th Zilhaj [ذالحجہ] 923 Hegira (1517) after the return of the disappointed delegation. The coronation ceremony of Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi [سلطان ابراہیم لودھی] had taken place with great festivity. The King had distributed prizes among his Umera [امراء] as well as, among the needy and poor, on said auspicious occasion of his coronation. When, Jalal Khan [جلال خان] was informed about said coronation ceremony, he had refused to accept the decision. The tension had touched the extreme due to the squabble between the two brothers. Jalal Khan [جلال خان] had opted to move to Agrah [آگرہ] in the wake of said situation, with the intention to aggravate the tension even more. He had succumbed to the pressure later on, due to the hectic efforts of the Umera [امراء] but, the pomposity of Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi [سلطان ابراہیم لودھی] had compelled him to avoid any rapprochement between two parallel states. The tension had compelled Jalal Khan [جلال خان] then, to seek refuge in Gowalyar [قلعہ گوالیار] fort. Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi [سلطان ابراہیم لودھی] had opted to remain however, in Agrah [آگرہ].

Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi [سلطان ابراہیم لودھی] had sent a massive lashker for the admonishment of his brother just a few days after the aforementioned incident and to conquer the Gowalyar fort [قلعہ گوالیار]. The command of the lashker was with Azam Hamayoon Serdani [اعظم ہمایوں سردانی] and consisted of fifty thousand elephants along-with other fort breaking equipment (catapult) etc. When, said lashker was in the periphery of Gowalyar [گوالیار] area, Jalal Khan [جلال خان] had left the area for Malwa [مالوہ] along-with fifty horse riders to join Sultan Mahmood Khilji [سلطان

محمود خلجی]. Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi [سلطان ابراہیم لودھی] had dispatched the reinforcement team of eight Umera [امراء] for the conquest of Gowalyar [گوالیار] fort as well as, to provide support to Azam Hamayoon Serdani [اعظم ہمایوں سردانی]. Then, a team was formed which included Serfraz Khan Mashwani [سرفرازخا مشوانی], Sermast Khan Sebani [سرمست خان سربنی], Khizer Khan Davi [خضر خان داوی], Suleiman Khan Ghershaini [سلیمان خان غرشینی], Jalal Khan Murseen Zai Panni [جلال خان مرسین زئی پنّی] and Mubaraz Khan Lohani [مبارزخان لوہانی]. They were all holders of Naqara [نقارہ] and Nishan [نشان] titles, individually. He had also sent Khan Jahan Lori [خان جہان لوری], thereafter. He was holder of the title "Liwa-o-Alam" [صاحبِ لِواوعلم] and had about twelve thousand troops at his disposal. Bhekhan Khan Panni [بھیکن خان پنّی], who had enjoyed a very distinct position among the Umera [امراء], was also with him. They were able to capture Gowalyar fort [قلعہ گوالیار] but as stated above, Jalal Khan [جلال خان] was in Malwa [مالوہ] by that time, in the company of fifty horse riders and with the intention to join Sultan Mahmood Khilji [سلطان محمود خلجی] (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.91***).

Ahmed Khan Panni Lodhvi [احمد خان پنّی لودھوی]:

There was another great personality by the name of Ahmed Khan Panni Lodhvi [احمد خان پنّی لودھوی] during the reign of the Lodhi [لودھی] rulers (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.105***). We have not been able to trace out most of his life achievements but, there was one incident which was attributed to him and had revealed that, he was among very distinguished Umera [امراء] of the Lodhi [لودھی] era. He was also among a few Sardars who were known for their audacity.

Participation in a battle against Baber [بابر کے خلاف جنگ میں شمولیت]:

When, the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] was preparing to advance at Panipat [پانی پت] in 1562, after defeating and murdering Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi [سلطان ابراہیم لودھی] the brother of murdered sultan namely, Mahmood [محمود] who was in the captivity in Hansi fort [قلعہ ہانسی], was able to escape. Then, he had announced his kingship with the support of his previous Umera [امراء] and allies and Ahmed Khan Panni [احمد خان پنّی] was also among those Umera [امراء]. Sultan Mahmood [سلطان محمود] had announced not only his kingship at that time rather, he had started the war preparations against the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر], with the support of those Umera [امراء]. This

was a very critical and unfavorable period for the Lodhi [لودھی] dynasty which was in complete disarray, at that time. Sultan Mahmood [سلطان محمود] was equipped tooth and nail and then he had plunged into the battlefield but luck had not favored him however and he had lost the battle (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.68***).

Mahmood Lodhi was crowned as the King [محمود لودھی کو بادشاہ بنادیا گیا]:

Mahmood Lodhi [محمود لودھی] had managed his escape to the Chitorr [چتوڑ] fort, after losing the battle against the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر]. He had stayed there for sometime then, he had moved towards Malwa [مالوہ]. Ahmed Khan Panni [احمد خان پنّی], Umer Khan [عمرخان] the ruler of Ajmair [اجمیر], Azam Hammayoon [اعظم خان ہمایوں], Ibrahim Khan Ali Zai Panni [ابراہیم خان علی زئی پنّی], Mena Khan [مینا خان] who was the ruler of Serhind [سرہند] since five years and fifteen other Umera [امراء] had elected Mahmood Lodhi [محمود لودھی] as their King. Mahmood Lodhi [محمود لودھی] had opted to settle down in Behar [بہار] where he had brought the entire area under his control except, the Perganas [پرگنات] of Methrano [متھرانو] which were a part of the Jagir of Sher Khan Suri [شیر خان سوری]. We may also point out that, Sher Khan Suri [شیر خان سوری] had not announced his kingship by that time. He had to succumb therefore, to their authority under compulsion and he had to abandon his claim on Behar [بہار] area, as well (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.105***) Sher Khan Suri [شیر خان سوری] had not supported however, the advancement of Sultan Mahmood **[**سلطان محمود**]** towards Johnpur **[**جونپور**]**. Sultan Mahmood **[**سلطان محمود**]** had opted to go to Methrano [متھرانو], in the wake of said situation along-with his Umera [امراء] as well as, Ahmed Khan Panni [احمد خان پنّی] in order to win the support of Sher Khan Suri [شیر خان سوری]. He had convinced him successfully and he had ensured his participation in said expedition. We have not been able to trace out further details but, at least this much was established historically that, Sultan Mahmood **[**سلطان محمود**]** was able to engage the Emperor Humayoon **[**شہشاہ ہمایوں**]** in many a battle. When, he was ultimately defeated, he had no other option but, to live his life in solitude. There were some of his Umera [امراء] who had joined Sher Khan Suri [شیر خان سوری] while the others were compelled to take directions which they had thought were the best option, under the then prevailing circumstances (***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] ***Page No.72***).

We have also discovered another Ameer [امیر] from the history book which was captioned as Khursheed Jahan [خورشید جہاں] (***Page No.73***). The name of said Ameer [امیر] was Bakhteyar Khan Panni [بختیار خان پنّی]. We have also witnessed a reference in Muntekhib-at-Tawareekh [منتخب التواریخ] (***Page No.162***) with regard to Shehab Khan Panni [شہاب خان پنّی] who was brother of Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی].

Qatloo Khan Lohani Panni Daod Shahi [قتلو خان لوہانی پنّی داؤد شاہی]

Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] had not performed any significant role under the ruler of Bengal namely, Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی]. The reason for the same was according to our viewpoint that, he was aspirant personally, for the rule whereas Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] had deserted the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] during the famous and decisive battle of Raj Mahel [راج محل]. He had fought said battle against Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی], according to the compiler of Mukhzan Afghani [مخزن افغانی] namely, Naemat Ullah [نعمت اللہ].

Brave but a selfish person [بہادر لیکن خود غرض انسان]:

Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] was a General under Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی], who was the father of Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی]. He had appointed Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] as Governor of Pori [پوری] after conquering it. When, the successor of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was to be appointed then, Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] had sided with Hansu Khan Panni [ہانسو خان پنّی] along-with his soldiers from the Lohani Panni [لوہانی پنّی] tribe. Hansu Khan Panni [ہانسو خان پنّی] was son of Aamad Khan Panni [عماد خان پنّی] who was brother of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] and was also his son-in-law. When, son of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] namely, Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزید خان پنّی] had come into power then, Hansu Khan Panni [ہانسو خان پنّی] had murdered him just a few days after his enthronement. When, Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] had assumed the power afterwards then, he had not only halted the advancement of Monim Khan [منعم خان] successfully, with the support of Lodhi Khan [لودھی خان] rather, he had made a successful advancement towards Johnpur **[**جونپور**]** and other areas which were under the occupation of the Emperor Akbar **[**شہنشاہ اکبر**]**. Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی], Gojer Khan [گوجر خان] and Seri Heri [سری ہری] had ill-advised his Wazir, Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] at that time and they had got murdered Lodhi Khan [لودھی خان], at a

critical juncture. Lodhi Khan [لودھی خان] had a concordance approach as a matter of fact, with regard to the Mughals and Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی]. Gojer Khan [گوجر خان] and Seri Heri [سری ہری] had used the same as a pretext, for his murder. The policy of Lodhi Khan [لودھی خان] was however, to safeguard the interest of the sultanate. Lodhi Khan [لودھی خان] had made a settlement although, with Monim Khan [منعم خان] in the wake of maneuverability of the rivals yet, he was a well-wisher of Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی]. He had requested Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] to make a return and he had also given him the assurance to extend the same treatment which was accorded to his father. Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] was reluctant however, to fall prey to his charm. Thus, the tussle between them had provided an opportunity to Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] to materialize his heinous designs (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.41, 176, 87, 188***).

When, the troops of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] were able to capture Hajipur [حاجی پور] afterwards, during the siege of Patna fort [قلعہ پٹنہ] then, Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] was also among the Pathan Sardars who had compelled Daod Shah [داؤد شاہ] to vacate the fort. Daod Shah [داؤد شاہ] had refused to follow however, their advice. Then, it was the same Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] who had subjected Daod Shah [داؤد شاہ] to the intoxicants and then he had brought him to his capital Tandah [ٹانڈہ] in a boat, on 10th August 1574 (***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Volume No.2 Page No.181***). The height of meanness on the part of Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] was very much there, according to the compiler of Mukhzan Afghani [مخزن افغانی] namely, Naemat Ullah [نعمت اللہ] which had brought both Pathan nations face to face in eastern Hindustan. Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] was in collusion with Khan Jahan [خان جہاں], according to the historians. Khan Jahan [خان جہاں] was a commander of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] during the battle of Raj Mahel [راج محل]. He had taken assurance of getting a few Perganas [پرگنات] in Orissa [اڑیسہ] for his peculiar support which had resulted in the defeat of Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی]. Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] as well as, the rear-guard contingent of Daodi Afghani [داؤدی افغانی] was under the command of Khan Jahan [خان جہاں] in said battle. Khan Jahan [خان جہاں] was killed during the battle, according to the Afghan historians. The lashker of Daodi Afghani [داؤدی افغانی] had dispersed, as a consequence thereof. Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] had deserted Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] right in the battlefield and at a very critical juncture, according to the compiler of Mukhzan Afghani [مخزن افغانی] namely, Naemat Ullah [نعمت اللہ]. The said desertion had won him the rule of Orissa [اڑیسہ] from Khan Jahan [خان جہاں]. The reigning authority of Orissa [اڑیسہ]

had devolved upon Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] after the battle of Raj Mahel [راج محل], in the literal sense and if it was not the reward for his treason then, why he had become the ruler of Orissa [اڑیسہ]? The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was never inclined in any case, to grant the control of said area to the foolhardy Pathans particularly when, those Pathans were defeated completely and their entire dominion was under the control of the Mughals. The Mughals had not disturbed Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] for a few years even after 1576. The Mughal Sardars of Bengal and Behar had revolted however, against the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] in 1573 whereas Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] had supported them. Then, the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had also advanced the troops against Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.201-209***). The aforementioned and many other intrigues had resulted in the downfall of the Pathan sultanate, in former East Pakistan.

Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] was among the state advisors of Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی]. When, Raja Man Singh [راجہ مان سنگھ] had launched an attack against Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] in 1590 and the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was able to capture Orissa [اڑیسہ] in 1592 then, Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] was able to capture prior to that, some areas of the Mughals. The Pathans were rendered homeless after the capture of Orissa [اڑیسہ] because some of them had refused to accept the authority of the Mughals. They had opted to disperse randomly into other parts of the country (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.219-247***). Then, they had created problems for the Mughals for sometime but, they had ultimately entered into a settlement agreement with the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر].

Usman Khan Lohani Panni and others [عثمان خان لوہانی پنّی وغیرہ]:

When, the sword of the Panni Pathans was kaput after receiving the final defeat at the hands of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] in 1592 even then, the defiant struggle of some of the very brave Sardars and soldiers had perpetuated irksomely. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was able to conquer Bengal yet, they had not allowed the Mughals somehow or the other, to take practical control of those areas, till the time the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had assumed power. The Pathan Sardars had remained belligerent against the Mughals in collaboration with their "Barah Bhoyain" [بارہ بھویاں] i.e. with the support of the leading landlords.

Some Panni Sardars after the fall of Bengal [سقوطِ بنگال کے چند پنّی سردار]:

We have traced out the names of those Pathan Sardars which are as below:

Bakhteyar Khan Panni [بختیار خان پنّی] ***Khursheed Jahan*** [خورشید جہاں] **Page No.83,** Shehab Khan Panni [شہاب خان پنّی], brother of Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] ***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Page No.162***, Mahmood Khan Panni [محمود خان پنّی] ***Ferishta*** [فرشتہ] ***Page No.238,*** Naseer Khan Panni [نصیر خان پنّی] and Mohammed Jan Khan Panni [محمد جان خان پنّی] ***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.199, 249, 186,*** Baboo Khan Panni [بابو خان پنّی] ***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.199,*** Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] ***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.270,*** Ilyas Khan Panni [الیاس خان پنّی] Aamad Khan Panni [عماد خان پنّی] ***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.199, 249, 186,*** Kareem Dad Musa Zai Panni [کریم داد موسیٰ زئی پنّی] ***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.220,*** Sheikh Mohammed Ameen Bayezeed Khan Panni [شیخ محمد آمین بایزید خان پنّی], Ilyas Khan Panni [الیاس خان پنّی], Aamad Khan Panni [عماد خان پنّی] and descendents of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] as well as, Lohani Khan Panni [لوہانی خان پنّی], Taj Khan Lohani Panni [تاج خان لوہانی پنّی], Saleem Khan Lohani Panni [سلیم خان لوہانی پنّی], Alogh Khan Lohani Panni [الوغ خان لوہانی پنّی], Naseer Khan Meyana Panni [نصیر خان میانہ پنّی], Ibrahim Khan Meyana Panni [ابراہیم خان میانہ پنّی] ***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.253,*** Suleiman Khan Lohani Panni [سلیمان خان لوہانی پنّی], Wali Khan Mando Khail Panni [ولّی خان مندوخیل پنّی] ***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.39,*** Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] and his son Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] and his three brothers Usman Khan Lohani Panni [عثمان خان لوہانی پنّی], Khawaja Kamal Lohani Panni [خواجہ کمال لوہانی پنّی] and Khawaja Jamal Lohani Panni [خواجہ جمال لوہانی پنّی] ***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.247-248,*** Yusuf Khan Panni [یوسف خان پنّی] ***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.188***. Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] along-with his allies had accepted the employment of Raja Kaddar Raye [راجہ کدار رائے] of Seripur [سیری پور]. Usman Khan Lohani Panni [عثمان خان لوہانی پنّی] was a most courageous individual who had fought against the Mughals for a very long time.

He had continued the war against the Mughals [مغلوں سے جنگ جاری رکھی]:

There were a number of Pathan soldiers who had gathered under the flag of Usman Khan Lohani Panni [عثمان خان لوہانی پنّی] and the landlord of Sylhut [سلہٹ] namely, Sheikh Mohammed Ameen Bayezeed Khan Panni [شیخ محمد آمین بایزید خان پنّی]. Then, they had established and consolidated

their collaboration with "Barah Bhoyain" [بارہ بھویاں] of Bengal. Esa Khan [عیسیٰ خان] was a most famous landlord and Sardar among them. Usman Khan Lohani Panni [عثمان خان لوہانی پنّی] and his brother Suleiman Khan Lohani Panni [سلیمان خان لوہانی پنّی] had kept Raja Kaddar Raye [راجہ کدار رائے] of Seripur [سیری پور] under detention. He was set free however, with the efforts of Esa Khan [عیسیٰ خان] as a gesture of goodwill and to promote mutual cooperation (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.227***). Suleiman Khan Lohani Panni [سلیمان خان لوہانی پنّی] was appointed as a commander for the troops of Raja Kaddar Raye [راجہ کدار رائے] of Seripur [سیری پور] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.228***). Usman Khan Lohani Panni [عثمان خان لوہانی پنّی] was granted a Jagir however, in the area of Bakaie Nagger [بکائی نگر] (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.116-117***). When, Raja Man Singh [راجہ مان سنگھ] had taken away the area of Orissa [اڑیسہ] in 1592 from Usman Khan Lohani Panni [عثمان خان لوہانی پنّی] as well as, from his brother Suleiman Khan Lohani Panni [سلیمان خان لوہانی پنّی] then, they were compelled to seek refuge with Raja Kaddar Raye [راجہ کدار رائے] of Seripur [سیری پور]. Esa Khan [عیسیٰ خان] had granted them a Jagir in the east of Memonsingh [میمن سنگھ] and in the west of Sylhut [سلہٹ] i.e. in the area of Bokay Nagger [بوکے نگر]. Thus, he was able to strengthen his collaboration with them. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] was son of Qatloo Khan Panni [قتلو خان پنّی] and was under the employment of Raja Kaddar Raye [راجہ کدار رائے] of Seripur [سیری پور] along-with his comrades. He was killed however, in the battle against Raja Khan Singh [راجہ خان سنگھ] in 1596. Then, the both brothers of Usman Khan Lohani Panni [عثمان خان لوہانی پنّی], Suleiman Khan Lohani Panni [سلیمان خان لوہانی پنّی] namely, Khawaja Kamal Lohani Panni [خواجہ کمال لوہانی پنّی] and Khawaja Jamal Lohani Panni [خواجہ جمال لوہانی پنّی] had also accepted the employment of Raja Perapa Dattia [راجہ پراپادتیہ] of Jaysoor [جیسور] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***reference Beharistan*** [بہارستان]). They had strengthened him thus, against the Mughals. Those Sardars had fought very courageously against the Mughals in east Bengal, during the lifetime of Esa Khan [عیسیٰ خان] and then, under his son Musa Khan [موسیٰ خان] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.228, reference Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.711, Beharistan*** [بہارستان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.126-127, Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.809, 623***). Then, Usman Khan Lohani Panni [عثمان خان لوہانی پنّی] was offered the title as Panj Hazari [پنج ہزاری] during the reign of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] which was a move of encouragement to make him enter the reconciliation process (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***reference Beharistan*** [بہارستان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.5-174***). He had refused to accept the same.

The Pathans were exhausted completely by that time and some Sardars had lost the courage even to put up any resistance. They were generally divided therefore, into two groups. Khawaja Jamal Lohani Panni [خواجہ جمال لوہانی پنّی] had relinquished resultantly, the employment of Raja Perapa Dattia [راجہ پراپادتیہ] of Jaysoor [جیسور] after the battle of Salka [سلکا]. He had accepted instead, the employment in the Bengali troops of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***reference Beharistan*** [بہارستان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.110***). Naseer Khan Panni [نصیر خان پنّی] and Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] and his many companions had given up their association with Usman Khan Lohani Panni [عثمان خان لوہانی پنّی]. They had joined instead, the employment of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***reference Beharistan*** [بہارستان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.110***). There were so many other Pathan landlords who had fought on behalf of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] in the expeditions against Usman Khan Lohani Panni [عثمان خان لوہانی پنّی] and Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزید خان پنّی], Jahan Khan Panni [جہان خان پنّی] as well as, Mohammed Khan Panni [محمد خان پنّی] and others (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***reference Beharistan*** [بہارستان]).

Death of Usman Khan Panni [عثمان خان پنّی کی ہلاکت]:

Usman Khan Panni [عثمان خان پنّی], along-with his many companions, had remained entrenched, in the meantime, against the Mughals. Then, there was a terrible clash between the two sides at Lamba Pur [لمبا پور]. Usman Khan Panni [عثمان خان پنّی] had fought ferociously against the locust like lashker of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] along-with ten thousand foot soldiers, two thousand and five hundred cavalrymen and one hundred and forty elephants. Usman Khan Panni [عثمان خان پنّی] died while fighting gallantly along-with his many soldiers. Thus, the last hope of the Pathans had also evaporated with his death. The last castle of resistance in Sylhut [سلہٹ] was thus, razed to the ground. The Panni Pathans had laid their arms before the Mughal General, Shujjat Khan **[**شجاعت خان]. The Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] was shocked to learn, according to the Tuzk [تزک] (*chronicles*) of Jahangir [جہانگیر] that, a person like Usman Khan Panni [عثمان خان پنّی], who had fought against the Mughals very successfully and bravely, was killed in the battle at Lamba Pur [لمبا پور] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.271***).

Reconciliation with the Pathans [پٹھانوں سے مصالحت]:

We have already explained that, the Panni Pathans were exhausted very badly in the course of history, by that time. There was no way to salvage their position because the entire country was under the occupation of the Mughals. They were neither in a position even to pass through the Mughal areas or to approach the northwest frontier province nor, they had the access to the southern part of Hindustan. The only option which they had in the wake of said circumstances was to bow their heads or to wander in the mountainous region of Terripura [تری پورہ] and Assam [آسام]. The policy of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] was also based on concordance and reconciliation. He had also invited the Pathans for reconciliation. He had also employed the soldiers of Usman Khan Panni [عثمان خان پنّی] and Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزید خان پنّی] in his army. He had awarded a Khilat [خلعت] to each brother of Usman Khan Panni [عثمان خان پنّی] and a pair of Shawls [شال] to each one of his four hundred comrades and had employed them in his army (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.271 reference Beharistan*** [بہارستان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.196-7, Iqbalnama*** [اقبالنامہ] ***Page No.64***). Then, Subaydar Islam Khan [صوبے دار اسلام خان] had also awarded them a Khilat [خلعت] on their arrival at Dhaka [ڈھاکہ] ***(Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.272 reference Beharistan*** [بہارستان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.205***). Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزید خان پنّی] and his brothers had also entered into a settlement. The Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] was also magnanimous for them ***(Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.272 reference Beharistan*** [بہارستان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.195-6, 208***).

The Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had awarded the title as Sirblund Khan [سربلند خان] to Bahlol Khan Meyana Panni [بہلول خان میانہ پنّی]. He was also awarded four thousand soldiers and three thousand cavalrymen, for his person (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.274***). The other Afghans were also decorated with the titles and ranks, in 1617. Hassan Khan Meyana Panni [حسن خان میانہ پنّی] was among them whereas his lashker was decorated with the ranks as well (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Tuzk-e-Jahangiri*** [تزکِ جہانگیری] ***Page No.200***). We have already stated that, the Pathan Sardars used to employ the tribal individuals in their respective lashkers. The same fact was an indicator of the numerical strength of the Panni Sardars, in those days. The Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had captured subsequently, the areas of Koch Bahar [کوچ بہار] Kamroop [کام روپ] and Kacher [کاچر] in the northeastern Hindustan, in collaboration with those Pathans (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.272***).

Ikhteyar Khan Panni Gujrati [اختیار خان پنّی گجراتی]

Ikhteyar Khan Panni [اختیار خان پنّی] was one of the commanders of Sultan Bahader Gujrati [سلطان بہادر گجراتی] and was a very brave and loyal General of the Sultan. He had fought very bravely once, against the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر]. The Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had great respect for him because of his bravery.

Guarding Chanpaneer fort and bestowal of honor [قلعہ چانپانیرکی حفاظت اور عزت افزائی]:

We have been able to trace out the history of just one achievement of Ikhteyar Khan Panni [اختیار خان پنّی] which was the evidence of his courage and moral standards. The said event was recorded in the manner that when, the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] had waged a war against Sultan Bahader Gujrati [سلطان بہادر گجراتی] in 941 Hegira 1534, he had moved towards Ahmadabad [احمدآباد] where Sultan Bahader Gujrati [سلطان بہادر گجراتی] had sought refuge, after invading different areas. Then, Sultan Bahader Gujrati [سلطان بہادر گجراتی] was able to escape from said place, on the arrival of the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] and he had sought refuge in Jazzira Dave Mun [جزیرہ دیو من] which was a part of the Nizam Shahi [نظام شاہی] sultanate, in those days. The Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] came to know about the existence of a big treasure in Chanpaneer fort [قلعہ چانپانیر] by that time. He was able to capture said fort where Ikhteyar Khan Panni [اختیار خان پنّی] was a Qaladar [قلعہ دار]. He had put-up the resistance against the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] and he had refused to hand over the control of the fort. Thus, he had proved his bravery with the sense of commitment. Since, he had fought adroitly against the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] therefore his bravery had acquired a historical significance, according to the historians. He had held his ground very firmly for a very longtime. The Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] had tried to entice him with the appointment on a very high post and rank but, Ikhteyar Khan Panni [اختیار خان پنّی] had refused to succumb to all those allurements. He had guarded rather, all the Burjs [برج] of the fort, more vigilantly. Thus, he had proved his loyalty to Sultan Bahader Gujrati [سلطان بہادر گجراتی] and had made continuous bombardment every night on the lashker of the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] and was able to deny the victory to the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] for a very longtime. The Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] had made an effort *in propria persona* in the moonlight, to break into the fort with the help of a rope-ladder. Then, there was a squad of three hundred soldiers of the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] which was able to push their thirty soldiers into the fort, with the help

of rope-ladders. The famous General of the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] namely, Khan-e-Khanan Bairum [خانِ خاناں بیرم] was also among those thirty soldiers. Thus, the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] was able to capture the fort. He had praised Ikhteyar Khan Panni [اختیار خان پنّی] however, on the following morning for his loyalty to Sultan Bahader Gujrati [سلطان بہادر گجراتی] as well as, for his diligence with which he had guarded the fort. Then, he had put to the sword all the other inhabitants of the fort. He had seized a huge treasure in the fort along-with other valuables after providing protection to the family members of Ikhteyar Khan Panni [اختیار خان پنّی] (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.77-78, Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.35-36***).

Ikhteyar Khan Panni [اختیار خان پنّی] had abandoned his employment under the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] subsequent to the aforementioned incident. He had joined Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] and he was honored with the status, as one of his very reliable nobles (Umera [امراء]). There was an established historical fact that, the Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس] had enjoyed a very significant status during the reign of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری], just because of its robust construction. Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] used to keep his treasure in the same fort under the watch and ward of a mammoth army of ten thousand soldiers, just to ensure security. Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] had deployed them under the command of Ikhteyar Khan Panni [اختیار خان پنّی]. The aforementioned two instances had proved to be voluminous evidence, in the context of the significant role of Ikhteyar Khan Panni [اختیار خان پنّی]. (***Razmnama Sher Shahi*** [رزم نامہ شیر شاہی] ***Page No.97***).

Hajji Khan Panni Sher Shahi [حاجی خان پنّی شیرشاہی]
And
Mian Burhan Panni [میاں برہان پنّی]

Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] was a brave General of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری]. The aura of his bravery was intact overwhelmingly, even after the death of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری]. Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] was with Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] at the time of the conquest of the Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس]. Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] had focused on Bengal thereafter and he was able to reach the area of Pergana Muneer Sheikh Yahya [پرگنہ منیر شیخ یحییٰ] as soon as the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] had landed there. Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری]

had deemed it appropriate however, to take a drift towards Mongeer [مونگیر]. He had taken a very swift route in the company of Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] and other Umera [امراء] to reach Ghorr [گوڑ]. Then, he sent his son Jalal Khan [جلال خان] and Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] and others along-with ten thousand cavalrymen, for the protection of Derwazah Gharri [دروازہ گڑھی]. He had instructed them to keep the entrance of Bengal, properly fortified. They had placed the cannons on both sides of the cleft. The Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] had set up his camp, about thirty miles away from Derwazah Gharri [دروازہ گڑھی]. Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] had given specific instructions although, to those Umera [امراء] to abstain from engaging the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] yet, the circumstances had transformed in such a manner that, Jalal Khan [جلال خان] had no other option but to initiate the war. Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] was reluctant however, in engaging in any war but, he was convinced after a very long debate to make a proper strategy (***Razmnama Sher Shahi*** [رزم نامہ شیر شاہی] ***Page No.53***). The Mughals were defeated however, after a bloody battle. The Afghans were able to seize their many horses, camels and elephants and almost every Afghan was rewarded with at least four horses and loads of wealth. There were a number of Mughals who were killed whereas there were many others who had disappeared into different directions. The Afghans Sardars were able to lay their hands on so much wealth that, Jalal Khan [جلال خان] had to send a letter to his father with the request to mobilize as many animals as it was possible, in order to lift and transport the treasure (***Razmnama Sher Shahi*** [رزم نامہ شیر شاہی] ***Page No.59***).

Flight of Hamayoon from the state [ہمایوں کو ملک سے بھگا دیا]:

Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] had dispatched one lashker for Awad [آودھ] and Bharraich [بھڑائچ] as well as, for other places. The said lashker was able to push out the officers of the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] from those areas. Then, he was able to acquire access up-to Sanbhal [سنبھل] and he had conquered it. Qutab Khan [قُطب خان], Naseeb Khan [نصیب خان] and Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] had opted to go to Johnpur **[**جونپور**]** thereafter and they were able to capture the city, after killing the administrator. Then, they had moved towards Karrah Manakpur [کڑہ مانک پور] and the ruler of said area was also killed while fighting against them. Then, the city had fallen to the Afghans. Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] was able to conquer said state up-to Qanoj [قنوج] and had moved towards Agrah [آگرہ], thereafter (***Razmnama Sher Shahi*** [رزم نامہ شیر شاہی] ***Page No.57***). Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] had sent Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] to Bengal

along-with six thousand cavalrymen after conquering Kalpi [کالپی] and Qanoj [قنوج]. The objective of which was to sort out Jahangir Qali Khan [جہانگیر قلی خان], who was deployed there by the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں]. Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] was not only able to defeat Jahangir Qali Khan [جہانگیر قلی خان] rather he was able to kill him in the battlefield. The area of Bengal, as a consequence of the same, had come under the control of the Afghans, once again (***Razmnama Sher Shahi*** [رزم نامہ شیر شاہی] ***Page No.66***). When, the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] was uprooted from everywhere then, he was left with no other option but to look for some escape route. Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] had moved then, towards Lahore and he had handed the control of Maiwat [میوات] over to Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی]. When, Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] was able to reach Khushab [خوشاب] then, he had sent Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] along-with other Umera [امراء] with the instructions, to chase the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں], without engaging him in any battle. The objective of which was to make him flee from the country. The Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] was able to find the escape route in 947 Hegira 1540 and was able to go to Iran [ایران] after spending two years in Sindh [سندھ]. Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] had appointed Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] as a Fojdar [فوجدار] of Ajeen [اجین] and Sarang [سارنگ] at the end of said phase of history. The Mughal Sardar, Malo Khan [ملوخان], was able to engage Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] however, in a battle subsequently. He was defeated and he had managed to escape to Gujarat [گجرات] with the help of Shujjat Khan [شجاعت خان] and Malo Khan [ملوخان]. Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] had summoned Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] from Mando [منڈو] on receiving the news of his chivalrous move. He had elevated him by conferring upon him, the rank of twelve thousand soldiers (***Razmnama Sher Shahi*** [رزم نامہ شیر شاہی] ***Page No.68, 80***).

Royal reception [ایک شاہانہ استقبال]:

The death of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] had brought disunity among the Afghans. Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] had joined Ibrahim Sur [ابراہیم سور] after tackling different phases of dynastic schism which had multiplied many folds later on. When, Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] was about to join Ibrahim Sur [ابراہیم سور], the latter had arranged a grand Sada Perda [سدا پردہ]. The exterior of which was decorated with Suqrat Purtagali [سقراط پرتگالی] whereas, its interior was prepared with Ferangi Mukhmal [فرنگی مخمل] (*Ferangi velvet*). There were many gold and silver utensils which were placed along-with other gorgeous and plush items. Thus, Ibrahim Sur

[ابراهیم سور] had honored the bravery and chivalry of the renowned General of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری]. The Afghan team of the Umera [امراء] was also made to feel envious by virtue of said grand arrangement (***Razmnama Sher Shahi*** [رزم نامہ شیر شاہی] ***Page No.140***).

Entanglement with Raja Oadhay Singh [راجہ اودھے سنگھ سے پنجہ آزمائی]:

Islam Shah [اسلام شاہ] had succeeded his father i.e. Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] after his death yet, much time had not elapsed in 960 Hegira 1552 when, the Suri dynasty was deeply entangled in the dynastic schism. When, the Emperor Hammayon [شہنشاہ ہمایوں] had attacked Punjab [پنجاب] a second time, while exploiting the family divides then, Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] had also realized that, it was an opportune time to join him or to go to Gujarat [گجرات] which was comparatively a peaceful area and to live under the rule of Sher Khan Foladi [شیر خان فولادی]. The huge treasure which Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] had amassed in the Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس] was also in the custody of said experienced and Veteran General. The said treasure had acquired a historical significance. Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] had moved out along-with his family members, Umera [امراء] as well as, some allied Sardars and with approximately ten thousand cavalry and infantrymen. The ladies of the royal family and other troops had also accompanied him. He had adopted the route via Antipur [انتی پور] and Anthembor [انتھمبور]. Antipur [انتی پور] was in Jodhpur [جودھپور] near Marwarr [ماڑواڑ] and said area was a part of Raj Bhaie [راج بھائی] of Rana Oadhay Singh [رانا اودھے سنگھ], in those days which was surrounded by a number of Panni tribes. They were rehabilitated there by Bahlol Suri [بہلول سوری], as mentioned in the preceding chapter. Jodhpur [جودھپور], Jaypur [جے پور] and Aaheer [اہیر] were major centers of the same. The said area consisted of about one hundred big villages whereas, each village had a population from one thousand to five thousand Panni tribal people and most of them were quite affluent. When, Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] was close to Antipur [انتی پور], he came to know through his reliable resources that, Rana Oadhay Singh [رانا اودھے سنگھ] was all set to execute his heinous designs. He had the ill-will to kidnap the Muslim ladies besides, seizing said historical treasure. He had planned to target specifically, the renowned lady namely, Raye Kala Patra [رائے کلا پترا].

Declaration of Jihad and arrival of Burhan Panni [اعلانِ جہاد برہان پنّی کی آمد]:

Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] had requested Rana Oadhay Singh [رانا اودھے سنگھ] to desist from executing his heinous plans after receiving the information from his confidential sources. He had requested him further to provide them a clear passage just like other passengers. Rana Oadhay Singh [رانا اودھے سنگھ] had persisted however, with his plan and he had blocked the passage with the help of his ninety thousand troops. The said move by Rana Oadhay Singh [رانا اودھے سنگھ] had converted the situation into a matter of prestige and honor which had also flared up the sentiments of the Muslims. Then, there was a call for Jihad [جہاد] against the infidels. Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] had made a declaration for Jihad [جہاد] and he had started the preparations accordingly. The news of Jihad [جہاد] had travelled far and wide just like jungle fire. Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] had divided his army into four sections and he had vowed to embrace Shahadat [شہادت] in the battlefield. The genesis of the Islamic faith becomes an axis of unity among Muslims when there is a question of war of Islam against the infidels. When, the Panni Pathans, who were the inhabitants in the area of Marwarr [مارڑواڑ], were able to learn about the declaration of Jihad [جہاد] then, Mian Burhan Panni [میاں برہان پنّی] who was one of their Sardars, had also joined Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] openly along-with his five hundred tribesmen. They all were equipped tooth and nail (***Mukhzan Afghani*** [مخزن افغانی] ***Part II Page No.108, 109***).

One versus Ten [ایک اور دس کا مقابلہ**]**:

When, the lashkers had initiated the attack against each other, it had turned out to be a formidable scene of some mega war. The soldiers from both sides had fought fiercely. The Muslim soldiers were engaged in battle like some ferocious lions. The way they had conducted the fight right in the thick of the fire and blood for the preservation of the prestige of Islam, the same had turned out to be a very highly motivating and touching occurrence, in the history of the Muslims. The numerical strength of the Muslims was one against ten infidels, according to the historians. The author of a book, which was captioned as Mukhzan Afghani [مخزن افغانی] and which was compiled in 1030 Hegira 1620 during the reign of Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر], had given an eloquent depiction of the horrifying scenes of the battlefield. We have not been able to trace out the original Persian language stanzas with regard to said descriptive account therefore we may well have to rely on the English translation. The same was also an evidence of bravery and chivalry with which the Muslims had fought in the battlefield.

> "The soldiers had attacked their respective enemies from left and right. The entire arena was engulfed with a dark cloud of dust rising as a result of back and forth movement of the infantry and cavalry troops.
>
> The earth was shaking due to the thunders of cannonballs as well as, due to thunderous roars of the battlefield. The constant flow of blood streams was presenting a look of a fossilized black rock. The sky was presenting a drenched reddish look due to the exchange of fire and because of ponds of blood and gusts of dust as well as, due to the thick clouds of smoke. Since, the soldiers were fully engaged from their respective sides and were fighting fearlessly against each other therefore, even moving a step forward was to offer the head to roll on to the ground" (***Mukhzan Afghani*** [مخزن افغانی] ***Part II Page No.110***).

Bravery of the Panni people and victory of Haji Khan [پنیوں کی شجاعت اور حاجی خان کی فتح]:

There was not even a single Afghan soldier who had not received five or six wounds, according to the historians. There were about five hundred soldiers who had embraced Shahadat [شہادت] in the surrounding area of Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] or where he was personally engaged in the battlefield. There were about three hundred soldiers, out of those, five hundred who were from the Panni tribe. Those tribesmen had no regard for the reality that, they were direct subjects of Rana Oadhay Singh [رانا اودھے سنگھ] or they were inhabitants in the areas, which were in the neighborhood of his dominion. They had not even bothered to consider the fact that, the reactionary outcome of their war engagement was also likely to subject their respective family members to some persecutions. There were about two hundred soldiers, out of five hundred according to some historians, who were also wounded very badly. The way the bullets, arrows, bayonets and lances were used was also an unprecedented event in the history of battles. The Pathans were not fully satisfied even after using those weapons, ferociously. The wrath and rage had crossed all the limits and had taken a form of impulsive fracas. The soldiers had grappled with each other and they had used knives and daggers, frequently. Then, some of them also got involved in physical wrestling literally and they had banged the heads of each other on the ground. There were some Rajpoot [راجپوت] soldiers who had participated in the battle, as a group.

They had also fought against the infidel adversaries. The will of God Almighty had also favored the Muslims in said battle of Islam against the infidels. The lashker of ten thousand soldiers of Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] was able to defeat a mammoth lashker of ninety thousand soldiers of Rana Oadhay Singh [رانا اودھے سنگھ]. He was able to escape ultimately, from the battlefield and the Muslims had resultantly emerged as victorious. There were about nine hundred Muslims who were killed and besides that, there were about four thousand Rajpoot [راجپوت] people who had also embraced Shahadat [شہادت] in the battle of Antipur [انتی پور]. The entire duration of the actual battle was not very long. The battlefield had witnessed despite that, the death of some of the leading strategists and Sardars of Rana Oadhay Singh [رانا اودھے سنگھ]. The Muslim soldiers were wounded at such a large scale that, they were not left with even enough strength, to chase their fleeing enemy, from the battlefield (***Mukhzan Afghani*** [مخزن افغانی] ***Part II Page No.110***).

Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] had alighted from his horse after concluding the battle and then, he had offered Namaz-e-Shukerana [نمازِ شکرانہ] according to the historians. He had thanked his Panni Mujahedeen [مجاہدین] thereafter who had covered a long distance to join him in Jihad [جہاد]. Then, he had bid farewell to the remaining two hundred soldiers (Ghazis [غازیان]) and had embarked on his journey to Gujarat [گجرات] on the following morning. There he had joined Sher Khan Foladi [شیر خان فولادی] and handed over the famous treasure of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] to him. Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی], a famous and great General of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری], had taken his last flight for his eternal abode, after sometime. He had inscribed his name in the history however, with his sword.

Prayer by an infidel [ایک کافر کی دُعا]:

Rana Oadhay Singh [رانا اودھے سنگھ] was a crooked money lender Rajpoot [راجپوت] and was caught in the clutches of some very peculiar traditions. He had accepted his defeat and then he had wished success very ardently, to Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] in his future battles. When, he was asked the reason for the same, he had replied that he was defeated by Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] and any future defeat to Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] would tantamount to be an insult of Rana Oadhay Singh [رانا اودھے سنگھ]. This would give an opportunity to the people to carry out a comparison. Thus, he had helped himself propound an impression that, Rana Oadhay Singh [رانا اودھے سنگھ] was beaten by an unbeatable superior. He had also predicted that, the

name of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] was supposed to last forever because he had groomed a brave Sardar like Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی]. The name of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] is still alive undoubtedly, in the history. The people like Rana Oadhay Singh [رانا اودھے سنگھ] can never judge that, every Muslim happens to be a representative of those great Mujahedeen [مجاہدین] who had preferred to embrace Shahadat [شہادت] when they had participated in Jihad [جہاد].

Mausoleum of Mian Burhan is an epitome of munificence [میاں بُرہان کا مزار مرجع خلائق]:

Colonel Tad has expressed his views in the history of Rajasthan [راجستھان] in the manner that, one ruler from among the descendents of Rana Oadhay Singh [رانا اودھے سنگھ] had filled his vacancy in 1398. He was issueless and he was gifted with a son just by virtue of one Muslim Sheikh [شیخ] namely, Sheikh Burahn [شیخ بُرہان] who had prayed for him. He had named his son as Sheikha Gee [شیخا جی], as a result of said prayer. The son was named as Sheikha Gee [شیخا جی] just out of sheer respect for Sheikh Burahn [شیخ بُرہان] and thus, his entire following was also called as Sheikhawat [شیخاوت] whereas, his state had also become popular as Sheikhawati [شیخاوتی]. The radius of Sheikhawati [شیخاوتی] state was about ten thousand square miles (*It was located in the northwest of Jaypur, Writer*) whereas its subjects were staunch followers of Sheikh Burahn [شیخ بُرہان]. They had given up pork eating which used to be a national tradition of Hindu Rajpoot [راجپوت] people. The Raja and his subjects used to show great reverence for Sheikh Burahn [شیخ بُرہان]. They used to lay the floral wreath every year on his tomb in a festive manner. Sheikha Gee [شیخا جی] was able to prove his dominance intermittently in many a battle, with the help of the Panni Pathans. The period of said Sheikh in the history was subsequent to the attack of Timor [تیمور] (***1629-1630-1645***).

Timor [تیمور] had launched the attacked in 1398. The period of assuming the seat by the Raja was around 1389. The said year was mentioned incorrectly. Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] died in 1545 and the participation of Haji Khan Panni [حاجی خان پنّی] and Mian Burhan Panni [میاں بُرہان پنّی], along-with their five hundred comrades, as referred above, had also taken place subsequent to the death of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری]. The Raja had assumed the power therefore, in 1589 and not in 1389 as it was stated by Colonel Tad. He had stated further that, Sheikha Gee [شیخا جی] was able to exhibit his chivalry in many battles regularly, with the help of the Panni Pathans.

The same was a proof of the fact that, Sheikh Burahn [شیخ بُرہان] was the same person who was referred above as Mian Burhan Panni [میاں بُرہان پنّی]. The Panni people had also helped Sheikha Gee [شیخا جی] in his adventures in the battlefield probably, just because of his respect for Sheikh Burahn [شیخ بُرہان]. There was a very unfortunate fact that, those Muslims had lacked the ability to preach Islam. Had they done so, all those Hindu Rajpoot [راجپوت] people would have embraced Islam, most definitely.

Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] and Hassan Khan Panni Sher Shahi [حسن خان پنّی شیر شاہی]:

The study of history had revealed that, according to the law of nature, there was always a particular time for rise and fall of the Pathans. They had held various distinct positions simultaneously at many places in the Subcontinent. We have already examined that, the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] was quite perturbed because of the insurgencies as well as, uprisings of the Panni Pathans of Feroza [فیروزہ] which was located in the extreme north of the Subcontinent. When, the Emperor Baber [شہنشاہ بابر] was confronting the Panni Pathans from across the mountainous region, in the extreme north of Baluchistan [بلوچستان], some of them were already placed excellently at that time, in the remote areas towards the south in central Hindh other than, in Orissa [اڑیسہ]. Then, Bahlol Lodhi [بہلول لودھی] had also granted the Jagirs to them prior to that, in the areas of Marwarr [ماڑواڑ] and Rajpootana [راجپوتانہ]. There they had developed their living abodes in a number of villages. The Panni Sardars of Behar [بہار] had also transformed their perceptions during said revolutionary era parallel with the rise and fall of the rulers. There were some who had associated themselves with Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] as soon as he had made his emergence on the horizon. There were two brothers among those renowned people namely, Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] and Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی]. They were among his very renowned Generals. They had captured the strong Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس] after his death and then they had declared their autonomous rule (***Maser-al-Umera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1 Page No.278 and No.243***) which was just due to the fact that, the family of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] was divided into many factions. Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] was a pioneer for Pathan unity which had lasted just for evaporation. Those two brothers had failed to exploit and capitalize however, the post Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] era, despite their best efforts.

CAPTURE OF THE ROHTAS FORT [قلعہ رہتاس پرقبضہ]:

The Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس], which Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] and Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] had captured and they had made it as their center, was in the Behar [بہار] province and which was also known as Rohtas Gherr [رہتاس گڑھ]. The said fort had enjoyed a great repute and pre-eminence in terms of its height and grandeur as compared with other forts, in Hindustan. The surface of the mountains on which said fort was perched were nearly four Keroh [کروہ] in width and three Keroh [کروہ] in length. The height from the plinth to its embrasures was about half Keroh [کروہ]. There used to be many ponds and fountains inside the fort, in those days which used to rise up to the brim, during the rainy seasons. The water table was very high and the water used to be available just after a little bit of land digging. There were some historians who had mentioned its length as about five Keroh [کروہ] (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Page No.187***). The said fort was very old and Raja Dhat [راجہ دہت] had built it which was also captured by Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری], at some point of time, during his reign (***Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.186***). There were a number of ammunition depots in said fort which was also known for its mysterious treasures. The said fort had remained with the Afghans right from the period of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری] till the reign of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The fort was occupied by the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] ultimately, after the downfall of the autonomous Panni rulers of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] (***Tareekh Janoobi Hindh*** [تاریخ جنوبی ہند] ***Page No.107***).

When, the sultanate was taken away from the last ruler of the Suri dynasty, the Governors and Jagirdars in different areas of the sultanate had emerged on the scene to get recognition of their presence. They had started pushing their luck around 960 Hegira 1556 and were involved in establishing their respective autonomous sultanates. There were some of them who had tried to establish their rule even in the area like Chittagong [چٹاگانگ] which was in the extreme eastern part of Orissa [اڑیسہ]. Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] and Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] were also among them (***Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.186***). They had also enjoyed a very elevated status, even during the reign of Saleem Shah Suri [سلیم شاہ سوری] i.e. son of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری]. Those two brothers had also made an all out effort for the restoration of power of the Suri family, just like Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی], Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی], Aamad Khan Panni [عماد خان پنّی] and Elyas Khan Panni [الیاس خان پنّی]. They had fought against the Governor of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] namely, Khan Zaman [خان

زمان], in this regard. Then, they had also supported Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] after the death of Saleem Shah Suri [سلیم شاہ سوری] for the enthronement of his son namely, Feroze Khan [فیروزخان] who was murdered, subsequently.

Raid against the Governor of Akbar [اکبر کے گورنر پر یورش]:

Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] had captured the area of Khan Zaman [خان زمان] who was a Governor of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر], with the help of a massive lashker. The history had revealed in this regard that, Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] brother of Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] and Malo Khan [ملو خان] had ventured out of the Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس] all equipped, along-with their lashkers to launch the raids in various areas. They had captured the palaces of Khan Zaman [خان زمان] and Walayat Bahar [ولایت بہار]. The said incident had taken place in the ninth year of Jaloos Akbari [جلوس اکبری] in 971 Hegira 1563. Khan Zaman [خان زمان] and his other Umera [امراء] had decided to confront them in the middle in response and they were desirous to teach them a lesson. They had assigned the fighting role to Ibrahim Khan Uzbek [ابراہیم خان اُزبک] and Janoon Khan Qaqshan [جنون خان قاقشاں] in the forefront (***Roodbar-e-Akbari*** [رودبارِاکبری] ***Page No.208***). Since, the Afghans were on the decline therefore, Khan Zaman [خان زمان] had not deemed it appropriate to initiate war. He had built a fort instead at Anderbari [اندرباری] near river Soan [دریائے سون] and had taken the entrenched position inside the fort (***Maser-al-Umera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1 Page No.626***). Then, Mollana Allaud-Din Suri [مولانا علاؤالدین سوری], Mullan Abdullah Sultanpuri [ملاں عبداللہ سلطان پوری], Shehab-ud-Din Khan [شہاب الدین خان] and Wazir Khan [وزیر خان] as a delegation had approached Khan Zaman [خان زمان] with the message from the Durbar of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. We may also point out that, Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] i.e. ruler of Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] had established very strong friendly relations with Khan Zaman [خان زمان], in those days which had created a wedge in his relations with the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The aforementioned delegation had also approached Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] with the intention to convince him to concede to the royal authority of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. When, said delegation was in session with Khan Zaman [خان زمان] one day, the lashker of Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] had launched an attack in his fort, in the company of highly charged elephants and Khan Zaman [خان زمان] was caught unawares. He was getting ready to sort them out with the help of his army but, he had found himself surrounded by the Afghans (*Those Afghans have been described in*

Akbarnama as "تہور نہاران بد شرست" *i.e. Ill fated but brave* ***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.219.*** *The said twist and turn of expressions was a brain product of Abul Fazal, Writer*). The aforesaid sudden attack had resulted in the dispersal of his lashker and he had managed his escape just barely. Since, the Afghans were determined for a rampage and they were bent upon destroying and ravaging the houses of the Mughals therefore, Khan Zaman [خان زمان] was able to find a shelter for himself behind a wall, from where he was able to witness the unmanageable rampage. Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی], while he was leading his army, was riding an elephant. The name of said elephant was Blund Bakhat [بلند بخت] and was also known as Bakhta [بختا]. Khan Zaman [خان زمان] had climbed the Burj [برج] of the fort with the intention to initiate a decisive onslaught. There was one cannon which was placed at the Burj [برج] and he was able to fire from the same. The cannonball had hit the head of the elephant Bakhta [بختا] and the elephant had toppled over on to the ground and it had died on the spot. Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] had disappeared in the panic, pursuant thereto. Thus, there was just one shot of the cannon on the head of the elephant Bakhta [بختا] which had changed the entire course of the battlefield. Khan Zaman [خان زمان] had packed up after achieving the victory and he had opted for Johnpur [جونپور] (***Maser-al-Umera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1 Page No.626, Roodbar-e-Akbari*** [رودبارِاکبری] ***Page No.208***).

Siege of the Rohtas fort and politics of Fateh Khan [قلعہ رہتاس کا محاصرہ اور فتح خان کی سیاست]:

We have already mentioned above that, Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] was able to establish his autonomous rule in Bengal [بنگال] and Behar [بہار] in the wake of injudicious policies of Ameer, Adli [عدلی]. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] i.e. brother of Taj Khan Panni [تاج خان پنّی] had succeeded him, after his death. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had landed in the front of Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس] in the ninth year of Jaloos Akbari [جلوس اکبری] in 972 Hegira 1564 along-with his army. He had laid an attritional siege with the intention to conquer the Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس] from Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] and his brother (***Maser-al-Umera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.3 Page No.278, Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.185***). The relations between Khan Zaman [خان زمان] and the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] as a Governor of the eastern part of the sultanate were very tense incidentally, at that time. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had sent his troops under the command of Qalaich Khan **[**قلیچ خان**]** against Fateh Khan Panni **[**فتح خان پنّی**]** to make him succumb to his authority and to ensure the fulfillment of his some other latent

objectives. Those Panni Pathans were able to exploit the situation very intelligently. They had sent his brother namely, Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] with many gifts and souvenirs for the Durbar of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. He had assured the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] that, the Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس] was in control of his own allies. He had also given the assurance by presenting the keys of the fort through Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی], at the time of royal visit of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] (***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.175, Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.2 Page No.243, Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.186***). When Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی], who had besieged the Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس], was able to learn about the cordiality of the relations of Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] with the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] he made a move of lifting the ungainly siege. Then, he had also opted to take a detour along-with his lashker (***Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.185-6***).

Deceiving the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر کو چکمہ]:

When, Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] had made his return from the Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس] and Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] had landed in the Durbar of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] then, Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] was able to make use of said opportunity and he was able to amass as much ration, arms and ammunition as it was possible for him. When, he was fully prepared to confront the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] then, he had sent a letter to his brother with the promise to ensure his return to the Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس] under all circumstances. The said assurance was due to the reason that, all the necessary arrangements to handle the warlike situation were perfectly in place [***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.157***]. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was able to reach Johnpur [جونپور] soon thereafter where, Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] was supposed to hand over to him, the keys of the fort but, he had never showed up. Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] had sent a request to the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] in the meantime, for appointing any representative for the fort so that, the keys were handed over to him. He had also assured that, Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] was also ready to appear before the king simultaneously. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had sent Ameer, Qalaich Khan [قلیچ خان] for doing the needful, in the wake of said situation. When, Ameer Qalaich Khan [قلیچ خان] was able to reach the Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس] then, Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] refused to even acknowledge his presence. He had kept him rather under surveillance for some days. Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] was also able to assess his true intentions after some days. Qalaich Khan [قلیچ

خان] was sent back therefore, to the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] and he had informed the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] about the treatment which was meted out to him by those two Khans as well as, about their actual intentions (***Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.186, Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.157***). Thus, those two brothers were able to instigate Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] with regard to making him lift the siege, from the Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس]. They were also able to outmaneuver the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] but temporarily.

Hassan Khan had joined Akbar [حسن خان اکبر سے جا ملا]:

The full bright moon of connivance of the two brothers had experienced the eclipse ultimately, after eight to ten years. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had ordered Muzzafer Khan [مظفر خان] to conquer the Rohtas fort [قلعہ رہتاس], according to Akbarnama [اکبرنامہ] Volume No.1, twentieth year of life, 983 Hegira, 1575. Muzzafer Khan [مظفر خان] had demanded the necessary equipment for creating the breach in the fort and he had given full assurance to the Emperor for having the fort vacated from the Pathans. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had also instructed Ali Khan [علی خان] to accompany him. Then, there was a battle between the two sides and Adam Khan Panni [آدم خان پنّی], son of Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] had managed his escape into Jaharr Khundh [جھاڑ کھنڈ] (***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.133***). The aforementioned incident had revealed that, Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] had passed away by that time and Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] had joined Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] after losing the control of the fort. The separation of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] from the Durbar of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] was explained according to Akbarnama [اکبرنامہ] Volume No.1 twentieth year 981 Hegira 1573, in the manner as below:

وشرح ایں سانحہ آنکہ حسن خان پنّی کد از ابطال روزگار
دشمناں زمانہ بود، تبصمیم سعادت دو تنخواہی از مخالفان
ادیار مند جدا شدہ بہ لشکر منصور پیوست

He was named as Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] instead of Hussein Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی] in the above mentioned quote (***Akbarnama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.82-485***). We have already mentioned, in the context of the Shah of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ], that when Munim Khan [منعم خان] had besieged the Paiena fort [قلعہ پٹنہ] and the desired results

had looked unachievable, despite the best efforts and the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had also joined the attritional siege *in propria persona* then, there was a person by the name of Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] who had relinquished the association with the Durbar of Daod Khan [داؤد خان] and he had joined the Durbar of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. Then, he had advised the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] to create a breach in the bank of River Pun pun [پُن پُن] which had helped the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] conquer the Paiena fort [قلعہ پئنہ]. The said person was in fact Hussein Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی]. Molvi Mohammed Hussein Azad [مولوی محمد حسین آزاد], who had eulogized the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر], had also mentioned with regard to said incident in the manner as below:

> "When, the siege of Paiena fort [قلعہ پئنہ] had over-stretched in time, Khan-e-Khanan [خانِ خاناں] had requested that, the dedicated soldiers were rendering great services in the ongoing war but, the rainy season was approaching and some tangible decision was required to be taken as quickly as it was possible. The desired results were therefore, unlikely to be attained unless his royal highness was there in person. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had moved out thereafter for Toder Mal [ٹوڈر مل], immediately. He had issued the orders after making the necessary arrangements to prepare a lashker and to sail through the river. The land lashker was moved out from Agrah [آگرہ] for other expeditions in the area and the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] along-with his wives and Princes had boarded the sailing boats. The respectable and ever bright member of the Durbar, Abul Fazal Faze Mullan Sahib [ابوالفضل فیضی ملاں صاحب], had just joined the Durbar in those days. The grandeur of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had also set afloat an amazing display of pomp and show while floating on the riverbed. Munim Khan [منعم خان] had also let loose the horse of maneuverability which had started running back and forth. He had started uniting the Afghans who were otherwise, unmanageable. He had pressurized them particularly when his lashker was up against all odds. Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی], who had just joined, had emphasized that, the riverbed was likely to rise during the rainy season therefore, it was imperative to create a breach in the bank of River Pun pun [پُن پُن] so as to allow the water to fall into the Ganges. The said bank was raised by its designer with the objective to pool the water around the fort so as to impede the possible ingress of any enemy into the fort" (***Roodbar-e-Akbari*** [رودبارِاکبری] ***Page No.238***).

The breach was created in the bank on the advice of Hussein Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی] and the rainwater had started falling into the river instead of pooling around the fort which had provided the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] a clear access to conquer the Paiena fort [قلعہ پئنہ]. Had Hussein Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی] or Hassan Khan Panni [حسن خان پنّی] not disclosed said secret to Munim Khan [منعم خان] then, the course of history in its ultimate end certainly, would have been different.

The brief history of Hussein Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی], as mentioned above, had revealed that how very brave and courageous was said General of Sher Shah Suri [شیر شاہ سوری]. He had provided tactical support to the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] to capture the Paiena fort [قلعہ پئنہ] while he was fighting against Daod Shah [داؤد شاہ]. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had never trusted him just because he was a Pathan despite the fact that, he had rendered said valuable service. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had awarded him the rank of just Yak Hazari [یک ہزاری] (one thousand) and he was never assigned any key post (***Tabqat Akbari*** [طبقات اکبری] ***Volume No.2 Page No.445***).

Death in the expedition against Roshnies [روشائیوں کے خلاف مہم میں ہلاکت]:

We have already explained above that there was a man by the name of Bayezeed [بایزید] who was subsequently popular as Pir Roshan [پیرروشن]. He was initially an employee in the army of some ruler of Hindustan and had pioneered the Roshni movement [روشنی تحریک] which had turned out to be a new sect. He had also written a book in the Pashto language to propagate the objectives of said movement. The said book was captioned as Khyer-ul-Beyan [خیر البیان] (***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.256, Azad Pathan*** [آزاد پٹھان] ***Page No.77***). The son of Pir Roshan [پیرروشن] namely, Jalala [جلالہ] had also remained occupied after his death in preaching the objectives of said movement which had become very popular in the areas of Bajorr [باجوڑ] and Teera [تیرہ]. The people of Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe were mostly the members of said movement. Since the Safi Panni [صافی پنّی] tribe had embraced Islam belatedly as compared with others therefore, they were religiously more enthusiastic and resultantly, those areas had become the main centers of the Roshni movement [روشنی تحریک] (*The movement was a violent expression of the Afghans, as a matter of fact, against the animosity of the Mughals, Writer*). The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] had sent an expedition under the command of Beer Bal [بیربل] in 989 Hegira 1589 to expiate the

Jalala [جلالہ] area. Saeed Khan Ghekherr [سعید خان گھکڑ], Sheikh Faiz [شیخ فیض] and Fateh-ud-Din Sherbati [فتح الدین شربتی] and others were also sent there to do the needful. Then, he had dispatched a reinforcement contingent after a few days, under the command of Hakeem Abul Fateh [حکیم ابوالفتح] and some other Umera [امراء]. The famous General from the eastern areas namely, Hussein Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی] had accompanied Raja Beer Bal [راجہ بیر بل] in said expedition.

The said lashker had marched into the remote mountains of Bajorr [باجوڑ] and wherever they were able to spot the members of the Roshni movement [روشنی تحریک], they had put them to the sword without hesitation. They had conducted the genocide of the members of the Roshni movement [روشنی تحریک] for many days. When the objectives of said expedition were achieved and the members of the expedition were about to return one evening then, the companions of Raja Beer Bal [راجہ بیر بل] had advised him to defer his journey till the following morning. The said advice was based on some expected ambush at night by the Pathans. He had disagreed however, with the proposal and he had decided to continue his march through the mountains with his lashker, as scheduled. The passages were very narrow at certain places in the mountains and there were huge mountains on both sides which used to pass a sarcastic smile continuously on the rise and fall of many ferocious nations of the past. When the night had blackened the sky gradually, the Pathans had moved out of their dens and hideouts and had launched the deadly attacks against the royal lashker. They had showered barrages of arrows from whatever highpoint they were able to select and had infrequently pelted stones from various hilltops. The said attack had decimated nearly the entire Mughal lashker which consisted of more than eight thousand soldiers and had included Hussein Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی] as well.

The rest of the army was also massacred, which consisted of regular soldiers other than the renowned and famous Sardars like, Raja Beer Bal [راجہ بھیر بل], Raja Dheer [راجہ دھیر], Khawaja Arab Bakshi [خواجہ عرب بخشی], Hussein Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی] and Mulla Sharay [مُلا شیرے]. They were there during the perpetrations to face said small havoc and there was not a single soul which managed to escape (***Part I Page No.191-193***).

Mulla Abdul Qadir Badayooni [مُلا عبدالقادر بدایونی] had narrated the incident in the manner as below:

"The trepidation had overwhelmed Raja Beer Bal [راجہ بھیر بل], who was arrested while trying to escape. He was murdered and was made to join the club of his comrades in hell and thus had received just a little bit of punishment for his ill-deeds. He was among the leading Umera [امراء] like Hussein Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی], Khawaja Arab Bakshi Khan Khani [خواجہ عرب بخشی خان خانی] as well as, the poet Mulla Sharay [مُلا شیرے] and an elite large group. They were also murdered on the same night" (***Badayooni*** [بدایونی] ***Page No.256***) which had brought an end to the life of Hussein Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی] as well.

BAYEZEED KHAN PANNI, LANDLORD OF SYLHAT

[سلہٹ کا زمیندار بایزید خان پنّی]

Reconciliation of the Panni Pathans with Akbar [اکبر سے پنّی پٹھانوں کی مصالحت]:

When Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی], the last Panni ruler of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] was defeated, by the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] in 1576 and his renowned and leading Generals had realized that, the sword of their nation was kaput and there was no hope for the restoration of their rule in the Subcontinent then, most of them had decided to bid farewell to their military life. They had opted for their peaceful business thereafter in the areas of Orissa [اڑیسہ], Burdwan [بردوان] and Jaysoor [جیسور] etc. There were some of them who had opted to go to the districts of Freed Pur [فرید پور], Dhaka [ڈھاکہ] and Memon Singh [میمن سنگھ]. There were some others who had opted to join the employment of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The later faction included among others, Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزید خان پنّی], Babo Khan Panni [بابو خان پنّی], Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی], Mohammed Khan Panni [محمد خان پنّی] and Naseer Khan Panni [نصیر خان پنّی] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.270 reference Beharistan*** [بہارستان]). There was one particular Panni General however, who had fought very bravely till the last breath of his life. He had given a very tough time to the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر]. The name of said General was Bayezeed Khan Panni Sani [بایزید خان پنّی ثانی].

Friendship of the Pathans with Jahangir [پٹھانوں کی جہانگیر دوستی**]:**

Bahimat Khan Panni [بابمت خان پنّی] had kept himself aloof during the restive period of the Afghans. He had opted to go to the northeastern area of Sylhat [سلہٹ] via river where he was able to consolidate his very own small autonomous reign [***East Pakistan Information 1962***, ***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.228 reference Beharistan*** [بہارستان])]. He had maintained his rule resolutely during the lifetime of the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had assumed power in 1605. He had adopted a balanced approach however, towards the Pathan Sardars and had extended the hand of friendship towards them. The policy of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] for the Pathans was unlike his father. There were almost four hundred Afghans along-with some Sardars who had entered into a settlement agreement with him. The Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had awarded a Khilat [خلعت] to each one of them. He had also given a pair of Shawls [شال] to each one of his four hundred comrades and had employed them in his army as well. Naseer Khan Panni [نصیر خان پنّی] and Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] were among those Sardars (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.270-271 reference Beharistan*** [بہارستان]). The Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had dispatched the expeditions at different occasions against the leading Pathan landlords. Thus, he was able to bring them under his royal authority. Bayezeed Khan Panni Sani [بایزید خان پنّی ثانی], Mohammed Khan Panni [محمد خان پنّی] and Jahan Khan Panni [جہان خان پنّی] had engaged their own Pathan brothers in the fight during those expeditions (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.270 reference Beharistan*** [بہارستان]).

Fight against Jahangir and reconciliation [جہانگیر سے مقابلہ اور مصالحت]:

Bayezeed Khan Panni Sani [بایزید خان پنّی ثانی] remained pitched against the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] very consistently and had not given him a freehand. Then, the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] ultimately launched an attack against him in 1612 with the help of a massive lashker. Bayezeed Khan Panni Sani [بایزید خان پنّی ثانی] defended himself with a force of five thousand cavalrymen and ten thousand infantrymen along-with one hundred and forty elephants. The commander of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] was Shujjat Khan [شجاعت خان]. There was a formidable clash unfortunately, between the two sides at Dolamba Pur [دولمباپور]. The famous Sardar of Bayezeed Khan Panni Sani [بایزید خان پنّی ثانی] namely, Usman Khan Lohani Panni [عثمان خان لوہانی پنّی] was killed during said clash. The said incident had demoralized the Afghans therefore, they had lost the battle. The defeat was also due to the fact that Usman Khan Lohani Panni [عثمان خان لوہانی پنّی] and Bayezeed Khan Panni Sani [بایزید خان پنّی ثانی] had acquired

some historical significance since the death of Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی]. The Panni Pathan reign had entered its twilight phase by that time. The Pathans had opted to engage in the battle when the defeat was hanging imminently. Thus, the Mughals were able to take the Pathans upfront. The death incident of Usman Khan Lohani Panni [عثمان خان لوہانی پنّی] had compelled Bayezeed Khan Panni Sani [بایزید خان پنّی ثانی] to succumb to the authority of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] along-with his brothers. Then, there was a large group of their Pathan allies who had also joined the army of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر]. When the last center of the Panni Pathans i.e. Sylhat [سلہٹ] was also eliminated then some of the Pathans had opted to migrate to Assam [آسام] and Teripura [تریپورہ]. Then some people of the Panni nation had accompanied them possibly because their descendants were still there. The comrades of Bayezeed Khan Panni Sani [بایزید خان پنّی ثانی] had displayed their skills in the war during the conquest of Kaich Bahar [کیچ بہار], Kampur [کام پور] and Kacher [کاچر] and thus they helped annex the same with the Mughal Empire which was after when they had joined the army of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.270-272 reference Beharistan*** [بہارستان]). The efforts and aspirations of the Pathans for the stability as an autonomous power in the Subcontinent had come to an end thereafter.

Derya Khan Panni Jahangir [دریا خان پنّی جہانگیری]:

Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] was one of the Generals of Bengal [بنگال], Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ]. He was left high and dry by the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] after the defeat of Daod Shah Panni [داؤد شاہ پنّی] (***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.270***). He had ultimately joined the club of the Umera [امراء] of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] and had rendered many invaluable services. The said General had all the characteristics like killing or curbing any insurgency or revolt, which were expected from a General and history had provided us the proof of the same.

Abjuration of the traitor, Shariff-ul-Mulk [غدارشریف الملک کا استیصال]:

The Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had allowed the area of Dohlpor [دھولپور] to be included in the Jagir of Prince Shah Jahan [شہزادہ شاہجہان in 1031 Hegira 1621]. Dohlpor [دھولپور] was made a part of the Jagir previously, at the request of Queen Noor Jahan [ملکہ نور جہان] or her son-in-law namely, Shaheryar [شہریار]. Shariff-ul-Mulk [شریف الملک] was appointed however, as its Qaladar

[قلعہ دار]. Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] was given an assignment through a royal order to take possession of the fort from him. Shariff-ul-Mulk [شریف الملک] had refused however, to handover the possession of the same. The said incident had resulted in a battle between the two sides in which all types of weapons were used. Shariff-ul-Mulk [شریف الملک] had lost his sight from one eye because an arrow had pierced through the same. The said incident had saddened Noor Jahan Bagum [نور جہان بیگم] very much but, Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] was able to take possession of the fort for Prince Shah Jahan [شہزادہ شاہجہان]. He was able to bring said area under his own administrative control as well (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.329***).

Abjuration of the traitor, Ibrahim [باغی ابراہیم کا استیصال]**:**

The Prince Shah Jahan [شہزادہ شاہجہان] had moved towards Behar [بہار] and Orissa [اڑیسہ] along-with his royal lashker in 1033 Hegira 1623. The Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had appointed Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] as Governor of the area who was the maternal uncle of Noor Jahan Bagum [نور جہان بیگم] (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.324***). Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] was motivated very ambitiously to declare a revolt therefore, he had refused to surrender. The Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had advised him many times through letters to make the mends. He had also granted him general amnesty. The reply of Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] used to be that he had taken possession of the area almost at the cost of his life therefore, he had vowed that only death could make him part with the same. The lashker which was with the Prince Shah Jahan [شہزادہ شاہجہان] also included two very renowned Sardars namely, Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] and Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی]. They were likely to support the ensuing revolt of Prince Shah Jahan [شہزادہ شاہجہان] against his father i.e. the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر]. When said lashker was able to reach Badwan [بدوان] then, an ally of Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] namely, Sardar Sallah [سردار صالح] had confronted the same (***Shah Jahannama*** [شاہجہان نامہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.137***, ***Jahangiri Zaka*** [جہانگیری ذکاء] ***Page No.186***).

War events [لڑائی کے واقعات**]**:

Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] was desirous to strengthen the fort of Akbar Nagger [اکبرنگر] or Aag Mehal [اگ محل] to put up a defense against the royal lashker. The fort was so big and he was there even without necessary equipment to secure the same. He had decided to take an

entrenched position therefore, in the mausoleum of his son which was outside the fort. The soldiers who were deployed on the posts or on the outer positions had approached him in the meantime. The lashker of Shah Jahani [شاہ جہانی] had also made inroads into Aag Mehal [اگ محل] under the command of Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] and Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی]. They had besieged the fort and both sides had started showering the fire on each other, thereafter. Then the Sardars of Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] soon after the start of battle had succeeded to approach him inside the fort along-with reinforcement which had provided some relief to him as well as to his comrades. They had heaved a sigh of relief but just for a brief period. Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] and Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had also taken an entrenched position after crossing the river which was due to the reason that most of the relatives of the soldiers were on the other side of the river (***Shah Jahannama*** [شاہجہان نامہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.138***).

When Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] was able to assess the situation correctly, he opted to flee from the fort in haste along-with one of his Sardars namely, Ahmed Baig Khan [احمد بیگ خان] and thus, he had left the security of the fort at the disposal of others. He had passed the orders prior to that, to arrange the war boats in order to reach the site as quickly as it was possible. The objective of the same was to stop the royal troops from crossing the river. Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] was able to cross the river however, well before the arrival of those war boats. When, Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] came to know about the same, he moved out Ahmed Baig Khan [احمد بیگ خان] to fight against Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی]. Then no sooner he had moved into the direction of the river, the fight had started and many comrades of Ahmed Baig Khan [احمد بیگ خان] were killed. He had managed to escape and then had joined hands with Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] and had taken him into confidence with regard to the situation. Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] had summoned back the troops at once which were placed within the four walls of the mausoleum, after receiving the information with regard to said move. There was a group of soldiers which had approached him hastily as result of the same. Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] had weighed said development and had retreated for some miles whereas, Abdullah Khan Feroze Jung [عبداللہ خان فروزجنگ], who was one of his companions, had moved a few miles forward on the contrary. Thus, he was able to join Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] with the help of some local land owners and hence the respective allied armies were able to amalgamate into each other. The river was on one side whereas, a thick forest was on the other side of said venue and Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] was also able to cross the river and had landed against them face to face along-with several

thousand troops and elephants. He had placed one of his Sardars namely, Noor Ullah [نوراللہ] in the frontline along-with eight hundred cavalrymen. He was supposedly the future Munsabdar [منصب دار]. He had also placed Ahmed Baig Khan [احمد بیگ خان] separately, along-with seven hundred cavalrymen (***Shah Jahannama*** [شاہجہان نامہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.138***, ***Jahangiri Zaka*** [جہانگیری ذکاء] ***Page No.187***).

The battlefield was all set and both sides had started to move towards each other so as to engage in a bloody clash. Then, they had opened the attack against each other and thus, the soldiers from both sides had started rolling in dust and blood. The worthlessness of human life had overwhelmed everything and Noor Ullah [نوراللہ] had failed to put up any resistance and had given up his stand-hold. Ahmed Baig Khan [احمد بیگ خان] was determined to receive wounds like a man. Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] had failed to withstand the onslaught and had moved forward in haste. The formation of his troops was disturbed and most of his allies had managed their escape. He had stayed back however, along-with his soldiers and had fought bravely all the way. There were many soldiers who had tried to take the reins of his horse, in order to take him away into a secure place but the same had not brought even a little bit of change in his determination. The lashker of Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] and Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had launched the attack against him from all four sides and he had succumbed to their move ultimately after receiving very fatal injuries. Thus, he had given away his life and his soldiers who were within the precincts of the mausoleum, were also caught right in the middle of nowhere. The tunnel which the royal force had dug close to the plinth was ignited and thus they were able to create a breach in the wall. The two renowned Generals of Prince Shah Jahan [شہزادہ شاہجہان] namely, Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] and Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] were able to enter into the fort. Abid Khan Dewan [عابد خان دیوان], Sheriff Bakshi [شریف بخشی] and many other dedicated soldiers were able to lay their lives by that time. The fort was conquered and there were many soldiers inside the fort who had jumped into the river. Those who were there with their families had surrendered to the royal lashker (***Shah Jahannama*** [شاہجہان نامہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.139***, ***Karnama Jahangiri Zaka*** [کارنامہ جہانگیری ذکاء] ***Page No.188***).

Since the family of Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] was in Dhaka [ڈھاکہ] therefore, the royal lashker had moved into said direction via river. Ahmed Baig Khan [احمد بیگ خان], who was the nephew of Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] had also managed his escape to Dhaka [ڈھاکہ]. He had also given his

arrest to the lashker very submissively. Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] had abandoned said province as a matter of fact and his entire estate was confiscated after his death. The cash worth of ownership titles as well as, elephants of said estate was Rupees forty lac, approximately. Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] had participated thus, in a battle on behalf of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] and he had come out all triumphant (***Shah Jahannama*** [شاہجہان نامہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.140***). He had sent a message of congratulations to the emperor with regard to his victory.

Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had moved his troops to Allahabad [الہ آباد] at the end of the battle whereas Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] had opted to return to Awadh [اودھ]. Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] and other Sardars had received Rupees fifty thousand each prior to that, from the estate of Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] (***Karnama Jahangiri Zaka*** [کارنامہ جہانگیری ذکاء] ***Page No.181***). We have been able to discover only this much, with regard to the contribution of Derya Khan Panni [دریا خان پنّی] in the history of the Subcontinent.

Babu Khan Panni Jahangiri [بابو خان پنّی جہانگیری]:

Babu Khan Panni [بابو خان پنّی] was also from among those Umera [امراء] of the Panni Pathan era, in Orissa [اڑیسہ]. He had brought appeasement in his relationship later on, with the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] and he had accepted his employment. Babu Khan Panni [بابو خان پنّی] had developed relations with the Emperor Shah Jahan [شہنشاہ شاہ جہان] even after the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر]. He enjoyed the rank of twelve thousand cavalrymen and two thousand five hundred infantrymen, during the reign of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] (***Lahori*** [لاہوری] ***Volume No.1 Page No.121-183***, ***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.274***). He was given the rank of fifteen hundred cavalrymen and two thousand infantrymen, during the reign of the Emperor Shah Jahan [شہنشاہ شاہ جہان] (***Lahori*** [لاہوری] ***Volume No.1 Page No.121-183***, ***Raheem*** [رحیم] ***Page No.274, Shah Jahannama*** [شاہجہان نامہ] ***Volume No.3 Page No.446***). We were able to trace out only one incident in which he had participated in the expedition of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] for curbing the revolt of his son Shah Jahan [شاہ جہان]. The said incident alone was enough to highlight his status in the Durbar of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر].

Abjuration of Prince Shah Jahan [شہزادہ شاہ جہان کی سرکوبی]:

The Prince Shah Jahan **[**شہزادہ شاہ جہان**]** had revolted against his father in 1031 Hegira 1621. Gujarat [گجرات] was a part of his Jagir, in those days. Bakerma Jeet [بکرماجیت] was appointed as a Dewan [دیوان] of the area. When the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] had moved from Delhi [دہلی] to curb the insurgency and he was able to reach Mandu [مانڈو] after going through different areas, he had assigned the control of Gujarat [گجرات] to his loyal Sardar namely, Abdullah Khan [عبداللہ خان]. He had also appointed a person by the name of Suffi [صفی] as an Ameer for his Dewan [دیوان]. Abdullah Khan [عبداللہ خان] had become however, a rival of the King, after meeting Prince Shah Jahan **[**شہزادہ شاہ جہان**]**. Suffi [صفی] had remained loyal notwithstanding the same to the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر]. Abdullah Khan [عبداللہ خان] had handed over the administrative control of said area to a eunuch, who was among his confidants. The Prince Pervaiz **[**شہزادہ پرویز**]** was busy curbing the revolt of the Prince Shah Jahan **[**شہزادہ شاہ جہان] at that time, along-with Pervaiz Shahi [پرویزشاہی] troops. He had handed over the entire treasure to Suffi [صفی] for onward presentation to his father the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر]. He had retained however, one uniquely embellished throne [تختِ مرصع], which was worth Rupees two hundred thousand along-with a Pertala Shamsheer [پرتلہ شمشیر] which was also worth Rupees two hundred thousand only. He had moved towards Mahmoodabad [محمودآباد] along-with those goods, thereafter. Thus, he had given an apparent impression that he was unconcerned about the entire row and rift and he was just on his way to make appearance in the Durbar of the King. He was all set as a matter of fact, to exterminate the Shah Jahani [شاہ جہانی] troops. He had overwhelmed Babu Khan Panni [بابو خان پنّی], Dalair Khan [دلیرخان] and Nahir Khan [ناہرخان] in this regard. They were present in their respective Jagirs at that time. There was one Sardar by the name of Salah [صالح] who had accompanied him to Shah Jahani [شاہ جہانی]. The objective of the same was to rule out the suspicion that, Suffi [صفی] was unlikely to get away with the treasure (***Karnama Jahangir Zaka*** [کارنامہ جہانگیری ذکاء] ***Page No.181, Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.1 Page No.338***).

Occupation of Ahmedabad city [شہراحمدآباد پر قبضہ]:

Suffi [صفی] had written to Babu Khan Panni [بابو خان پنّی] and to other Sardars, to reach Ahmedabad **[**احمدآباد**]** along-with their groups, as soon as he was able to find the opportunity. Babu Khan Panni [بابو خان پنّی] had initiated the raid from Pergan Kreikh [پرگنہ کریخ] on receiving said letter and he was able to land in Ahmedabad **[**احمدآباد**]** city early in the morning. He had

stayed in Bagh-e-Shahban [باغِ شعبان] for a little while and then he had waited till dawn, in order to distinguish between friend and foe. When he was able to find in the morning that, the gate of Ahmedabad **[**احمدآباد**]** city was open, he entered confidently in Ahmedabad **[**احمدآباد**]** city through the gate of Sarungpur and had not waited for his other allies. Then, Nahir Khan [ناہرخان] had also made entry sometime later, into the Ahmedabad **[**احمدآباد**]** city. The eunuch, who was appointed as a Nazim [ناظم] of the area, had panicked on the discovery of said situation. He had sought refuge in the house of Hayder Nabera Wajhi-ud-Din [حیدرنبیرہ وجیہ الدین]. Babu Khan Panni [بابو خان پنّی] and Nahir Khan [ناہرخان] had assumed the control jointly, for the protection of the Burj [برج] of the fort. Then, they had sent a group to the house of Mohammed Taqi Dewan [محمد تقی دیوان] and Hassan Baig Bukhshi [حسن بیگ بخشی]. Thus, he had got them arrested. Hayder Nabera Wajhi-ud-Din [حیدرنبیرہ وجیہ الدین] had informed personally that, the eunuch of Abdullah Khan [عبداللہ خان] was in his house. He had made a request for his immediate arrest. When those Generals were able to amass the confidence with regard to the control of the city then they were out in the middle to organize their army. They had distributed, in the meantime, whatever cash or kind they were able to lay their hand on among newly recruited soldiers. The extraordinarily valuable and uniquely embellished throne [تختِ مرصع] was also at the mercy of the circumstances in the process of curbing the insurgency of Shah Jahan **[**شاہ جہان]. Thus, the gold of the embellished throne [تختِ مرصع] was distributed as salary among the servants. The diamonds were preserved however, which were removed from the same. Thus, the loyal Sardars of the Emperor Jahangir [شہنشاہ جہانگیر] were able to raise a very strong army in a very short span of time (***Karnama Jahangiri Zaka*** [کارنامہ جہانگیری ذکاء] ***Page No.179, Iqbalnama Jahangiri Farsi*** [اقبال نامہ جہانگیری فارسی] ***Page No.206, 207***).

Defeat to Abdullah Khan i.e. General of Shah Jahan [شاہ جہان کے جرنیل عبداللہ خان کو شکست]:

When the information about said incident had reached in Mando [منڈو], to Abdullah Khan [عبداللہ خان], who was General of Shah Jahan [شاہ جہان] then, he had moved out from Mando [منڈو] under the instructions of the Prince. He had reached Berrodah [بڑودہ] in twenty days while making stopovers, thereafter. Then, after getting the reinforcement from there, he had reached Mahmoodabad [محمودآباد]. He had landed in Barncha [بارنچہ] along-with his lashker, thereafter. Babu Khan Panni [بابو خان پنّی] and Nahir Khan [ناہرخان] had also moved onward, on the other hand and they had reached Balod [بالود]. Then, both sides were perched at a distance of thirty

miles from each other and thereafter, both sides were pitched against each other physically, in the following morning. The place where Abdullah Khan [عبداللہ خان] had set up his base, the same was an area which was replete with cactus plantation. The same was therefore, very hazardous for any free movement. Thus, the formation of his lashker was disturbed very badly. When, the battlefield was set ablaze with antagonistic flames of hostility, one Sardar of Abdullah Khan [عبداللہ خان] namely, Himat Khan [ہمت خان] had received a bullet and he had died on the spot. Then the elephant which was in front of the troops formation of Abdullah Khan [عبداللہ خان] had also panicked because of the noise of the bullets and cannonballs. The elephant had moved very defiantly, right in the middle of the cactus plantation. Thus it had proved itself to be an elephant of Raja Porus [راجہ پورس] which had run over on its own troops. Abdullah Khan [عبداللہ خان] was defeated ultimately and he was able to escape from the battlefield. He had reached Berrodah [بڑودہ] firstly and then Bherroch [بھڑوچ] and he moved to Surat [سورت] after three days. He stayed there for about two months and then he opted to go to his patron i.e. the Prince Shah Jahan [شاہ جہان] after reorganizing his dispersed troops (***Karnama Jahangiri Zaka*** [کارنامہ جہانگیری ذکاء] ***Page No.179, Iqbalnama Jahangiri Farsi*** [اقبال نامہ جہانگیری فارسی] ***Page No.208***).

Association with Shah Jahan and reward [شاہ جہان سے وابستگی اور انعام]:

There cannot be a student of history who may be unacquainted with the fact that a settlement was worked out ultimately between Prince Shah Jahan [شاہ جہان] and the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. The role which a Panni General had played for said great historical event was however a seminal historical fact. The same had remained undocumented however, for the history books. The Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر] died in 1047 Hegira and the Prince Shah Jahan [شاہ جہان] had succeeded him. Babu Khan Panni [بابو خان پنّی] was also awarded a Khilat [خلعت] with a decorated dagger [خنجر مرصع] along-with Rupees five hundred as his salary. He was also given six hundred cavalrymen additionally, along-with other Umera [امراء] during the coronation ceremony. The Umera [امراء] were awarded some gifts and were rewarded with other bestowals as well (***Lahori*** [لاہوری] ***Volume No.1 Page No.12***).

The readers can very well imagine the likely voluminousness of the history book in hand, if we had incorporated the descriptive account of the achievements of the descendants of the Panni Generals, who had played their role in the history of Hindustan. We feel content to restrict

ourselves therefore, to the extent of abovementioned references and citations, for the sake of avoiding prolixity.

Adam Khan Panni [آدم خان پنّی]:

There was a General by the name of Adam Khan Panni [آدم خان پنّی] (933 Hegira 1562) among the Umera [امراء] of Shah Jahan [شاہ جہان]. He was a Mansubdar [منصبدار] with one thousand and five hundred [ہزاروپانچ صد] soldiers (***Lahori*** [لاہوری] ***Volume No.1 Page No.454***). Adam Khan Panni [آدم خان پنّی] along-with Junaid Khan Panni [جنید خان پنّی] had given a very tough time to the Emperor Akbar [شہنشاہ اکبر]. He had also disappeared once after the defeat into the jungles of Charr Khund [چھاڑ کھنڈ]. He was the son of Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] (***Akbernama*** [اکبرنامہ] ***Volume No.1Page No.133***).

ABDULLAH KHAN PANNI AFGHAN BEJAPURI, KNOWN AS RUNMUST KHAN
[عبداللہ خان پنّی افغان بیجاپوری المخاطب بہ رنمست خان]
AND
SERANADAZ KHAN, KNOWN AS SARDAR KHAN ALAMGIRI
[سراندازخان عرف سردار خان عالمگیری]

Association with the Emperor Alamgir and Tana Shah [شہنشاہ عالمگیراورتاناشاہ سے وابستگی]:

The name of Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] was also available as Runmust Khan [رنمست خان] or Runmust Khan Afghan [رنمست خان افغان] and Seranadaz Khan [سراندازخان], according to various books of history. He was known by the name of Seranadaz Khan [سراندازخان], popularly (***Jadoo Nath*** [جادوناتھ] ***Volume No.4 Page No.382***). Runmust Khan [رنمست خان] means one who is ecstatic in the battlefield or a brave person. The words like Afghan [افغان] or Bejapuri [بیجاپوری] which were associated with his name were also used frequently even otherwise, according to various books of history.

We have not been able to trace out the history of the initial period of his life and his family but, whatever information we were able to trace out was regarding some inconsistent episodes in different periods. The intervening long and lull period was eventless because he had accepted

perhaps, an employment in the state of Bejapur [بیجاپور], initially. The factual position was that he was also associated with the Durbar of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] prior to joining the employment of the ruler Abul Hassan Tana Shah [ابوالحسن تانا شاہ]. He had dissociated himself somehow or the other and he had joined the Umera [امراء] club of Abul Hassan Tana Shah [ابوالحسن تانا شاہ] (***Maser-al-Umera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.312, Serkar*** [سرکار] ***Volume No.4 Page No.382***). There was a strange social practice in said era that, the military Generals used to switchover their loyalties by declarations and for doing the same, they were never held accountable. When the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had conquered Golkandah [گولکنڈہ] then, Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had associated himself with his Durbar once again. He was associated prior to that, with the conquest of Golkandah [گولکنڈہ], indirectly.

Abjuration of Raja Jaswant Singh [راجہ جسونت سنگھ کی گوشمالی]:

Khafi Khan [خافی خان] was a person who had brought Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] on the horizon in 1069 Hegira 1658 through his Muntikhib-ul-Bab [منتخب الباب]. He was talked about to the extent only that the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had assigned a lashker of ten thousand to Ameen Khan [امین خان] and he had sent him in the association of Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] to objurgate Raja Jaswant Singh [راجہ جسونت سنگھ] (***Muntikhib-ul-Bab*** [منتخب الباب] ***Volume No.2 Page No.61***). The author of Dastan-e-Turktazan-e-Hindh [داستانِ ترکتازانِ ہند] had stated that said family had given a very tough time twice, to Sewa Gee [سیواجی] in the past. He was under Prince Moazam [شہزادہ معظم] (***Dastan-e-Turktazan-e-Hindh*** [داستانِ ترکتازانِ ہند] ***Part-No.III Page No.234***). There was a heavy curtain in history thereafter, on the life of Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی]. Then, we come across him in 1098 in Golkandah [گولکنڈہ] as a leading General of Abul Hassan Tana Shah [ابوالحسن تانا شاہ], when he had dissociated himself from the Durbar of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر]. We have not conducted any further probe into his history in order to avoid unnecessary prolixity.

Guard of the Golkandah fort [قلعہ گولکنڈہ کا محافظ]:

Those who are familiar, even a little bit, with the history of the Subcontinent, they know that the conquest of Golkandah fort [قلعہ گولکنڈہ] was considered to be a very coveted event among the achievements of military history. There were a very few people however, who were familiar with

the fact that the entire credit for the same was attributable to Abdullah Khan Panni Afghan Bejapuri who was known as Runmust Khan [عبداللہ خان پنّی افغان بیجاپوری المخاطب بہ رنمست خان], popularly. Had he not extended his hand of friendship towards the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] then, the Golkandah fort [قلعہ گولکنڈہ] perhaps would have been the only fort which would not have been included in the long list of conquests of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر]. Then, many chapters of the history of his era would have been penned differently. The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had sustained loss of life and property regularly, after the demoralizing attritional siege of eight months and ten days. Then, the way the Emperor had invited Daod Khan Panni [داؤدخان پنّی] especially, for the conquest of fort Chanchie [قلعہ چنچئی], the same had saved many years for the conquest of Golkandah fort [قلعہ گولکنڈہ] otherwise, the course of the history would not have been the way what it had turned out to be, ultimately. The history was indebted to Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] for his timely help. The famous Golkandah fort [قلعہ گولکنڈہ] was located in the west of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد]. The radius of the same was more than three miles. The walls of the fort were very solid and had exactly 88 Burj [برج]. The same were raised with big stones, circularly. There were some stones which had weighed even more than one ton. The fort had eight doors in those days but, there were only four doors left i.e. Mecca Derwaza [مکہ دروازہ], Jamal Derwaza [جمال دروازہ], Bukhari Derwaza [بخاری دروازہ] and Fateh Derwaza [فتح دروازہ]. The last name was given to the door by the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] in commemoration of his son, Prince Moazam [شہزادہ معظم] when he had entered the fort from Fateh Derwaza [فتح دروازہ]. The actual name of said door was Kherki [کھڑکی]. Fateh Derwaza [فتح دروازہ] was the same door which was guarded by Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی], during the siege of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر]. The Golkandah fort [قلعہ گولکنڈہ] was perched on a very high and solid hill. The doors were made of teakwood and were studded with numerous pointed iron spikes. The objective of the same was to prevent the door from being knocking down by head bangs of the elephants. There used to be many stone balls at some point of time, which were lying on the right-hand side of Kherki [کھڑکی] or Fateh Derwaza [فتح دروازہ]. Those balls were supposed to be used in some war. The same were left behind by the soldiers of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر]. There were Qutab Shahi [قطب شاہی] cannons which were perched on the walls of the fort. The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had them sealed and he had made them dysfunctional after the conquest of said fort (***Tareekh Bejapur*** [تاریخ بیجاپور] ***Part III Page No.562***).

Abul Hassan Tana Shah [ابوالحسن تانا شاہ] had also very friendly relations with Sheikh Minhaj [شیخ منہاج] who had deceitfully murdered Khizer Khan Panni [خضر خان پنّی] i.e. father of Daod Khan Panni [داؤدخان پنّی] (***Maser-al-Umera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.3 Page No.629***).

Alamgir was confronted with problems [عالمگیر کو مشکلات کا سامنا]:

Abul Hassan Qutab Shahi [ابوالحسن قطب شاہی], also known by the name of Tana Shah [تانا شاہ], was ruler of Golkandah [گولکنڈہ] during the reign of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر]. He had two leading Hindus with him i.e. Madana [مادنا] and Ikna [اکنا], respectively. They were always ready to subject the Muslims to persecutions but, when the victims had found out that there was no escape from those Hindus, they had approached the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] with their complaints. The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had informed Tana Shah [تانا شاہ] repeatedly to make amends and to bring order in the situation but, there was no satisfactory outcome (***Hayyat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.25, 54***, ***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Part-I Gul Haftaum*** [گل ہفتم] ***Page No.478***). The charge of providing protection to the enemies of the King was also leveled against Abul Hassan Qutab Shahi [ابوالحسن قطب شاہی]. Sewa Gee [سیواجی] had disappeared from Agrah [آگرہ] in 670 Hegira, in the month of Sufer [صفر] 654 Hegira and then he had appeared before the public in Golkandah [گولکنڈہ]. The allies of Abul Hassan Qutab Shahi [ابوالحسن قطب شاہی] had supported him monetarily and they had also provided him the support of the army (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.474***). They had given him thirty thousand cavalrymen and forty thousand infantrymen (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] Part-I ***Gul Haftaum*** [گل ہفتم] ***Page No.474***). The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had decided to wage war against him in 1098 in the wake of said situation and the royal army had started marching towards Golkandah [گولکنڈہ]. They were able to reach in the front of the fort on 4th Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1098 Hegira and then they besieged the fort (***Hayyat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.40***, ***History of Deccan Volume No.1 Page No.355***). Tana Shah [تانا شاہ] was placed at an advantageous position due to the fact that the fort was located at a high pedestal and resultantly the height was an advantageous position strategically. He was able to put up a very strong resistance for a longer period therefore, against the invaders. He had given the attackers a very tough time and thus he was able to create an enigmatic despair for the lashker of Alamgir (***Hayyat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.58***).

The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] was able to besiege the Golkandah fort [گولکنڈہ] yet, it was not easy for him to conquer it due to the advantageous position of Tana Shah [تانا شاہ] as well as, due to the robust structure of the fort. The Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] was up against many perilous and tricky situations during the attritional siege, according to various books of history. The attritional war of the siege had also created many problems for the supply of ration and logistics other than arsenals. Abul Hassan Qutab Shahi [ابوالحسن قطب شاہی] had showed tremendous courage and resilience and he had made the life of the besiegers very miserable. There were many soldiers from both sides who were killed or wounded during the siege. Then, one of the cannonballs which was shot from the fort, had hit the arm of the famous General of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] namely, Qalaich Khan [قلیچ خان]. He had failed to survive the injuries and he died in 1684, ultimately (***Bergizage No. 38***). Then tremendous skill and courage was required to maintain the siege under those conditions. The exercise of coercive tactics had continued for many months during the war of attrition. Then, the Deccani troops of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] had succumbed to the demoralizing conditions ultimately, after having remained steadfast for a very longtime. The extraordinarily prolonged siege had also demoralized the troops of Abul Hassan Qutab Shahi [ابوالحسن قطب شاہی] and they had also started showing some slackness in their resilience. There were many Sardars, including Sheikh Minhaj [شیخ منہاج] (*Who had deceitfully murdered Khizer Khan Panni* [خضر خان پنّی] i.e. *father of Daod Khan Panni* [داؤدخان پنّی]) who had already surrendered to the authority of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] (***Hayyat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.65***). The troops of Abul Hassan Qutab Shahi [ابوالحسن قطب شاہی] had also lost the requisite fervor to defend, resultantly. There were many Sardars of Abul Hassan Qutab Shahi [ابوالحسن قطب شاہی] who had switched their loyalties and the same had supplemented the resolve and strength of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر]. Then, the situation had diluted in such a manner that Tana Shah [تانا شاہ] was left with only two leading Sardars i.e. Mustafa Khan, who was popularly known as Abdur Razzaq Lari [مصطفےٰ خان المعروف بہ عبدالرزاق لاری] and Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی], who was popularly known as Runmust Khan [رنمست خان] (***Hayyat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.65***). Those two Sardars of Tana Shah [تانا شاہ] had remained steadfast under those deplorable and abject circumstances and they were able to put up a tough resistance. The author of Roodbar-e-Asif [رودبار آصف] had stated, while discussing the same in the manner, as below:

> "The dedication and the organized planning of Abdur Razzaq Lari [عبدالرزاق لاری] and Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] was such that, the same had resulted in prolonging the siege of Golkandah fort [گولکنڈہ]. They had continued the battle on a daily basis and it had resulted in the killing of many leading Sardars on both sides. The said situation had compelled even the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] to declare the name of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] as Dar-ul-Jihad [دارالجہاد]" (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.365***).

The troops of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] were caught in two minds. They were neither in a position to quit nor were they in a position to continue the siege "نہ جائے ماندن نہ پائے رفتن". They had held the attritional siege continuously for ten months and both sides had lost the soldiers on a daily basis and besides that, both sides were sick and tired of staring at each other, eyeball to eyeball. There was no need to mention that the battles were won only on the basis of resolute stance and steadfastness. The lashker which shows more resoluteness and steadfastness always gets the edge over the adversary. The siege of Golkandah [گولکنڈہ] had entered into said phase, practically.

Conquest of the fort with the assistance of Khan [خان کے تعاون سے قلعہ کی تسخیر]:

The allies of the Emperor Alamgir [شہنشاہ عالمگیر] were able to discover a secret strategic plan ultimately, after a very long struggle. They had decided that, the uncle of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] namely, Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] who was known as Runmust Khan Kallan [رنمست خان کلاں] popularly and who was a co-tribesman of Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] and who was well acquainted with him, was supposed to convince the two Sardars of Tana Shah [تانا شاہ] to dissociate themselves from him (***Maser-al-Umera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.2 Page No.311, Zaka*** [ذکاء] ***Volume No.8 Page No.367, Dastan-e-Turktazan-e-Hindh*** [داستانِ ترکتازانِ ہند] ***Part-No.III Page No.234***). The unresolved enigmatic situation was resolved in other words, through a grand intrigue. There was a famous proverb that, everything is fair in love and war. The Muntikhib-ul-Bab Farsi [منتخب الباب فارسی] had disclosed the facts in this regard in the manner, as below:

> "The siege was continuously in place for eight months, till the end of Shawal [شوال]. They were putting up a massive resistance against the Alamgiri troops. Then, Rooh Ullah Khan

[روح الله خان] had started the negotiation ultimately on behalf of Runmust Khan Panni [رنمست خان پنّی], with Abdullah Khan Panni [عبدالله خان پنّی] in the beginning of the thirty first month of Jaloos [جلوس] and in the month of Zeqad [ذیقعد] 1098. Then, Rooh Ullah Khan [روح الله خان], Runmust Khan Panni [رنمست خان پنّی] and Saf Shiken Khan [صف شکن خان] and others had entered the fort during the last quarter of one night through the clefts and by using ladders under the instruction of Abdullah Khan Panni [عبدالله خان پنّی] and Badshah Zadah Mohammed Azam Shah [بادشاہزادہ محمد اعظم شاہ]. The clefts had emerged in the wall due to constant shelling. They had also entered the fort, along-with his troops, through the door which was known as Kherki [کھڑکی] or Fateh Derwaza [فتح دروازہ] which was under the surveillance of Abdullah Khan Panni [عبدالله خان پنّی]. Thus, the fort of Golkandah [گولکنڈہ] was conquered after the siege and after the struggle of eight months and ten days" (***Muntikhib-ul-Bab Farsi*** [منتخب الباب فارسی] ***Volume No.2 Page No.362***, ***Zaka*** [ذکاء] ***Volume No.8 Page No.367***).

There were some other historians who had endorsed the version that, the Golkandah [گولکنڈہ] fort was conquered with the help of Abdullah Khan Panni [عبدالله خان پنّی] (***Dastan-e-Turktazan-e-Hindh*** [داستانِ ترکتازانِ ہند] ***Part-No.III Page No.234, GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Page No.55, and Hayyat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.45 and Gerbal Page No.307***). Rooh Ullah Khan [روح الله خان] Mukhtar Khan [مختارخان], Saf Shiken Khan [صف شکن خان], Makarim Khan [مکارم خان] and Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] had jumped into the fort at night as per planning of Abdullah Khan Panni [عبدالله خان پنّی]. They had opened the Kherki [کھڑکی] or Fateh Derwaza [فتح دروازہ] in the beginning of the thirty first month of Jaloos [جلوس] on 24th Zeqad [ذیقعد] 1098 (21st September 1687). Abdullah Khan Panni [عبدالله خان پنّی] had disregarded the advancement of the troops (***Hayyat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.45, Jadoo Nath, Jadoo Nath*** [جادوناتھ] ***Volume No.4 Page No.382***) Badshah Zadah Nohammed Azam Shah [بادشاہزادہ محمد اعظم شاہ] had entered into the fort along-with his troops, as soon as said door was thrown open. They had whipped open a shroud on the floor to sit on. When Tana Shah [تانا شاہ] was able to witness said spectacle, he had stepped out as a vanquished person and he had taken off one necklace from around his neck and had put it around the neck of Badshah Zadah Mohammed Azam Shah [بادشاہزادہ محمد اعظم شاہ]. Thus, said victory had also become a glorious link in the chain of victories. The Emperor had named the Kherki [کھڑکی] Derwaza [فتح دروازہ] as Fateh Derwaza [فتح دروازہ] and the history of the conquest of the fort had become known proverbially as (Sud-skinderi Grift Fateh) "سدِسکندری گرفت فتح

(***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.63***). The same was written however in the history by Alamgir [عالمگیر] as (Fateh Qala Golkandah Mubarikbad "فتح قلعہ گولکندہ مبارک باد") i.e. Greetings for the victory of Golkandah [گولکنڈہ] fort (***Alamgiri*** [عالمگیری] ***Page No.211***, ***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2Page No.368***).

The Emperor Alamgir [عالمگیر] was able to stockpile immense wealth from inside the fort, according to historians. He was able to take sixty eight lac fifty one thousand Hoan [ہون] (Deccani coins) as well as, jewelry and ornaments, worth twenty million and fifty three thousand as booty besides, many articles of gold and silver. The total value of the treasure had turned out to be one billion fifteen hundred million and thirteen lac Dehrem only, as it was reported by the office of Alamgir [عالمگیر] (***Hayyat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.61, Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.367 and Gazetteer Page No.310***). The cooperation of Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had made said conquest possible. The said conquest was a manifestation of the quantum contribution which Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had rendered, according to the history of Alamgir [عالمگیر].

Support of Prince Azam [شہزادہ اعظم]:

Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had disappeared from the scene of history, after the conquest of Golkandah [گولکنڈہ]. He had remained buried in obscurity for about twenty years. We had abstained although, from probing very deep into his history for the sake of avoiding prolixity yet, more research was quite possible. Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had emerged again however, in 1118 Hegira to play his role. The same was after the demise of Alamgir [عالمگیر] and during the period of the internal rift between Prince Mohammed Azam [شہزادہ محمداعظم] and Moazam Shah Alam [معظم شاہ عالم].

The fierce tussle for the crown and throne had started between Prince Mohammed Azam [شہزادہ محمداعظم] and Moazam Shah Alam [معظم شاہ عالم] in 1119 Hegira, after the death of Alamgir [عالمگیر]. The Veteran Wazir of the late Emperor namely, Zulfiqar Khan who was popularly known as Nusrat Jung [ذوالفقار خان المخاطب بہ نصرت جنگ] and some other Umera [امراء] had backed up Moazam Shah Alam [معظم شاہ عالم] in this regard. Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی], the brother of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی], had supported

on the other hand Prince Mohammed Azam [شہزادہ محمداعظم] (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.589***). We can discover the network of jungles in the bottom of the seven seas besides many mountains, caves and corners with volcanoes, which emit lava as well as, jewels and pearls and other areas to see the sea life but, we are always unable to understand what is in the heart of the heart of a human being which is not more than a drop of blood. The science of today, despite its unbelievable discoveries, is still unable to answer that how many unfathomable seas are there in said drop of blood which cannot possibly lixiviate the secrets of nature and which will remain the same till the dooms day. Then, none can judge also with certainty the future course of action of any human being. The Umera [امراء] and the Generals of the late Alamgir [عالمگیر], who were known for their veracity and supercilious thoughts, as well as for their courage and chivalry and the objective of their entire life was to seek further expansion of their reign of an already large Kingdom of the late Emperor, they were face to face all of a sudden in the battlefield against each other. They were bent upon razing to the ground, the grand edifice which they had built with their own hands after taking all the risks particularly when the memory of the late Emperor had not even faded out. The result of said anarchy was evidently a lesson in the chapters of history. We have already given a descriptive account of said anarchy in the life history of Suleiman Khan Panni [سلیمان خان پنّی] but, it will be appropriate to mention that, Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] and his frontline troops had pressurized the troops of Moazam Shah Alam [معظم شاہ عالم] to look for some escape routes after bombarding them. Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] was able to barge into the abode of Moazam Shah Alam [معظم شاہ عالم] and had seized his entire logistics after setting his tents on fire. He had even captured his artillery unit and then he had transported everything under the supervision of his comrades to Prince Mohammed Azam [شہزادہ محمداعظم] (***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.589***). There was a strange fact that, the Prince Mohammed Azam [شہزادہ محمداعظم] was defeated and notwithstanding the same, the victory was attributed to Moazam Shah Alam [معظم شاہ عالم].

Association with Prince Azeem Shah [شہزادہ عظیم شاہ کی رفاقت میں]:

Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had emerged in 1124 Hegira which was the period when the fire of the internal rift was set ablaze once again, after the death of the King Shah Alam Bahader Shah [شاہ عالم بہادر شاہ]. Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had sided with the latter, during the

tussle between Moe-ud-Din Jahan Shah [معزالدین جہان شاہ] and Azeem-us-Shan [عظیم الشان] but, his opponent i.e. Moez-ud-Din Jahan Shah [معزالدین جہان شاہ] had come out victorious even after said tussle.

Nigeran-e-Aala during the captivity of Furrukh Sair [فرخ سیر کی قید کے دوران نگرانِ اعلیٰ]:

The struggle among the descendants for the throne of Alamgir [عالمگیر] had made said era of Mughal history, the darkest period. The same was the period during which the Mughal family had disintegrated. The notorious King makers had given full expression to their heinous designs during said period of darkness when, they were able to promote Furrukh Sair [فرخ سیر] i.e. nephew of Moez-ud-Din Jahan Shah [معزالدین جہان شاہ]. They had made him King in 1124 Hegira 1713. Then, they had usurped all the powers from him gradually and they had made him just a titular king. When, Furrukh Sair [فرخ سیر] had objected to the same as King, they had made him blind by running a poisonous shaft in his eyes. He was imprisoned in the chamber of Lal Qala [لال قلعہ] which was also known as Teripoleya [تریپولیا] or Teripoliyana [تریپولیانا] i.e. "Triple door", the chamber in which seven years prior to his confinement, Furrukh Sair [فرخ سیر] had even incrassated his uncle i.e. Moez-ud-Din Jahan Shah [معزالدین جہان شاہ], after dethroning him. The same was also at the instigation of those king makers who had him killed there as well. Furrukh Sair [فرخ سیر] was a handsome and tall man among the Mughal rulers but, he was the most timid person among them. The King Makers had designated Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] to guard the chamber of Furrukh Sair [فرخ سیر] during his detention. *Idée reçue* when Furrukh Sair [فرخ سیر] was made to lie-down on the ground by force, right in his Durbar and a poisonous bar was run through his eyes, the same had not blinded him completely and some of his vision was intact. There was also a common perception that, he had also murmured at that time that, "my helplessness in my arrest is just like a cypress being uprooted" (***Alvine Page No.395***).

Offer in exchange of freedom or assistance by Shah [رہائی یا امداد کے عوض شاہ کی پیشکش]:

When, Furrukh Sair [فرخ سیر] was completely disappointed from Syed brothers [سیدبرادران] i.e. "King Makers" then, he had started his interaction with Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی]. He had requested him repeatedly, to transport him safely to his father-in-law namely, Raja Man

Singh [راجہ مان سنگھ]. He had offered to give him in exchange, the rank of Haft Hazari [ہفت ہزاری] along-with the premiership and a Jagir among many other benefits. He had also sent messages through him to Syed brothers [سیدبرادران] several times, for reconciliation. He had also made offers to hand over all the powers as well as, enthronement to them in exchange for his release but, they had disagreed with the same. Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] also used to pass on different offers of Furrukh Sair [فرخ سیر] to the king makers. Then, they had also tried out of sheer trepidation to even kill the imprisoned King by poisoning him but they had failed. Then, the notorious King Maker brothers i.e. Syed Hassan Khan [سید حسن خان] and Syed Hussein Khan [سید حسین خان] had ultimately strangulated Furrukh Sair [فرخ سیر] to death with a lace at midnight, on 9th Jamad-us-sani [جمادالثانی] 1131 Hegira (27.28 April 961) (***Alvine Page No.390, Syed-ud-Tamakhereen*** [سیدالتماخرین] ***Volume No.2 Page No.47***, ***Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.589***).

Unfounded allegation of the murder against Khan [خان پر شاہ کے قتل کا بے بنیاد الزام]:

The rule of Furrukh Sair [فرخ سیر] lasted only for six years and four months. He had remained incarcerated for two months. When he was disappointed by Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی], according to some versions of history, he had made several attempts to escape from the prison and for doing the same, Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had admonished him severely. He had banged his head into the wall in reaction and he had made his head bleed. There was yet another version that Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had also behaved more brutally during said reactionary period but, said allegation had turned out to be unfounded and baseless. The author of Dastan-e-Turktazan-e-Hindh [داستانِ ترکتازانِ ہند] had expressed his views in this regard in the manner, as below:

> "Those who had alleged that Furrukh Sair [فرخ سیر] had tried to escape from prison and Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] had pulled him down and Furrukh Sair [فرخ سیر] was unable to stand said insult and he had banged his head into the wall, the same was totally an unfounded allegation. What was quite possible that, he had reacted when, he was strangulated with a lace and he was battened and he was hit on the head? Thus, he was wounded. The said incident was converted perhaps into a make believe story against

Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] subsequently" (***Dastan-e-Turktazan-e-Hindh*** [داستانِ ترکتازانِ ہند] ***Part No.III Page No.452-3).***

We have not made any further attempt to discover more about Abdullah Khan Panni [عبداللہ خان پنّی] who had always enjoyed grand status with coveted titles, in the history of the Subcontinent. Then whatsoever we were able to discover, the same was of such significance that its narration could not possibly be eliminated from the history of the Subcontinent.

Alawal Khan Panni Alamgiri [علاول خان پنّی عالمگیری]:

Alawal Khan Panni [علاول خان پنّی] was the nephew of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] and he was a famous Vice Wazir Jung [نائب وزیر جنگ] during the Alamgir [عالمگیر] era. He had served as a governor of Brar [برار] as well. Alawal Khan Panni [علاول خان پنّی] was posted out to some other place from Brar [برار] when his brother Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزید خان پنّی], was posted out of Burhanpur [برہانپور]. We would like to sum up his history just to avoid any prolixity.

Bayezeed Khan Panni Alamgiri [بایزید خان پنّی عالمگیری]:

Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزید خان پنّی] was the second person who was mentioned as related to two sisters of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] whose reference is available in various books of history. The predominant view was that, both of them were sons of Umer Khan Panni [عمر خان پنّی] who was brother-in-law of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. He was son of Ali Khan Panni [علی خان پنّی] who was popularly known as Runmust Khan [رنمست خان]. He was the uncle of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]. Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزید خان پنّی] had appeared on the scene of history even during the last lag of Alamgir [عالمگیر] era which was the inaugural period of his descendants. Bayezeed Khan Panni [بایزید خان پنّی] was ruler of Burhanpur [برہانپور] in those days when, Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی] was governor of the entire province of Deccan [دکن] besides Khandase [خاندیس]. The same was during the third year of Jaloos [جلوس] of King Shah Alam Bahader Shah [شاہ عالم بہادر شاہ]. He was posted out to some other area from there. We hereby sum up his history because we did not explore him much in the labyrinths of history.

Jamadar Azmat Khan Afghan Panni Mohammed Shahi [جمعدار عظمت خان افغان پنّی محمد شاہی]:

Post of Jamadar [جمعدار کا منصب]:

We have not been able to explore much about the ancestors of Azmat Khan Panni [عظمت خان پنّی] or even in the context of his personal achievements. We have also not been able to discover anything in this regard except that there was one incident and according to which, this much was established that he was appointed at the rank of Jamadar [جمعدار] in the Delhi army during the reign of King Naseer-ud-Din Mohammed Shah [نصیرالدین محمد شاہ بادشاہ] in 1331 to 1341 Hegira (1718 to 1728). The rank of Jamadar [جمعدار] was no less than the status of a Jagirdar in those days. The status of Jamadar [جمعدار] was above the influence of the government officials. The police officers high and low so much so, even the Kotwal [کوتوال] who was a high rank police officer, were all obliged to carry out any type of legal proceeding either under the advice of the Jagirdar or Kotwal [کوتوال] or Jamadar [جمعدار]. The rank of Jamadar [جمعدار] had a very special importance in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] (***Daily Kohistan Lahore*** [کوہستان لاہور] ***Dated.22.10.1964***). There was only one incident which had pertained to the life of Azmat Khan Panni [عظمت خان پنّی]. The same had revealed to some extent, his military character and his bravery and chivalry. We can draw the inference from said incident that, he was not only a brave and bold as well as, a gallant soldier but, there were a number of other achievements to his credit. He was a living example of the word Azmat [عظمت] i.e. greatness. We feel that it will be appropriate to establish his bravery and chivalry and we may give a descriptive account of the battle which had taken place between Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] and Syed Delawer Ali Khan [سیددلاورعلی خان]. The same was known in the history as "Battle of Hassan Pur" " حسن پور کی لڑائی". Azmat Khan Panni [عظمت خان پنّی] had fought said battle bare feet right in front of the elephant of his paternal uncle [پھوپھا] namely, Uzo-ud-Dolla Awiz Khan [عضدالدولہ عوض خان] and had sacrificed his life in the process (***Maser-al-Umera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1 Page No.375, Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.879***). The said battle had helped establish Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] an autonomous state in Deccan [دکن]. The same battle had also weakened the grip of the King Makers Syed brothers [سیدبرادران] in the center Delhi [دہلی].

Participation in the battle of Hassan Pur [حسن پور کی لڑائی میں شمولیت]:

Syed Hassan Ali Khan [سیدحسن علی خان] who was popularly known as Abdullah Khan [عبداللہ خان] i.e. prime minister of Delhi [دہلی] and his brother Syed Hassan Ali Khan [سیدحسین علی خان] were both the notorious King Makers. They had enthroned Shah Alam Bahader Shah Roshan Akhter [شاہ عالم بہادر شاہ روشن اختر] as King of Delhi [دہلی] on 2nd Zeqad [ذیقعد] 1131 Hegira, with the title as Abul Fateh Naseer-ud-Din Mohammed Shah [ابوالفتح نصیرالدین محمد شاہ]. The same had taken place when they were able to imprison King Furrukh Sair [فرخ سیر]. We have stated above that the policy of both the brothers used to be to appoint any person as a titular king of Delhi [دہلی] and then while staying in Delhi [دہلی] they used to issue orders of their own choice on his behalf to the governors and qaladars [قلعداران] in other parts of the country. They had never allowed anyone to come even closer to Delhi [دہلی]. Thus, they used to enjoy a complete authoritarian rule. The learned people and the Umera [امراء] of the durbar were very much familiar with their knavery but, somehow or the other, they had always failed to do much about the same. The said brothers were successful in making Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] wander away from Delhi [دہلی] helplessly. They had never liked him to focus on Delhi [دہلی]. He was a brave soldier as well as, a clever person. The latent differences between the two sides had assumed the shape of an open war gradually. The King Makers "Syed Brothers" [سیدبرادران] had stripped off Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] from his rank, resultantly. He had maintained his courage however and he had refused to comply with their orders and thus, he was able to retain his rank (***Hayyat Asif*** [حیات آصف] ***Page No.163***). The said non-compliance of orders had enraged the king makers "Syed Brothers" [سیدبرادران] and they had ordered their nephews namely, Dilawer Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان] and Alam Ali Khan [عالم علی خان] to move out with a massive army for the abjuration of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول].

Entrenchment [مورچہ بندی]:

Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول], after receiving said news, had also started the preparations to defend the expected attack. He had planned to defend against the lashkers of both opposing commanders, because one of them had moved out from Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد] whereas, the other one had started from Delhi [دہلی]. Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] along-with his own lashker had moved from Lal Bagh [لعل باغ] Burhanpur [برہانپور] towards Kamrahi [کمراہی]. He had left about one thousand cavalrymen to defend Burhanpur [برہانپور]. He had crossed the river Tapati [تاپتی] and then he had set up his camp near Zeenabad

[زین آباد]. Dilawer Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان] was able to cross the River Nerbader [نربدر] at said point of time while he was making the advancement. Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] was able to catch up with his lashker on 13th Shaban [شعبان] 1123 Hegira (23rd May 1760) at Hassan Pur village Khaas [حسن پور گاؤں خاص] which was about sixteen or seventeen miles away from Burhanpur [برہانپور]. Then, he had made the formations of his entrenched army in the order as below:

> Mohammed Gheyas Khan [محمد غیاث خان], Sheikh Mohammed Shah [شیخ محمد شاہ], Derrogha of artillery [دروغہ توپ خانہ] was appointed along-with other brave soldiers in the front line. Then, on the other side, he had appointed his paternal uncle [پھوپھا] namely, Uzo-ud-Dolla Awiz Khan [عضدالدولہ عوض خان] and his son Jamal Khan [جمال خان] besides Anwar Khan [انور خان], Hakeem Mohammed Murtaza [حکیم محمد مرتضیٰ] along-with other soldiers. Azmat Khan Panni [عظمت خان پنّی] was appointed close to the elephant of Uzo-ud-Dolla Awiz Khan [عضدالدولہ عوض خان]. Rahmat Khan [رحمت خان] and some other brave soldiers were on the left-hand side. Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] had appointed his uncle namely, Abdur Raheem Khan [عبدالرحیم خان] in the extreme forefront. Qadir Dad Khan Roshnie [قادردادخان روشنائی] and Aziz Baig Khan Harsi [عزیزبیگ خان ہارسی] were appointed respectively, on the left and right-hand side from the centre. Mohammed Mutwasil Khan Khowaishgi [محمد متوسل خان خویشگی], Rustam Baig [رستم بیگ], Kamyab Khan [کامیاب خان], Arbab Khan [ارباب خان], Saad-ud-Din Khan [سعدالدین خان] and Mir Hassan Buxshi Khan [میر حسن بخشی خان] were appointed in the centre. Raiat Khan [رعایت خان] was assigned the position to guard against any onslaught on Burhanpur [برہانپور] city (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.87***).

Formidable battle [ہولناک لڑائی**]**:

Dilawer Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان] had organized his troops and both armies had come face to face against each other while marching on. Then, one of the officers of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] had supervised the battle front from one of the hilltops. The central part of the lashker had also moved right at the bottom of said hilltop. The same had included Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] who was riding an elephant. He had ordered Gheyas Khan [غیاث خان] and others to move up towards the top of the hill on his right-hand side. They

were under instructions to desist from dislodging the cannons in haste. Then, he had moved his own elephant on said side where his officers were already deployed at a post. Awiz Khan [عوض خان] along-with his elephant, was placed in the same position whereas, Azmat Khan Panni [عظمت خان پنّی] was on his right-hand side. He was right in front of an embankment which was prepared in fact, by the troops of Dilawer Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان]. The army of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] was able to capture the same swiftly. The troops of Dilawer Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان] had moved forward in the wake of said move. They had initiated their battle against the troops which were able to occupy the embankment (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.87***). The troops of Dilawer Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان] were more in number as compared with the troops of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] therefore, some officers of the latter had moved with some soldiers against the rival army which had resulted in a fierce battle. Awiz Khan [عوض خان] and his son Jamal Khan [جمال خان] had started their fight very aggressively. Azmat Khan Panni [عظمت خان پنّی] had also demonstrated his chivalry along-with them. There were many soldiers of Dilawer Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان] who were killed during said back and forth movement. He had attacked Awiz Khan [عوض خان] after having seen said situation. Thus, he had opted to kill and maim many of his soldiers. The practical battle which was set apace in the field had reached its climax and Dilawer Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان] had attacked so ferociously that one of the companions of Awiz Khan [عوض خان] who was with him on the elephant, was also injured and his son Jamal Khan [جمال خان] was also wounded. He was shooting arrows on his enemies. Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] had brought forth the reinforcement for Awiz Khan [عوض خان] on said critical juncture but, he had lost his foothold well before the arrival of the same and had put his lashker in retreat mode. There were a number of his companions and soldiers who had lost their ground, gradually. The ferocious attack of Dilawer Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان] and a constant pounding of cannonballs and regular showering of fire and hullabaloo of soldiers had made the elephant of Awiz Khan [عوض خان] turn its face. Then, it had fled from the battlefield, speedily which had rendered Awiz Khan [عوض خان] hanging right in the middle, helplessly. Azmat Khan Panni [عظمت خان پنّی] was on his horse, by that time. He was displaying his bravery by the side of Awiz Khan [عوض خان]. The elephant of Awiz Khan [عوض خان] was not ready to be turned around despite incessant efforts. Thus, the army of Dilawer Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان] was able to maintain its forward march constantly and so much so, Qadir Dad Khan Roshnie [قادردادخان روشنائی] and Aziz Baig Khan Harsi [عزیزبیگ خان بارسی], who were appointed on the left and right-hand side from the centre, had also lost the

ground. The contingent of Aziz Baig Khan Harsi [عزیزبیگ خان ہارسی] had put up the resistance subsequently and they were able to regain the foothold in the battlefield. Syed Shabir Khan [سید شبیر خان] and his comrades from the opposite side were killed and Ferhat Khan [فرحت خان] and Nasir Khan [ناصر خان] had also breathed their last breath, right in the battlefield (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.87***).

Unparalleled bravery [مثالی شجاعت**]**:

When the situation had become noisy during the aforementioned warfare and the elephant of Awiz Khan [عوض خان] had not turned around for the battlefield, despite best efforts then, Azmat Khan Panni [عظمت خان پنّی] had to get off from his horse and he had engaged the enemy in the fight, right in front of elephant. Alam Ali [عالم علی] was witnessing said situation from the hilltop. Azmat Khan Panni [عظمت خان پنّی] was showing his skill of warfare in a situation in which even the elephant had sensed a defeat. He had died however, in the battlefield ultimately on 13th Shaban [شعبان] 1132 Hegira, after registering his name in the archives of history with blood. Awiz Khan [عوض خان] was also killed (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.87, Elite Volume No.VII Page No.496, Khafi Khan*** [خافی خان] ***Volume No.2 Page No.879***). Dilawer Ali Khan [دلاور علی خان] had to face a humiliating defeat despite his formidable attacks. He was killed along-with his five thousand brave soldiers.

Sermust Khan Panni Muhammad Shahi [سرمست خان پنّی محمد شاہی]:

Sermust Khan Panni [سرمست خان پنّی] was son of Azmat Khan Panni [عظمت خان پنّی]. We were unable to trace out his history but, this much was explored only that he was married to the sister of the governor of Ailchpur [ایلچپور] namely, Mohammed Ishmael Khan Panni [محمداسماعیل خان پنّی]. The name of their father was Sultan Khan Panni [سلطان خان پنّی]. The father and son were awarded a Jagir (***Maser-al-Umera*** [ماثرالامراء] ***Volume No.1 Page No.375***). There was no proper information about their Jagirs and only this much was unearthed in Persian language that, "سرمست خان پنّی وسلطان خان پنّی برتبہ جاگیرداری مرتفئ گشتند" i.e. Sermust Khan Panni [سرمست خان پنّی] and Sultan Khan Panni [سلطان خان پنّی] were elevated in their status with Jagirs.

GENERAL OF SULTAN TIPU

[سلطان ٹیپو کا جنرل]

QUTAB-UL-MULK QUTAB-UD-DIN KHAN DOLAT ZAI PANNI

[قطب الملک قطب الدین خان دولت زئی پنّی]

Qutab-ul-Mulk Qutab-ud-Din Khan Dolat Zai Panni [قطب الملک قطب الدین خان دولت زئی پنّی] was a most reliable and brave General of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو]. He had represented him in many battles and he had demonstrated chivalry and bravery, occasionally. He had also performed some administrative duties to the entire satisfaction of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو], on certain occasions. Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] had never awarded any title to anyone according to Kirk Patrick but, Khan Dolat Zai Panni [خان دولت زئی پنّی] was the only person who was awarded the title as Qutab-ul-Mulk [قطب الملک] (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Volume No.1 Page No.375***).

Custodian of the Adhoni fort [قلعہ ادھونی کا محافظ]:

The son-in-law of Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] namely, Mahabat Jung [مہابت جنگ] had captured Adhoni fort [قلعہ ادھونی] in 1199 Hegira 1785. He had launched a massive attack and he was able to besiege and conquer the fort after battling in the field for eighteen days. The said fort was deemed to be an impenetrable and unconquerable fort. Qutab-ul-Mulk [قطب الملک] was instrumental in the conquest of said fort as a leading figure therefore, he was appointed as its Qaladar [قلعدار] (***Sultanet-e-Khudadad*** [سلطنتِ خداداد] ***Page No.223***, ***Zaka*** [ذکاء] ***Volume No.9 Page No.223***). Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] had stated in this regard in the manner as below:-

> "Adhoni [ادھونی] was away from my area. The fort was also totally impenetrable. My troops had returned to Adhoni [ادھونی] after making the enemy flee from the area. They had chased the enemy over a very long distance. I had stayed at Adhoni [ادھونی] for five days and I had passed the orders for the complete demolition of the fort. Then, I had awarded Nobat [نوبت] and Naqara [نقارہ] and five elephants along-with Rupees one lac in cash to Bakshi Qutab-ud-Dun [بخشی قطب الدین] after assigning the area of Bar Kacheri [بار کچہری]. Then, I had directed him to report directly after establishing a proper administrative control and after placing two thousand cavalrymen. The fort was built by the great grandfather of Runmust Khan [رنمست خان] namely Ibrahim Khan [ابراہیم خان] i.e. brother of Daod Khan Panni [داؤد خان پنّی]" (***Waqaat Mumliqat Bejapur*** [واقعات مملکت

بیجاپور] ***Volume No.3 Page No.16***). Qutab-ud-Dun [قطب الدین] had participated in said battle and the administrative control of aforementioned fort had remained vested with him (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Page No.360***).

Representation of Sultan [سلطان کی نمائندگی]:

Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] had dispatched a goodwill delegation to Nizam-ul-Mulk Asif Jah Awal [نظام الملک آصف جاہ اول] in the same year, in order to establish friendly relations between the two sides. The objective of the same was also to make the Nizam [نظام] expel foreigners from their land in collaboration with Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو]. The said delegation consisted of four people and Qutab-ud-Din Panni [قطب الدین پنّی] was also among them. The delegation was loaded with a number of gifts (***Nishan-e-Hayderi*** [نشانِ حیدری] ***Page No.147***). The delegates were the best and the most reliable friends of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو], according to the author of Nishan-e-Hayderi [نشانِ حیدری].

Defeat to the Nizam army [نظام کی فوج کو شکست]:

The British had initiated the war against Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] in 1207 Hegira 1792 in collaboration with Wali-e-Deccan [والئ دکن] and the Merhattas [مرہٹہ]. They had attacked the sultanate from two sides. Qutab-ud-Din Panni [قطب الدین پنّی] had defended the onslaught and he had given a very humiliating defeat to the Hayderabadi [حیدرآبادی] army (***Sultanet-e-Khudadad*** [سلطنتِ خداداد] ***Page No.256***).

Letters of the Sultan addressed to Khan [خان کے نام سلطانی خطوط]:

We hereby produce some letters which were addressed to Qutab-ud-Din Khan Dolat Zai Panni [قطب الدین خان دولت زئی پنّی] by Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو]. The study of the same will reveal the deep rooted links in the context of history of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو].

Letter No.333

To,

Qutab-ud-Din Khan Dolat Zai Panni [قطب الدین خان دولت زئی پنّی] Fojdar [فوجدار] Adhoni [ادھونی]

Dated.18th Deryaie [دریائی] 21st April 1786

The order is hereby given that the dispatched Ahkam-o-Dalail [احکام ودلائل] and Afadiat-o-Ahwal [افادیت واحوال] may be distributed among the Muslims of the area in Adhoni [ادھونی]. Then, send the same also for distribution in the areas of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] and Aurangabad [اورنگ آباد]. (*Ahkam-o-Dalail* [احکام ودلائل] *and Afadiat-o-Ahwal* [افادیت واحوال] *means: the declaration of Jihad* [جہاد]. *The factual position was that, Sultan Tipu* [سلطان ٹیپو] *had made thousands of copies of the first three chapters of the book "Fateh Almuhahid"* [فتح المجاہد] *and he had distributed the same*) (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Page No.373***).

Letter No.326

To,

Qutab-ud-Din Khan Dolat Zai Panni [قطب الدین خان دولت زئی پنّی] Fojdar [فوجدار] Adhoni [ادھونی]

Dated.25th Deryaie [دریائی] 28th July 1786

There was some work in progress, with the blessings of Serkar [بفضل سرکار]. Kindly, send a Moher Kun [مہرکن] for some time.

Adhoni [ادھونی] was known for Moher Kuni [مہرکنی] work, in those days (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Page No.379***).

Letter No.329

To,

Qutab-ud-Din Khan Dolat Zai Panni [قطب الدین خان دولت زئی پنّی] Fojdar [فوجدار] Adhoni [ادھونی]

Dated.29th Deryaie [دریائی] 1st August 1786

You have proposed that your name may be recited during the Khutba [خطبہ]. In this regard the law is as below;

The name of God has to be praised [حمد] in the beginning of the Khutba [خطبہ] which should be followed by the praise of the prophet i.e. Naat [نعت]. The name of the king should be recited thereafter provided the life of the king is dedicated to serve Islam and the king is always ready to

promote the glory of Islam even at the cost of his personal life. There was no bar to recite the name of such king. What can we say about those idiots? They recite the name of Shah Alam [شاہ عالم] in the Khutba [خطبہ]. The reality is that, he receives Rupees fifteen thousand as pension just like a slave, from Sindhya Merhatta [سندھیا مرہٹہ]. He is just a titular king in terms of authority. He is just nothing. When, he is subservient to others and he is not absolutely autonomous then, to recite his name in the Khutba [خطبہ] tantamount to be a sin, according to Islamic precepts. You are hereby directed to recite our name in the Khutba [خطبہ] in the future as proposed by you (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Page No.381***).

Letter No.433

To,

Qutab-ud-Din Khan Dolat Zai Panni [قطب الدین خان دولت زئی پنّی] Fojdar [فوجدار] Adhoni [ادھونی]

Dated.20th Eizdie [ایزدی] 14th February 1787

The enemy (Nizam and Merhattas) were objurgated very severely. They were compelled to flee across River Krishna [کرشنا]. They had requested for a peace treaty after reaching there. Then, a settlement was reached and the peace treaty was signed on our terms and conditions. We had to abandon the area of Adhoni [ادھونی] as a result of the same. You are therefore informed that the revenue which is recoverable from the area may be recovered as quickly as possible and also open the conscription to enroll as many soldiers as it is possible. The enemy troops if reemerge in the area in the meantime, they should be punished severely. Then, you are also likely to be assigned some other areas, instead of this area (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Part-II Page No.137***). (*The area of Adhoni* [ادھونی] *was vacated for the Nizam and the area of Gander Gherr* [گندرگڑھ] *was handed over to Sultan Tipu* [سلطان ٹیپو] *thereafter*. *The same was under the occupation of the Merhettas*).

HUSSEIN ALI KHAN DOLAT ZAI PANNI

[حسین علی خان دولت زئی پنّی]

Shahdat in the company of the Sultan [سلطان کے ہمدوش شہادت]:

Hussein Ali Khan Panni [حسین علی خان پنّی] was the son of Qutab-ud-Din Khan Dolat Zai Panni [قطب الدین خان دولت زئی پنّی]. He was a brave General of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] and had embraced

Shahadat [شہادت] on 16th April 1799, while he was guarding the post of Sultan Peat [سلطان پیٹ] i.e. during the fourth battle at Masoor [میسور] (***Nishan-e-Hayderi*** [نشانِ حیدری] ***Page No.315***). The renowned historian Absten had stated that said officer of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] was young, handsome and very brave. Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] had fought two battles against the British colonists at Sera Mir [سرامیر] and Maloli [ملولی] respectively, prior to the siege of Seranga Patum [سرنگا پٹم] at Masoor [میسور]. Then, Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] had confined himself in Masoor [میسور]. There were a number of officers and soldiers of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] who were killed or wounded in the skirmishes, during the siege and while ensuring the protection of some posts. The last battle had taken place on 4th May 1799 and Hussein Ali Khan Panni [حسین علی خان پنّی] had also embraced Shahadat [شہادت]. He was fighting side by side with Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] (***Nishan-e-Hayderi*** [نشانِ حیدری] ***Page No.315***).

Hussein Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی]: Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] had sent a letter to his ten commanders which was captioned as, State Versus All Military Commanders " سرکار بنام جملہ سپہدارانِ عسکر" and one of the letters was dispatched to Hussein Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی] as well. The word "Pooni" [پونی] was written with the name of Hussein Khan. The same was written perhaps by Kirk Patrick in English as "Puni". Hussein Khan was definitely the same Hussein Khan Panni [حسین خان پنّی] and not anyone else. The letter number was 304 and was undated whereas the previous date of the letter of Sultan Tipu [سلطان ٹیپو] was 21st June 1781. The text of the letter was construed to be in the nature of an order, in the manner as below:

Order of the Sultan: There should only be those subordinate soldiers and agile women in your army who should be in a position to accompany the soldiers actively, at the time of advancement. The rest of the ladies who are old and infirm, should be sent to the Fort Faiz Hassar [قلعہ فیض حصار] (Gonti [گونتی]) along-with other heavy goods, luggage and ration which is in your possession. You should store more ration, at least for ten days (***Saheefa*** [صحیفہ] ***Part-II Page No.361***).

IBRAHIM KHAN PANNI POPULARLY KNOWN AS IBRAHIM KHAN GARDI

[ابراہیم خان پنّی المعروف ابراہیم خان گاردی]:

Icon of bravery [شجاعت کی دھاک]:

The General who was referred in the history of Hindustan very frequently by the name of Ibrahim Khan Gardi [ابراہیم خان گاردی] and particularly with regard to the third battle at Panipat [پانی پت] was actually from the Panni tribe (***Roodbar-e-Asif Gulzar III Gul Awal*** [رودبارِ آصف گلزار گل اول] ***Page No.40***). The word "Guardi" [گاردی] was derived from the English word "Guard" and since he himself and his entire company of troops were disciplined properly and they were equipped with the English iron pyritic guns and cannons therefore, they were known as the Guardi [گاردی]. The name of Ibrahim Khan Gardi [ابراہیم خان گاردی] was mentioned therefore as Gardi [گاردی], in various books of history (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.474***). There was a historian who had expressed his views with regard to his bravery and chivalry in the manner as below:

"وایں ابراہیم خان مردے جری وشجاع درملک دکن کہ بہادری و جرات درمیان کل مرہٹہ مسلم الثبوب بود"

(***Tareekh Ahmed*** [تاریخ احمد] ***Page No.12***).

We have not been able to trace out much with regard to the family of Ibrahim Khan Gardi [ابراہیم خان گاردی] but, with regard to his personal achievements which were incorporated in various books of history were indicative of the fact that he was from a decent family background. He was a diehard and daring General, with a mercuric temperament. He was able to create an impact of his bravery and chivalry for the Nizam, British, French, as well as for the Merhattas, simultaneously. He was the commander of his independent, strong and diehard army and had never opted to accept the subordination or any command from others, which was perhaps the reason that he had never stayed with one force continuously. The same was the reason perhaps that everyone had respected him and he was able to enjoy great self-esteem and everyone was desirous to benefit from his bravery and chivalry. He had also remained associated with different power groups on various occasions. Then, he was killed by Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] in the third battle at Panipat [پانی پت] while he was leading the Merhattas. Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] had literally eradicated the Merhatta rule from Hindustan for all times to come. Aziz-ud-Din Mohammed Alamgir Sani [عزیزالدین محمد عالمگیرثانی] was enthroned in Delhi [دہلی] (***Tareekh Ahmed*** [تاریخ احمد] ***Page No.12***). The Merhettas used to be on the loose in the streets of Delhi [دہلی] in those days.

Confidant of the French [فرانسیسیوں کا معتمد]:

The French General Monsieur Bossy and Nizam Deccan [نظام دکن] namely, Nawab Salabat Jung [نواب صلابت جنگ] had very intimate relations in 1166 Hegira (1752). When, Mohammed Shah [محمدشاہ] had sent the certificate of the Subaydar [صوبےدار] of Deccan to Nawab Salabat Jung [نواب صلابت جنگ] as King of Delhi [دہلی] then, Monsieur Bossy was also present in Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] along-with his artillery as well as infantry troops. Then, a sum of Rupees three Hundred thousand was fixed for the French troops from the treasury as their salary. When, the funds had depleted, the Nizam had awarded the areas of Sekakol [سیکاکول] and Rajanderi [راجندری] as a Jagir to the French, in lieu of salary. Monsieur Bossy had sent Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی], who was known as Ibrahim Khan Gardi [ابراہیم خان گاردی] popularly, along-with two thousand cavalrymen and four thousand foot soldiers, in the company of five thousand French people who were supposed to manage said Jagir (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.249-50***). Hayder Jung [حیدر جنگ] had decided in 1171 Hegira 1757 to make him a captive in the Golkanda [گولکنڈہ] fort thereafter, under the allegation of assigning the Nizamat [نظامت] of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] to Nizam Ali Khan [نظام علی خان]. Nawab Salabat Jung [نواب صلابت جنگ] had moved into the tent of Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] on his instigation and he had persuaded him to step into his Amari [عماری]. Thus, he was able to bring him along and was assigned the Nizamat [نظامت] of Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] thereafter, instead of Ailchpur [ایلچپور]. He had fixed a monthly stipend of Rupees twenty thousand for him. He had also imposed the condition to retain the state troops and said condition was accepted duly. The rival group had also proposed that he was also supposed to keep the Hindustani troops with him while representing the French. The same was with the objective to place a check on him and to deny Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] a right of interference, in the Subaydari [صوبےداری]. Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] had Hayder Jung [حیدر جنگ] murdered through a ploy while he was trying to escape. The troops of Monsieur Bossy had chased him and then, there was also a regular exchange of cannon fire between the two sides. When, Nawab Salabat Jung [نواب صلابت جنگ] came to know about said incident, he approached Monsieur Bossy for general appeasement. Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] had approached on the other hand, the lashker of Ramchander [رام چندر] and he had assigned him, twenty nine hundred cavalrymen. Then, he had moved forward but, Ibrahim Khan Gardi [ابراہیم خان گاردی] was also on his way, along-with his troops and cannons. Thus, he was supposed to stop Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] under the written instructions of Monsieur Bossy. Since he had already enjoyed the company of Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] therefore, he

had extended a helping hand towards him and he was able to establish the cooperation. Thus, he was able to become his ally but, instead of helping him, he had detained Monsieur Bossy any access to the cattle herds which were used for his artillery which were grazing in the field. The said situation had perturbed Monsieur Bossy badly, because the main strength of the French attack was their artillery. Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] had gone miles ahead by the time they were able to have retrieved some of their oxen (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.280-81***).

Fight against the Nizam in collaboration with Bhao [بھاؤ کی رفاقت میں نظام سے جنگ]:

There was an armistice which was signed on 23rd of Shawal [شوال], between Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] and Nawab Salabat Jung [نواب صلابت جنگ]. Ibrahim Khan Gardi [ابراہیم خان گاردی] had severed his relations however, in the following year i.e. in 1176 Hegira 1757 with Raja Bishal Das [بھشل داس] and had joined Bala Gee Rao [بالاجی راؤ] at that time (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.88-89***). The Merhattas were able to capture Bahader Gherr [بہادرگڑھ] etc. in 1173, just on the instigation of some miscreants and pursuant to sheer polarization against Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.290***) The cousin of Bala Gee Rao [بالاجی راؤ] namely, Sada Shiv Rao [سداشیو راؤ] who was known in history with the title as Bhao [بھاؤ], was able to bribe Rupees one hundred and fifty thousand to the Qaladar [قلعدار] of Ahmed Nagger [احمد نگر] on 17th of Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول]. He had captured the same in the manner in which the Merhattas had captured some other areas. Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] and Nawab Salabat Jung [نواب صلابت جنگ] had marched out from Hyderabad [حیدرآباد] in order to curb said situation. When Bala Gee Rao [بالاجی راؤ] came to know about said situation, he associated a number of cavalrymen along-with all three brothers namely, Bhao [بھاؤ], Rakhnath Rao [رگھناتھ راؤ] and Shamsheer Bahader [شمشیر بہادر] to put up some resistance against them. The two Nawabs were all set to fight and they had landed in front of Awadgeer [اودگیر] fort on 22nd Jamadi-ul-Awal [جمادی الاول]. The Merhatta troops had also included the troops of Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی], who had surrounded them all from four sides. He had about nine thousand and according to another version, he had about twelve thousand regular troops equipped with pyretic guns. We may point out that Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] was the same person who had given up the job of the French traders, previously and had joined hands with Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] and subsequent to that he had switched over his allegiance to Merhatta factions. He was equipped with very sophisticated weaponry at that time. He had moved out

from Pona [پونا] on 22nd Jamadi-ul-Awal [جمادی الاول] 1162 Hegira 1733 to reach Awadgeer [اودگیر] and to confront the Hayderabadi [حیدرآبادی] troops. Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] had about sixty thousand troops, according to "Hadeeqa-tul-Alam" [حدیقۃ العالم] and according to "Rahat Afaza" [راحت افزاء] he had about one hundred thousand troops, at his disposal. Sidhu Raghnath [سدھو رگھناتھ] and Baswas Rao [بسواس راؤ] had attacked the troops of the Nawab on 20th Jamadi-ul-Akher [جمادی آخر]. Then, a practical battle was set apace thereafter. The Merhattas were accustomed to carry out looting and plundering whereas, the opponent Muslims had placed their reliance, on their cannons. Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] was siding with the Merhettas and as a result of the same, their skill of warfare was strengthened substantially (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.90-91, 289***). Then, the regular fire from the cannons of Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] had baffled the Muslims very badly and his cannons were blazing the fire with no respite, during his back and forth movement. The nephew of Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] was also killed in one of the assaults whereas there were many soldiers from the lashker of the Nizam who were also killed. The two sides had moved backward and forward in this way, while they were trying to outmaneuver each other. Thus, they had reached the Owsa [قلعہ اوسا] fort which was in the area of Rharoad [رھاروڈ]. Then, Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] had attacked the rear flank of the army of Mir Nizam Ali Khan [میرنظام علی خان] with the help of forty thousand troops, on 23rd of Jamadi-ul-Akher [جمادی آخر]. He had caused massive damage and there was a pitched bloody battle as a result of same which had continued till 29th of Jamadi-ul-Akher [جمادی آخر]. The lashker of the Nawab was rendered incapacitated for any further fight engagement, resultantly. He had initiated a move to patch up, in the following morning. He was also ready to part with the area which was yielding the revenue at that time worth Rupees sixty thousand per month. The same was the outcome of the cooperation of Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] with the Merhattas. Then he was killed about two months thereafter, in the third battle at Panipat [پانی پت] by Ahmed Shah Abdali [احمد شاہ ابدالی] who was also from the Panni tribe (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.474, Hadeeqa Maqala-II*** [حدیقۃ مقالہ] ***Page No.657-658***). He had participated in said battle at the instigation of Bala Gee Rao [بالاجی راؤ] (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Part-I Gul Soam*** [گل سوم] ***Gul and Gul Awal*** [گل اول] ***Page No.59***).

Third battle of Panipat [پانی پت کی تیسری لڑائی]:

Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] had headed the Merhatta factions in the third battle at Panipat [پانی پت] and they were totally decimated in the battle. The said battle was not devoid of interest, from the angle of battlefield tactics. Allama Najam-ul-Ghani [علامہ نجم الغنی], the author of Kashi Rao [کاشی راؤ] had narrated that, the Durrani [درانی] army had about twenty groups or regiments and each regiment consisted of twelve hundred cavalrymen and two thousand camel riders whereas, each camel was carrying two gunmen and each gunman had a large size gun which was called as "Zanbook" [زنبوک]. The companions of Ahmed Shah Abdali Panni [احمد شاہ ابدالی پنّی] had included Nawab Shujja-ud-Dolla [شجاع الدولہ] Wali-e-Awad [والئ اودھ] as well. He was supported by two thousand cavalrymen and two thousand infantrymen along-with twenty large size barrel cannons. Najeeb-ud-Dolla [نجیب الدولہ], Wali-e-Najeebabad [والئ نجیب آباد] and Sharanpur [سہارنپور] had six thousand cavalrymen, twenty thousand Rohela [روحیلہ] infantrymen along-with a number of cart pullers. The Sardars of Rohailkhand [روہیلکھنڈ] namely, Donday Khan [دوندے خان], Hafiz Rahmat Khan [حافظ رحمت خان] and Nawab Faiz Ullah Khan [نواب فیض اللہ خان] and others had fifteen thousand infantrymen, four thousand cavalrymen along-with some cannons. Baswas Rao [بسواس راؤ] and Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] were perched face to face against them in the company of their respective troops (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.296)***.

Arrest and murder [گرفتاری اور قتل]:

The supply line of the Merhattas was cut off for about five months due to imminent danger of war. Then, there was a decisive moment and the war was started before dawn on 2nd Jamadi-ul-Akher [جمادی آخر] 1174 Hegira, on Wednesday 7th January 1761. Inayat Khan [عنایت خان] had attacked the Merhattas and they had fought ferociously. There was one cannonball shot however, which had killed him. Ahmed Shah Abdali Panni [احمد شاہ ابدالی پنّی] had ordered the contingent of one thousand cavalrymen to launch the attack, pursuant to said situation. The said contingent was still in sight when the second contingent of equal size was ordered to follow them to repel the attack as a counter measure. Then some contingents had attacked the Merhattas in a successive order. The first contingent had made the advancement towards the troops of Baswas Rao [بسواس راؤ] and Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی]. They were leading their respective troops on elephants in the battlefield. They had altogether about three hundred Sardars with them who were also riding the elephants. The first contingent had attacked them from the close periphery and they were compelled to take a detour. The second contingent had followed them. The troops

of the Merhattas were just in the process of pulling themselves together when the third contingent had showered a barrage of bullets. The said tactical battle had killed a number of Sardars and soldiers of Baswas Rao [بسواس راؤ] and Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی]. There were many others who were rendered wounded and maimed. Then, there were some elephants which were also wounded whereas many more had escaped in panic, from the battlefield. The panic had resulted due to the constant rattling noise of the bullets. The elephants had trampled their own troops, in the process. When the formation of the Merhatta army was disturbed due to the stampede of the elephants and the battlefield was in a topsy-turvy condition, the Muslim soldiers had pulled their swords out of the sheathes and then, they had launched their attack against the residents of Deccan. The bloodshed of the Merhattas was unprecedented in said battle. The dead bodies were lying scattered within the radius of forty to fifty miles and just a few Merhatta individuals were able to find the escape route which had included Malh Rao Balker [ملہارراؤ بلکر] and the uncle of Maha Gee Sindhia Doalt Raye [مہا جی سندھیا دولت رائے] whereas all the leading Sardars like, Baswas Rao [بسواس راؤ] Anta Gee [انتا جی] and Shamsheer Bahader [شمشیر بہادر] and others were decimated. The brother of Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] namely, Fateh Khan Panni [فتح خان پنّی] had also met the same fate (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.298, Hadeeqa Maqala*** [حدیقۃ مقالہ] ***Page No.242, Tareekh Ahmed*** [تاریخ احمد] ***Page No.15***). Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] was arrested and he was presented before Ahmed Shah Durrani Panni [احمد شاہ درانی پنّی]. Then, Nawab Shujja-ud-Dolla [شجاع الدولہ] Wali-e-Awad [والئ اودھ] had submitted a request to grant him pardon and said request was turned down. Then, an order was passed for his killing. The reason for the same was that Ahmed Shah Durrani Panni [احمد شاہ درانی پنّی] had intimated him repeatedly during the prolonged battle to abstain from rendering his support to the Merhattas. He had also requested him to support the Muslims instead and Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی] had continuously turned down said invitation (***Tareekh Ahmed*** [تاریخ احمد] ***Page No.15***). The same was the battle which had permanently eradicated the Merhatta rule from the soil of Hindustan (***GulzarAsifia*** [گلزار آصفیہ] ***Part-I Gul Awal*** [گل اول] ***Page No.65***). The aforementioned event was not really praiseworthy in the life of Ibrahim Khan Panni [ابراہیم خان پنّی]. He was an unusual person however and as long as the third battle of Panipat [پانی پت] will be discussed in the history, the same will keep the name of said Panni General alive.

Jamadar Sardar Khan Gherray Zai Panni Mahdwi [جمعدار سردارخان غڑے زئی پنّی مہدوی]:

The name of Jamadar Sardar Khan Gherray Zai Panni Mahdwi [جمعدار سردارخان غڑے زئی پنّی مہدوی] had appeared in the history of southern Hindh in the eighteenth century. There was a group of different nations in those days, which was busy in looting and plundering in said area. They were known in the history as "Pandaraye" [پنڈارے]. The said group usually used to attack the British administrative areas in collaboration with the Merhattas. The said group used to associate the Muslims as well. There was a Muslim by the name of Amir Khan [امیرخان] who was the Sardar of said group. He was the same Nawab Amir Khan Panni [امیر خان پنّی] who had established his state in Rajasthan [راجستھان] under the name of the State of "Tonk" [ٹونک]. The descriptive account of the same has already been given above. The British Governor General Mr. Malcolm was appointed as Brigadier General and the allied troops were also committed under him to sort out the looters and plunderers of "Pandaraye" [پنڈارے] group. Sardar Khan Panni [سردار خان پنّی] was also among the allied troops and was officer in-charge of three hundred cavalrymen. When Mr. Malcolm was on a usual trip to inspect the administration of the states of southern Hindh then, Sardar Khan Panni [سردار خان پنّی] had refused to accept the British rule according to historians. He had left the lashker of his officer namely, Mr. Davis due to his extreme defiance and by violating all the rules and regulations. He had landed in his Jagir thereafter and he had joined Bala Gee Rao [بالاجی راؤ] with the intention to challenge the British Raj (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.461***).

Attack against the British cantonment [انگریزی چھاؤنی پر حملہ]:

Bala Gee Rao [بالاجی راؤ] was a leader of the Merhattas, in those days. He was bent upon showing his incessant collaboration with "Pandaraye" [پنڈارے] to disrupt the British administrative control. He used to remain in disguise and whatever he used to do used to be carried into effect with utmost care and caution. Sardar Khan Panni [سردار خان پنّی] had joined hands however with him and was also somewhat inspired by the fearless nature of Sardar Khan Panni [سردار خان پنّی]. He had decided to unveil therefore; the disguised position and he had opted to come out all defiant against the British colonialists, on 15th November 1817. Sardar Khan Panni [سردار خان پنّی] had surrounded the British cantonment on his instigation, with the help of one hundred soldiers. When, General Anfestan was able to assess that the temperature had touched a critical level and the entanglement was indispensable then, he had also summoned one platoon of the British soldiers from Pona [پونا]. Thus, he had established a cantonment area in

Kerki [کرکی] which had helped consolidate the stay of the British army in India. Then, both sides had collided against each other in a pitched battle at Bagpur [ناگ پور] where Sardar Khan Gherray Zai Panni [سردارخان غڑے زئی پنّی] died (***Najam*** [نجم] ***Page No.463-464)***. The said battle was also discussed in Tareekh Rasheed-ud-Din Khani [تاریخ رشیدالدین خانی].

We hereby conclude the history of the Panni Pathan [پنّی پٹھان] with a descriptive account of Sardar Khan Gherray Zai Panni [سردارخان غڑے زئی پنّی] as well as, with regard to his efforts in the formulation of history in the Subcontinent. We hope that by reading this book, besides learning about the historically significant role of the Panni Pathans [پنّی پٹھان], the readers must have benefitted from the events of the historical nature which somehow or the other were not incorporated appropriately in other contemporary books of history. The aforementioned entire narrative was based on research and credible references, historically.

ابھی اس بہر میں باقی بہت ہیں لُولُوئے لالہ

FAMILY OF THE AUTHOR

[مصنف کا اپنا خاندان]

المنۃُ لِلہ کہ نیازم بہ نسبت نیست
اینک بہ شہادت طلبم لوح و قلم را

There were some friends who were of the view that, I (writer) was supposed to pen something about my own family but, to write or to say something about myself is against the very objective of my treatise. There was some room however, to write about my own family and even to write about the same was also difficult for me. The reason was that there were no tales of sword crossing nor were there the stories of thundering cannonballs nor even were there any documentary proofs of military Jagirs with grandeur, glitter, grace and gumption. There were evidences of literary taste and book writing however, along-with some other intellectual activities.

حریفاں بادہ ہا خوردندورفتند
تہی میخانہ ہا کردندورفتند

The author was in the linage of the eighth generation of his known family history. The same had started from the great agnate namely, Ishaq Khan Panni [اسحاق خان پنّی] but, it shall be more appropriate that we examine the family tree before we proceed any further, which is in the manner as below:

> Mohammed Sharif Khan Panni [محمدشریف خان پنّی], son of Hajji Bader-ud-Din Khan Panni [حاجی بدرالدین خان پنّی], son of Hajji Allah Bux Khan Panni [حاجی الله بخش خان پنّی] popularly known as Kasher [کاشر], son of Hakeem Mian Jan Mohammed Khan Panni [حکیم میاں جان محمد خان پنّی], son of Mian Allah Jowaya Khan Panni [میاں الله جوایا خان پنّی], son of Faiz Khan Panni [فیض خان پنّی], son of Murad Khan Panni [مراد خان پنّی], son of Ishaq Khan Panni [اسحاق خان پنّی].

There was one unexplained fact however that from where the known agnates of the author had landed in Lahore and why? We may try to ascertain the same by conjecturing from the known names of agnates in the light of history as well as, on the basis of regional constituents of their respective names. The above mentioned first six names tend to reflect the characteristics of some Pathanhood. The names of Faiz Khan Panni [فیض خان پنّی], son of Murad Khan Panni [مراد خان پنّی] son of Ishaq Khan Panni [اسحاق خان پنّی] carry especially some Afghan characteristics. The names of Hakeem Mian Jan Mohammed [حکیم میاں جان محمد], son of Mian Allah Jowaya [میاں الله جوایا] were such names which are used even today in the area like Dir [دیر]. The name of Allah Bux [الله بخش] is used in Sindh [سندھ] mostly whereas, the remaining are purely Lahori style names.

The title documents of the family properties had revealed that, Faiz Khan Panni [فیض خان پنّی] had bought a residential house in Lahore city,] in 1191 Hegira 1777, from Mohammed Azam [محمد اعظم], son of Mohammed Saeed [محمد سعید], son of Mohammed Ashraf [محمد اشرف]. The Lahore city was under the rule of Shah Alam Jalal-ud-Din [شاه عالم جلال الدین], in those days. Then, he had bought a simple piece of land from Qadir Bux [قادر بخش] and others, on 2nd Rabi-ul-Awal [ربیع الاول] 1258 (1793). Prince Baidar Bux [شہزادہ بیدار بخش] was ruler at that time. Then, the grandfather of the author namely, Haji Allah Bux Khan Panni [حاجی الله بخش خان پنّی] had bought another house in Lahore on 3rd September 1866 from Jamana [جمنا], son of Hassan Bin Kori [حسن

بن کوری] daughter of Sukhber [سخبر], wife of Panu [پنوں]. The same event had taken place ten years after the war of independence which was fought against the British Raj which was the sixteenth year subsequent to the end of the Sikh militancy rule. The province of Punjab was under the British rule, by that time. The grandfather of the author (*writer*) had died in 1910. He had witnessed the period of the Sikh rule of terror [سکھ گردی]. There was some agricultural family land as well which was sold under compulsion in 1907, on the persistent demands of an issueless shareholder.

Those documents tend to connect although the family chain to Ishaq Khan Panni [اسحاق خان پنّی] yet, the interesting aspect of the same was that we were not able to have the knowledge with regard to the whereabouts of all other relatives of Mian Allah Jowaya [میاں اللہ جوایا] along-with four other names up to Ishaq Khan Panni [اسحاق خان پنّی]. Then, we have also not been able to trace out the names of the relatives of Faiz Khan Panni [فیض خان پنّی], son of Murad Khan Panni [مراد خان پنّی] son of Ishaq Khan Panni [اسحاق خان پنّی]. The base of the family was presumably away from Lahore and Faiz Khan Panni [فیض خان پنّی] along-with his one son namely, Mian Allah Jowaya Khan Panni [میاں اللہ جوایا خان پنّی] had landed probably in Lahore and after purchasing the property, he had opted to settle down. Then he had parted ways presumably, from the other relatives who were at the main base. There was also a possibility that all the aforementioned ancestress may well have landed there with some caravan or in some nomadic venture and Faiz Khan Panni [فیض خان پنّی] may well have opted to stay there. The rest may well have opted to move forward. There was also a very remote possibility that there was only a single male issue in a family of four generations, successively. There was also a possibility that Faiz Khan Panni [فیض خان پنّی] had decided to move to Lahore with his one son namely; Mian Allah Jowaya Khan Panni [میاں اللہ جوایا خان پنّی] to earn their bread and butter.

The grandfather of the author and the great grandfather were Hakeem [حکیم] (*experts in holistic medicine*) by profession. They were quite proficient in the Arabic and Persian languages. The Grandfather of the author used to say that, they never used enjoy reading the Urdu language. They used to fail in resolving the problems properly with the help of other languages. The author had inherited some Persian books from his father. The grandfather and his brother namely, Nabi Bux [نبی بخش] had some command in music as well. The latter was quite adept at playing the Sattar [ستار] whereas the former was a good poet. He was among the pupils of Hafiz Wali Ullah

[حافظ ولی اللہ] who was from the same Mohallah. Hafiz Wali Ullah [حافظ ولی اللہ] used to carry a pseudonym as Wali [ولی] in Persian language and Sajan [سجن] in Punjabi language. The aforementioned fact was disclosed to the author in 1923 by the famous Punjabi poet namely, Baba Hedayat Ullah [بابا ہدایت اللہ]. The same fact was also confirmed in the book which was captioned as "Punjabi Shairan Day Hal" [پنجابی شاعراں دے حال] and consisted of excerpts of his Punjabi poetry whereas his address was also the same, which was in our neighborhood. The grandfather of the author was a pupil of Hafiz Wali Ullah [حافظ ولی اللہ]. We can say only this much, for those who were insisting to write more in the manner that;

نہ پوچھ حال مرا چوبِ خشک ہوں آتش
لگا کے آگ جسے کارواں روانہ ہوا
Don't ask me my wellbeing I am a dry wood, Aatish
This was left smoldering by a caravan long-gone

The latent fire had remained flickering and the book in hand "Panni Pathans" [پنّی پٹھان] was a well earned yield of the same which is an honor for the family of the author.

دریں دیار کہ شاہی بہ ہر گدا بخشند
غنیمت است کہ ما راہمیں بما بخشند

FAMILY TREE OF THE AUTHOR 1998

Mohammed Ishaq Khan Panni

↓

Mohammed Murad Khan Panni

↓

Faiz Khan Panni

↓

Mian Allah Jowaya Khan Panni

↓

Hakeem Mian Jan Mohammed Khan Panni

↓

Haji Allah Bux Khan Panni Kasher (Surgeon)

↓6	↓5	↓8	↓1		
Miran Bux Panni	**Mohammed Hussein Panni**	**Mehr Bux Panni**	**Bader-ud-Din Panni**	**Taj-ud-Din Panni**	**Bakhatawer Panni**

↓1

Haji Bader-ud-Din Khan Panni

↓2		↓3				
Mohammed Sharif Khan Panni	**Wazir Bagum Panni**	**Mohammed Shafi Panni**	**Amir Bagum Panni**	**Nazeer Bagum Panni**	**Mohammed Rasheed Khan Panni**	**Mohammed Saddique Khan Panni**

↓2

Mohammed Sharif Khan Panni (Advocate and Author Panni Pathan)

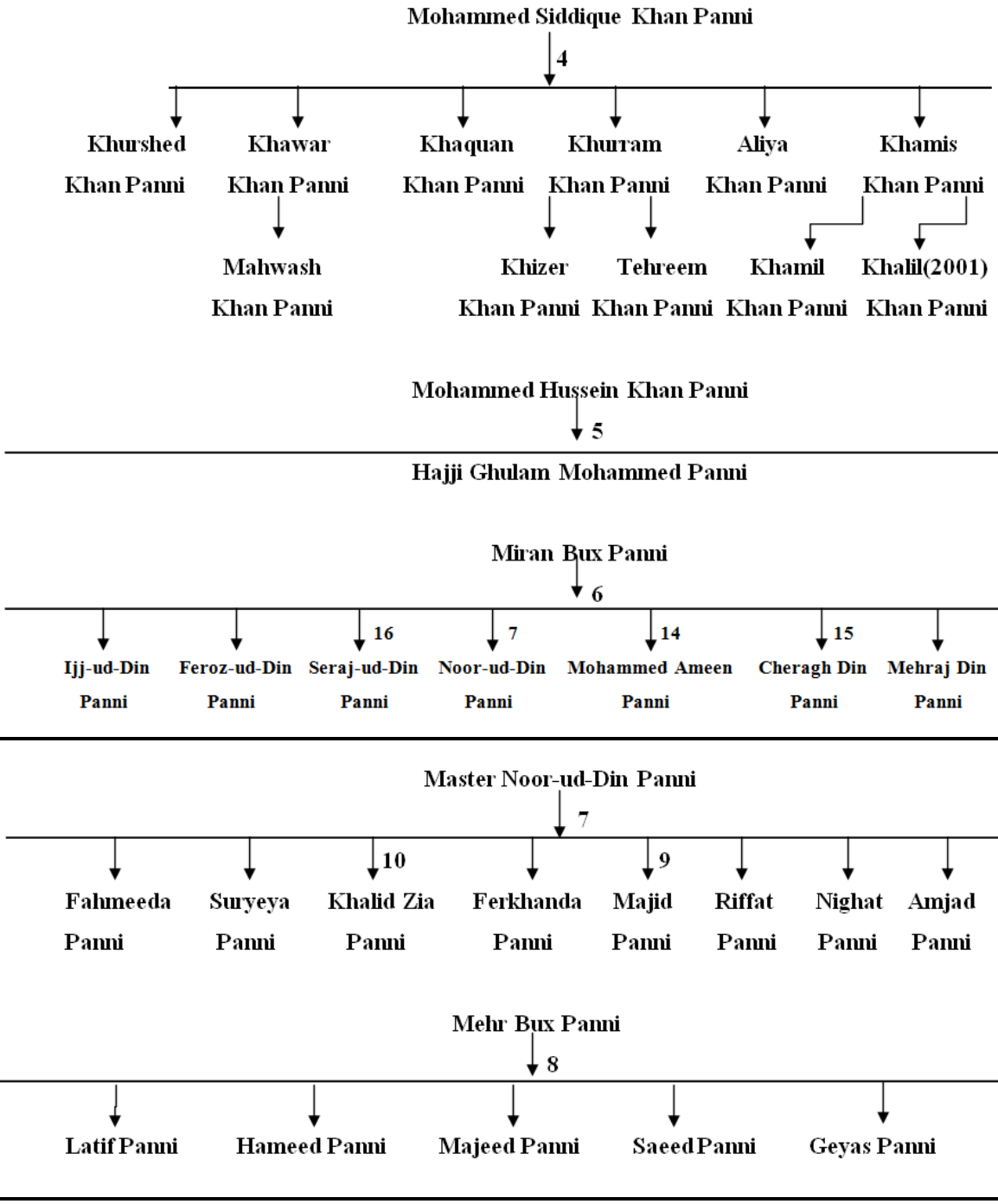
↓

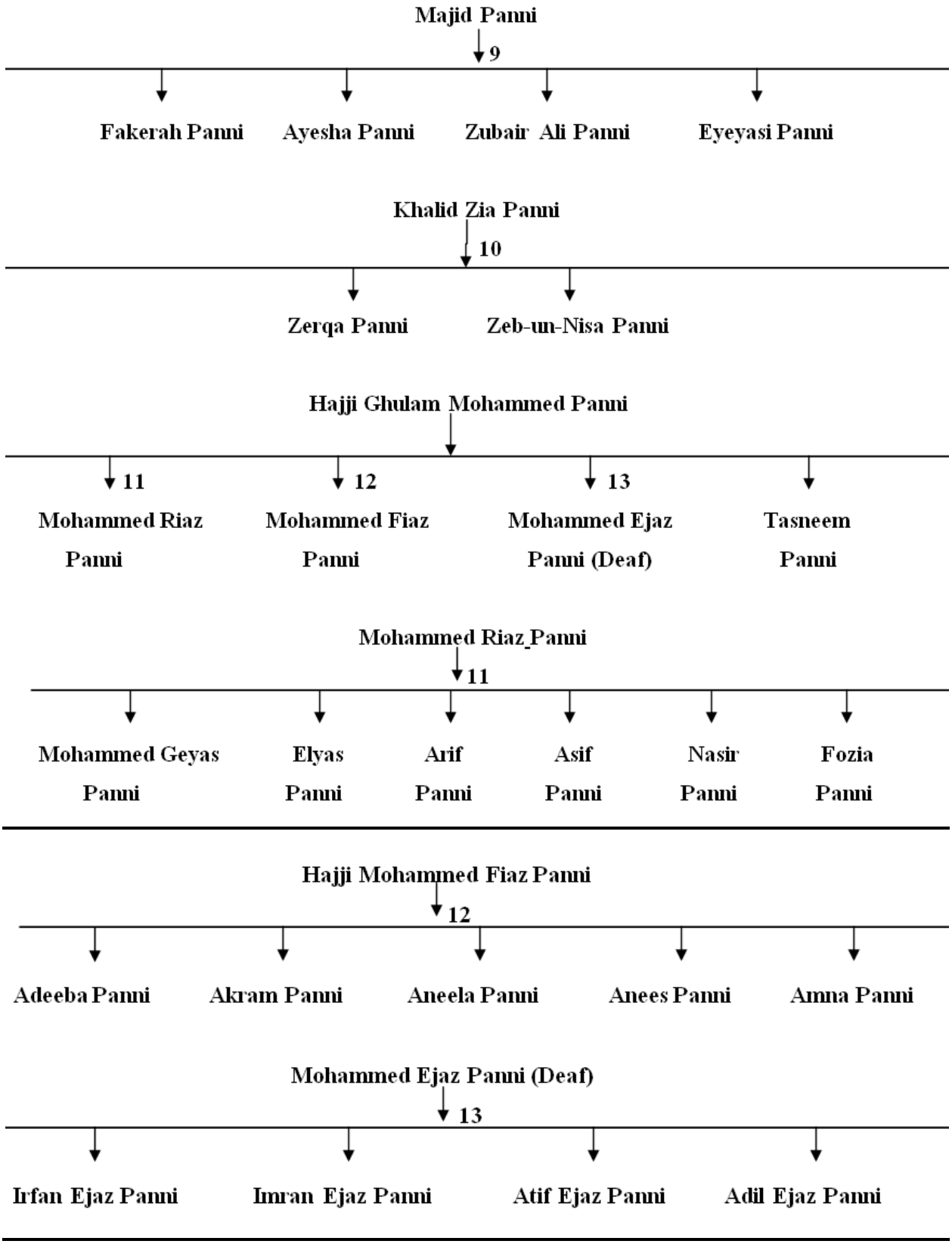
Zakia Zahidah Panni

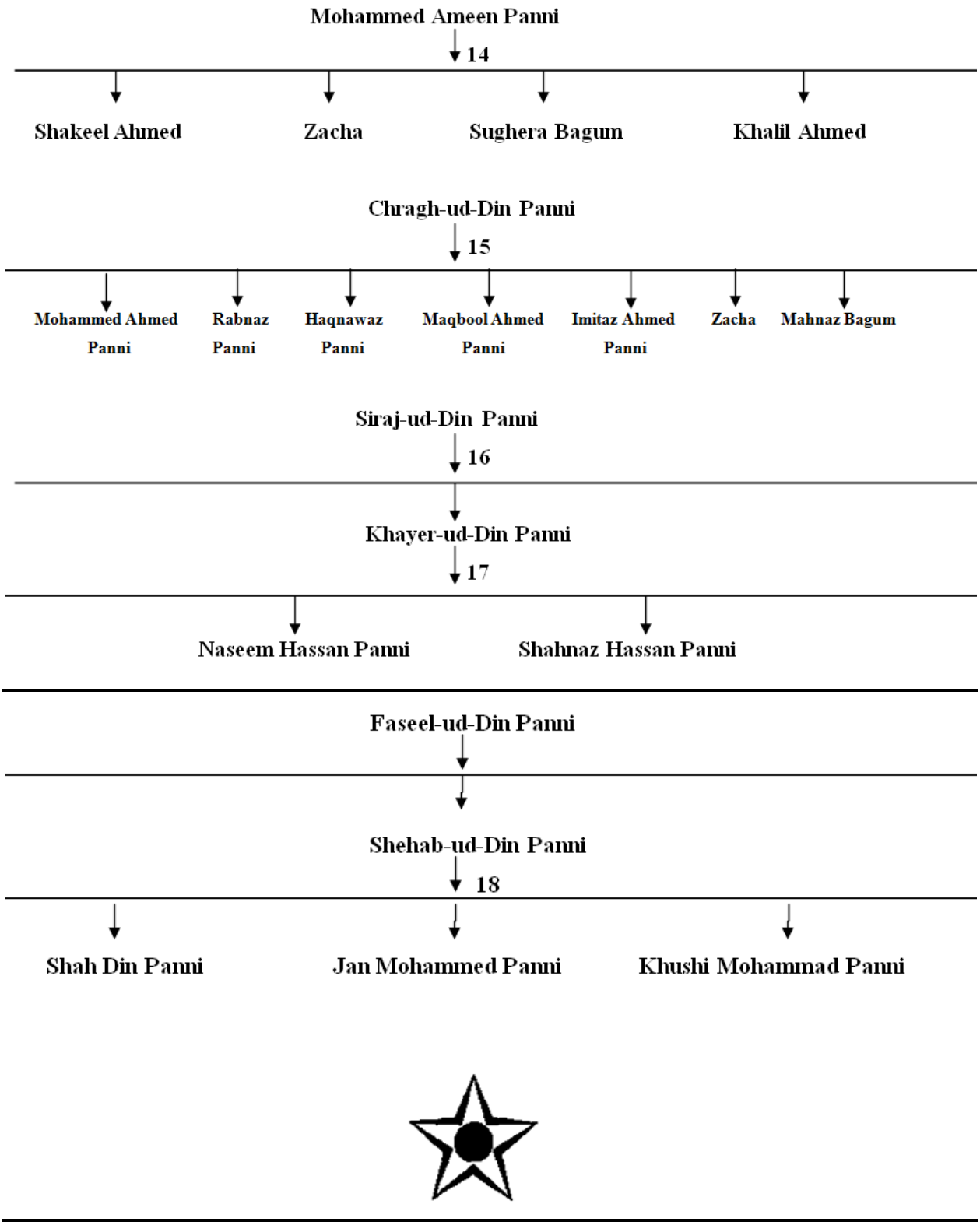
Mohammed Shafi Panni

↓3

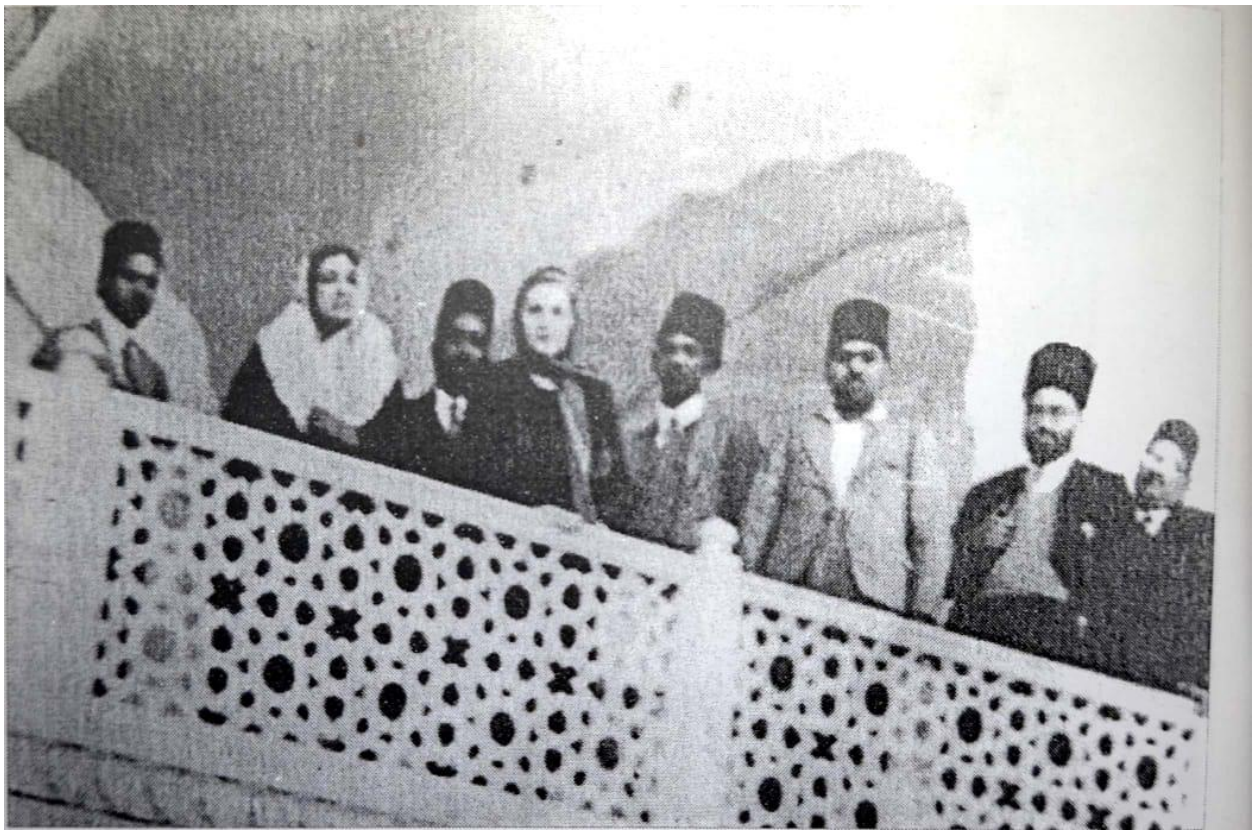
Javaid Khan Panni	**Shad Panni**	**Shamshad Panni**	**Shahnaz Panni**	**Nawaz Khan Panni**	**Razia Panni**	**Mumtaz Panni**	**Bushrah Panni**


Mohammed Siddique Khan Panni
4
Khurshed Khan Panni
Khawar Khan Panni
Khaquan Khan Panni
Khurram Khan Panni
Aliya Khan Panni
Khamis Khan Panni
Mahwash Khan Panni
Khizer Khan Panni
Tehreem Khan Panni
Khamil Khan Panni
Khalil(2001) Khan Panni
Mohammed Hussein Khan Panni
5
Hajji Ghulam Mohammed Panni
Miran Bux Panni
6
Ijj-ud-Din Panni
Feroz-ud-Din Panni
Seraj-ud-Din Panni
16
Noor-ud-Din Panni
7
Mohammed Ameen Panni
14
Cheragh Din Panni
15
Mehraj Din Panni
Master Noor-ud-Din Panni
7
Fahmeeda Panni
Suryeya Panni
Khalid Zia Panni
10
Ferkhanda Panni
Majid Panni
9
Riffat Panni
Nighat Panni
Amjad Panni
Mehr Bux Panni
8
Latif Panni
Hameed Panni
Majeed Panni
Saeed Panni
Geyas Panni

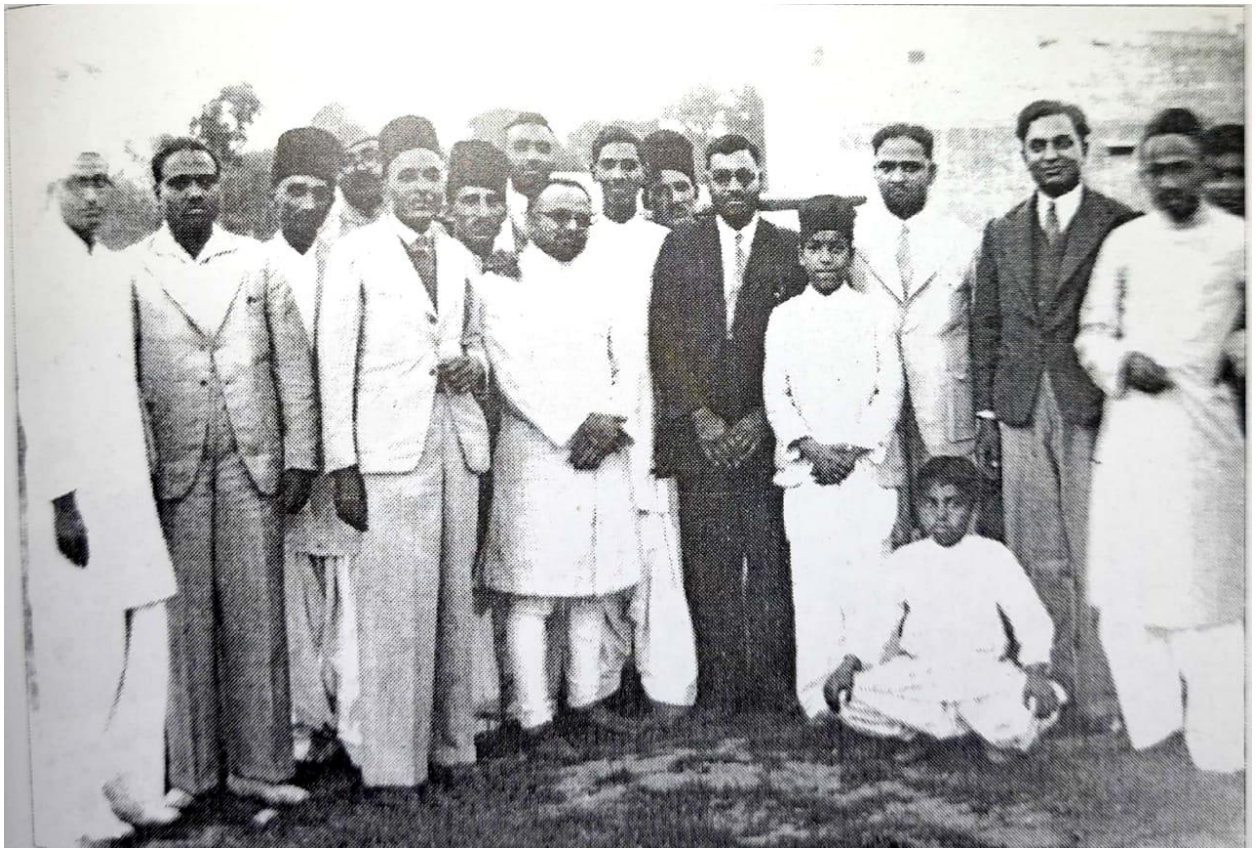

Majid Panni
9
Fakerah Panni
Ayesha Panni
Zubair Ali Panni
Eyeyasi Panni
Khalid Zia Panni
10
Zerqa Panni
Zeb-un-Nisa Panni
Hajji Ghulam Mohammed Panni
11
Mohammed Riaz Panni
12
Mohammed Fiaz Panni
13
Mohammed Ejaz Panni (Deaf)
Tasneem Panni
Mohammed Riaz Panni
11
Mohammed Geyas Panni
Elyas Panni
Arif Panni
Asif Panni
Nasir Panni
Fozia Panni
Hajji Mohammed Fiaz Panni
12
Adeeba Panni
Akram Panni
Aneela Panni
Anees Panni
Amna Panni
Mohammed Ejaz Panni (Deaf)
13
Irfan Ejaz Panni
Imran Ejaz Panni
Atif Ejaz Panni
Adil Ejaz Panni


Mohammed Ameen Panni
14
Shakeel Ahmed
Zacha
Sughera Bagum
Khalil Ahmed
Chragh-ud-Din Panni
15
Mohammed Ahmed Panni
Rabnaz Panni
Haqnawaz Panni
Maqbool Ahmed Panni
Imitaz Ahmed Panni
Zacha
Mahnaz Bagum
Siraj-ud-Din Panni
16
Khayer-ud-Din Panni
17
Naseem Hassan Panni
Shahnaz Hassan Panni
Faseel-ud-Din Panni
Shehab-ud-Din Panni
18
Shah Din Panni
Jan Mohammed Panni
Khushi Mohammad Panni

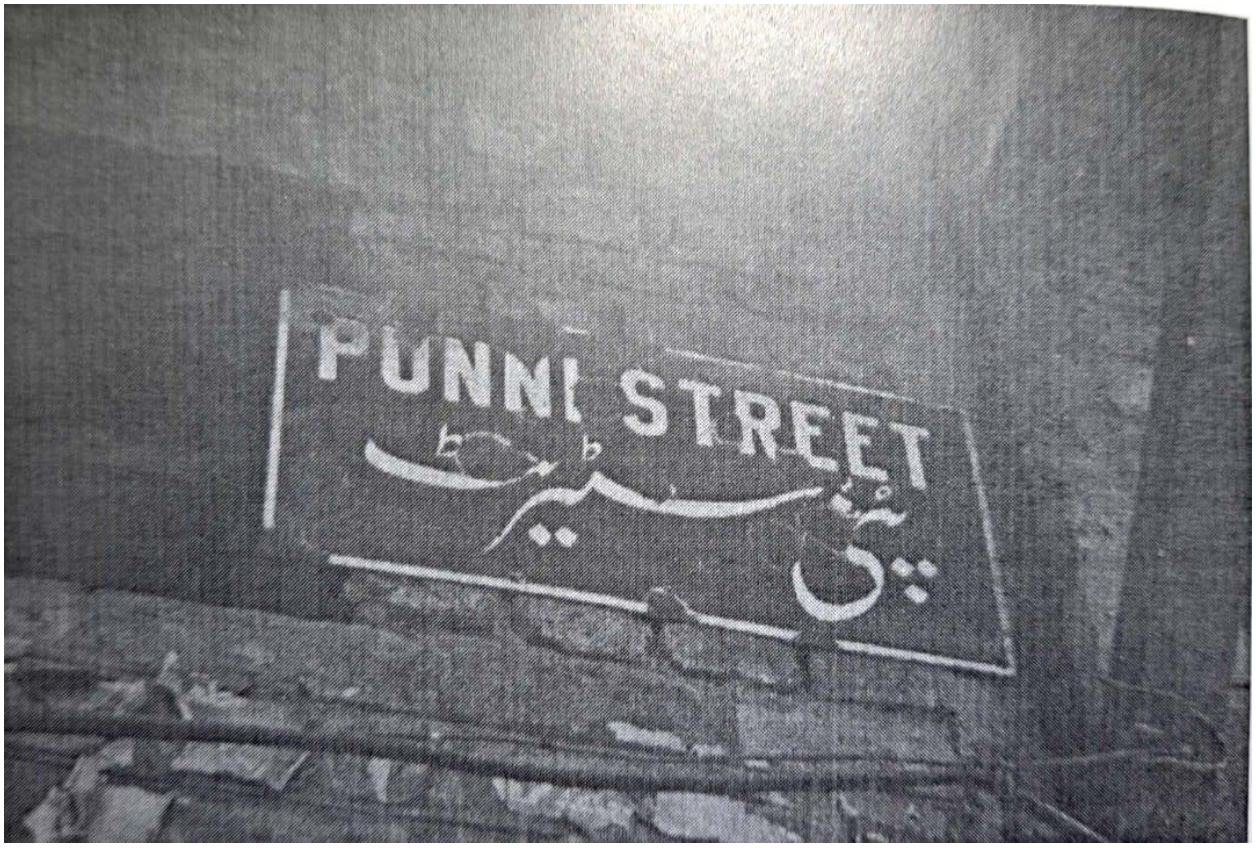
Author (First from the Left) Syed Ameen Al-Husseni,with Mufti-e-Azaam Palestine (July 1933)



Author, (Fourth from the Right) , in Shalimar Garden, Lahore with Khalda Adeeb Khanum and Bagum Shah Nawaz



Author with the members of The Islamic Research Institute, after hosting a tea party in the honor of Mrs Sarojani Naido (1935)



The board of “Panni street” approved by Lahore Muncipal Corporation in 1948

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